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Significance of non-Vitruvian ideas: a study on the peculiarity of the town planning

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1. Introduction

As the origin of the modern European town planning concept, the influence of the planning philosophy and related system and standards of the Renaissance period is of increasing interest. In nineteenth-century Europe, when cities expanded outside their walls, town planning strategies referred to former practical methods. One example is the urbanization planning of the city of Barcelona in 1859, in which modern infrastructure was contrived through a homogeneous grid pattern.[1] The planning theory behind the expansion plan for Barcelona drafted by the engineer, Ildefons CERDÀ, referred to the model of town planning experiments from early modern Spain.[2]

Concerning town planning philosophy and its practical ethics in Spain, the most outstanding examples of town planning are those drawn up in the colonial period. They were very influential in the colonial strategies of neighboring countries and much attention is given to them in the history of European town planning in the modern era. Concerning town planning philosophy in Renaissance Spain, its colonial code, *Ordinances of Philip II*,[3] issued in 1573, is regarded as one of the most important town planning codes. Dan Stanislawski points out that town planning regulations in the first half of the sixteenth century were based on Greek and Roman philosophy, and the *Ordinances of Philip II*—the most complete legislative work in the Spanish colonial period in the sixteenth century—had a more general view on town planning but were still based on ancient philosophy.[4] He mentions the similarity with Vitruvius' *De architectura, libri decem* [*Ten Books on Architecture*].[5] But there are different opinions on this point. Paul Zucker mentions that the Vitruvian ideas dominated the ideas on architecture and town planning at the beginning of the Spanish colonial period;[6] however, the concepts of town planning shifted toward the ideas of the theorists in Renaissance Italy who were familiar with Vitruvius. Thus, Zucker suggests that the town planning concept in the *Ordinances of Philip II* was distanced from Vitruvian philosophy.

This paper will compare *Ten Books on Architecture* by Vitruvius and the *Ordinances of Philip II*, focusing especially on the difference between them to clarify the peculiarity of the *Ordinances*.

2. Town planning philosophy of Spain and of its colonies

2.1. Issue of the *Ordinances of Philip II*

The *Ordinances of Philip II* issued in 1573 does not consist of only new regulations. For example, the first concrete regulations about colonial town planning were the royal

instructions issued in 1513 and addressed to Pedrarias Dávila,[7] a general of Catilla de Oro, currently Darien, Panama.[8] These instructions included regulations about sanitary conditions for the selection of the town site and the location of plazas and churches. The *Ordinances* advanced these instructions to make them more practical as regulations. This is an example showing that some of the regulations in the *Ordinances* were revised versions of previous sixteenth-century regulations. Judging from that, at the time the *Ordinances* was issued, a large number of colonial towns were already constructed,[9] and the *Ordinances* emphasized a redefining of town planning philosophy through many cases of experimental town planning. Therefore, it is recognized that there were many instances of town planning before the issue of the *Ordinances* that followed the same philosophy as the later issued *Ordinances*,[10] thus showing the influence of the architectural treatises of Renaissance Italy on the town planning code of the Spanish colonies before the *Ordinances* was issued.

2.2. Influence of Vitruvian ideas

In Spain, it is also recognized that the *Ten Books on Architecture* by Vitruvius had a strong influence at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The first Spanish translation[11] was published in 1582, but even before that, Vitruvius had much influence through versions in Latin and modern Italian.[12] Humanistic philosophy had a certain influence on the system of government in the colonial period. Stanislawski indicates that a Mexican architect had a copy of the *Ten Books on Architecture* published in 1550,[13] and even before that, Vitruvius' older editions had been referred to in the colonies. George Kubler says that architects in the sixteenth century usually studied abroad in Italy and that the philosophy of architecture and town planning in Renaissance Italy was very influential in the Spain of Carlos I. Moreover, it was easy to put that kind of philosophy into practice in colonial towns.[14]

3. The *Ordinances* as the town planning philosophy

3.1. Town planning regulations programmed into colonial laws

In light of the present, the *Ordinances of Philip II* is not just a compilation of town planning laws. Regulations regarding research of the colonial town site, municipal administration, and inheritance laws are edited together with the town planning norms. Originally, the *Ordinances of Philip II* was edited as a colonial code of seven books (seven fields), and a certain part of the second book was antecedently issued to be the *Ordinances*.[15] The rest of the books were not completed and the *Ordinances* was only issued to provide the objectives of town planning, thereby giving this code an important role in colonial law history. This limited issue tells how important town planning was in the colonial policy.

The first chapter of the *Ordinances*, *Discovery* [Articles 1–31], mainly concerns general rules on reconnaissance of the town construction site and an investigation of the local society. Here the headings and methods of the investigation are given very concretely. The second chapter, *New Population* [Articles 32–137], describes the site conditions for town construction, establishment of the administrative and judicial organization,

problems of land possession, practice of town planning, and all other conditions concerning new town construction. Most of the matters relevant to town planning and layout are included here. The third (and last) chapter, *Pacification* [Articles 138–148], provides instructions mainly about the effectiveness of missionary work.

Town planning here concerns not only the solution to physical planning but also the most important matter for the colonial administration—to impose their customs and sense of values on the society of the natives of different religions.

3.2. Town planning regulations dealt with in the *Ordinances*

The *Ordinances* has three chapters: Discovery, New Population, and Pacification, and most of the discussions on town plan are present in the latter half of the second chapter, New Population. Since Zelia Nuttall discovered the *Ordinances of Philip II* in 1921 and extracted town planning related matters, the *Ordinances* has been regarded as a code showing the philosophy of the town planning model of the colonial territories of Spain.[16] The regulations in the *Ordinances* extracted by Nuttall played a major role in leading studies on Spanish colonial towns, as historical documents supporting the order and rules of the town layout. But, in fact, the *Ordinances* includes other related regulations than the town layout, such as rules on the selection of the town site. This paper discusses the peculiarity of the town planning rules given in the *Ordinances*, including not only physical matters regarding the town layout but also the criteria on the establishment of a society effectively relevant to town construction.

3.3. A code as a fundamental idea of town construction

In the *Ordinances*, the purpose of town planning is basically the mission of bringing Christianity to the natives [Article 25], and the method of the missionary work is described in detail. Negotiations with the natives are predicted. Very concrete rules about missionary work—how to communicate with the natives, how and to whom they should preach, and so on—are stated [Articles 138–148].

Under these regulations, there lies a fundamental philosophy that an understanding of Christianity would lead to the improvement of town life [Article 141], and this attitude is also recognized in the town planning regulations. The idea that the church should be a symbol for the citizens influences its architectural methods.

On town planning and construction, the *Ordinances* widely refers to the blocks, plazas, streets, plots of institutions, location of facilities, condition of locations, appearance of the streets, construction materials, and so on. The ideas on town layout, pattern of the streets, and establishment of plazas have much in common with the fortified towns, "bastides," of Southern France, where the streets are laid out in good order. However, the planning of plazas as commercial zones, location of sanitary facilities in good order, and the general appearance of the streets imply an image of the ideal city for the civilians: a colonial town rather than a town designed for military defense. These descriptions are not as concrete as those concerned with town planning in the *Ten*

Books on Architecture; however, the *Ordinances* contains clear planning rules for these contrasts.

4. Town planning philosophy in the *Ten Books on Architecture*

4.1. The fundamental attitude to the town plan

First, in the *Ten Books on Architecture*, the town planning regulations are mainly recognized in Book I, [Remark 4] which describes the construction of the town wall and sets out the fundamental attitude of town layout, and Book V, which describes the location of public facilities.

The town walls, towers, and town gates are extremely important, as Vitruvius interprets public buildings from the viewpoint of defense, religion, and practicality [Book I, Chapter 3, Section 1, (I.iii.1)]. On the basis that the town and its public facilities are very important elements for society, the necessary regulations are drawn up. Humidity, temperature, and wind direction are all taken into consideration for selecting the land for town construction, [I.iv.1] and criteria for the selection of the healthy location are described [I.iv.9, I.iv.11, I.v.1]. A concrete image of the town shape is also described from the viewpoint of defense [I.v.2], pointing out the relation between the direction of the streets and the wind, and criteria for the positioning of the plazas [I.vi.1, 8, I.vii.1]. From the selection of the town site to its layout, the design considers all aspects of health, climate, and environment. The planning concept for the plazas concerning shape, size, and the surrounding buildings is very practical [V.i.1, 2, 4].

With regard to the conditions of the town site, the quality of water in particular is mentioned with regard to health in Book VIII, and a remarkable sanitary viewpoint including various required conditions for the town site, town layout, and location of facilities is presented [VIII].

4.2. Architectural criteria as town planning regulations

Apart from Books I and V, some architectural regulations regarding town planning are recognized. Building materials [II], architectural planning and division [III, IV], arrangement of the temples [IV], housing architecture [VI] are also mentioned in other *Books*. For example, the descriptions of building materials [II.iii.1], foundations of the buildings [III.iv.2, V.iii.3, VI.viii.1], arrangement of the temples [I.vii.1, IV.v.1, 2], and matters concerning water supply in the town [VIII] are very concrete. These descriptions are apparently recognized as the basis of the regulations in the *Ordinances of Philip II*. From this point of view, concerning conditions of location, climate, town layout, location of facilities, and materials, the *Ten Books on Architecture* by Vitruvius is an arrangement of town planning conditions with the principles of usefulness (*utilitas*), solidity (*firmitas*), and delight (*venustas*).

The *Ordinances of Philip II* sets out the basis of the regulations required for the construction of a town in an undeveloped location and the management of its new

society. On the other hand, the *Ten Books on Architecture* is mainly an arrangement of architectural standards providing architectural regulations from the viewpoints of both interior and exterior space and treats a much wider range of themes than the *Ordinances*. The following section concretely compares the ideas on town planning from various aspects argued from both historical works.

5. Comparison between the *Ten Books on Architecture* and the *Ordinances of Philip II*

Here follows a discussion on the ideas concerning architectural matters and town establishment as part of town planning philosophy.

5.1. Site selection for the establishment of a town

The *Ten Books on Architecture* and the *Ordinances of Philip II* have a very common view about where to construct a town. The *Ordinances* states the conditions for site selection in detail from various angles such as height above sea level, temperature, distance from marshland, direction to the sea, and the conditions of the local inhabitants [Articles 34, 40–41, 111-ii[17]]. It also places importance on a good supply of food, water for daily consumption, and construction materials [Articles 35, 39, 111-ii]. Vitruvius also covers the same sanitary conditions and mentions the reasons and measure of investigation [I.iv.1–12], and devotes many pages to explaining the most important matter, the source of a river [VIII]. As for the conditions of the location, the *Ordinances* discusses these in terms of trade, safety, and government affairs [Articles 37, 41]; on the other hand, Vitruvius has an eye for health conditions, harvesting of the land, and freedom of transportation [I.v.1]. The *Ordinances* gives only fundamental conditions on this matter, but it is apparent that the basis of the *Ordinances* derives from Vitruvius.

The *Ordinances of Philip II*, however, includes a different kind of requirement for the selection of the town construction site. The requirement insists that in case of establishing a town along a river, it should be constructed on the east side of the river [Article 40], so that the sun always rises in the direction of the town beyond the water surface. This shows a strong intention of establishing a town image that is relevant and meaningful to the natives of a different religion. As for the matter of selecting the location, Vitruvius studies the location of the plazas, classifying cases of inland town construction and coastal town construction [I.vii.1], but the location for coastal town construction is not regularized. In the *Ten Books on Architecture*, however, the methodology of establishing an intentional image by arranging the location is recognized in the ideas for the location of temples [IV.v.1]. An image is produced here such that the temples and the idol installed in their "*cella*"[18] should basically face the west sky so that the devotees face both the temple and its idol and the east sky together, and that the idol on the east faces the devotees on the west. Moreover, when the temple is located along the river, it should face the riverside, and when along the street, it should directly face the street [IV.v.2], thus suggesting an attitude of pursuing an attractive, symbolic, and authoritative image.

Concerning the selection of coastal town location, in the *Ordinances of Philip II*, a strong consciousness of effective scene making is incorporated in the methodology of the location of facilities.

5.2. Town shape

A remarkable difference is recognized in the description of town shape. A circular town shape is evaluated highly by Vitruvius [I.v.2]. This is simply because enemies are visible from all directions. By contrast, a rectangular form or a convex polygon that produces a dead angle from a fortified town is not the best selection for the town shape. Here, defense is given priority in determining the town shape with the condition that the town is enclosed by walls. Also, elsewhere Vitruvius refers to the inside or outside of a town, as he does not break the condition that a town has a town wall as its boundary.

On the other hand, the *Ordinances of Philip II* does not make any clear statement regarding town shape or include any regulations about town walls. The *Ordinances* rather insists on town planning that anticipates a town's expansion in the future. On this point, the *Ordinances* gives importance to town planning with a clear order to obtain continuity between the expanded and existing parts of the town, and make observations on the security of unoccupied land and its use [Articles 111-ii, 129–130].

5.3. Street layout

Differences in town shape lead to big differences in street layout as well. The directions of the main streets are selected to avoid the direction of strong winds. As for the circular town by Vitruvius, eight main wind directions are formed, dividing the town radially into eight equally sized parts including the north–south axis. In order to lay out the town's main streets in a direction where they do not face the prevailing winds, the difference in the angles between the directions of the streets and the eight directions of the wind must be 22.5 degrees at most. In short, a circular form divided radially into eight parts can draw an octagon, and the direction of its diagonal is adequate as the street layout that can avoid the prevailing winds the most [I.vi.1–13]. This idea is also different from the colonial town planning of the Roman period, which suggests a street layout consisting of a radial pattern of streets as the diagonals of an octagon and a concentric polygon pattern of streets parallel to each side of the octagon (Figure 1). This philosophy would accommodate a main plaza in the very center of the town. This type of planning shows a highly centripetal and geometrical form for the layout of a town, and therefore, a town of this type is less flexible toward expansion. This philosophy of town planning can be recognized in the town layout of Palmanova (Figure 2).[19]

In the *Ordinances of Philip II*, there is less discussion on the details of town shape as in the Vitruvian ideas. But a schema of street patterns can be read in the regulations about arrangement of streets and blocks. Some explanation on the whole layout gives a hint toward understanding the illustrated image of town planning. First, the core space of the town is the main plaza, "plaza mayor," the starting point in planning a town, which

should be rectangular in form [Articles 111–112]. Four main streets are drawn from the central point of each side of the rectangular main plaza. Also, two ordinary streets are drawn from each corner of the plaza at right angles [Articles 114–115], numbering eight in total. The rectangular plaza is the basis of the layout, and determines the directions of each side of the rectangle, in other words, the perpendicular axes X and Y in the town plan. Here the direction of the X and Y axes are laid down with the wind direction in between, making a 45-degree gap. The abovementioned streets extending from the plaza are all either parallel or perpendicular to the X and Y axes. The distance between streets parallel to each side of the plaza, the street pitch, however, is not clearly mentioned in the *Ordinances*. But the idea shown in Article 111 that the blocks should be laid in a line regularly means that the whole layout of streets is considered to be a grid pattern.

In other words, in the town layout idea in the *Ordinances of Philip II*, the central rectangular block of the town and its surrounding main streets and ordinary streets perpendicular to it are the fundamentals. This central block, however, is a plaza—an open space block providing a public space for the town, and around this open space block lie ordinary building lots parallel to each other comprising the core of the grid pattern layout (Figure 3). Also, the idea of composing an ordered adjustable layout pattern in case of town expansion [Article 111] results in a grid pattern. This concept shows that the general norm of the town plan determines the composition of the town core and repeats the same structure toward the vicinities. The *Ordinances of Philip II* does not enforce a fixed shape for the whole town, nor do they ignore the geographical conditions. On this point, the *Ordinances* does not argue at all about the town boundary that Vitruvius discusses. The *Ordinances* shows the idea that strongly prescribes the layout of the town's interior, rather than the town's outline or shape, and a clear planning vision adjustable for the expansion of the town by following the same street planning scheme repeatedly. This scheme with the option to expand is recognized in the two different stages of the Buenos Aires town plan, whose town layout scheme was based on the *Ordinances of Philip II* (Figures 4 and 5).[20]

5.4. Planning process

The *Ordinances of Philip II* gives importance to the determination of the location for the "plaza mayor" as the starting point in planning a town. Considering the relation between this central plaza and the surrounding streets, a grid layout pattern of streets is calculated. Next, smaller plazas and locations for other facilities are studied [Articles 112, 118–119]. The proportions and scale of the plaza mayor direct the layout design of the whole town. On the other hand, Vitruvius first determines the main and ordinary streets, and then selects the locations for the forum, temples, and other public facilities [I.v–vii]. Both show a general methodology of town planning but a peculiar difference is seen in the planning steps.

5.5. Town core planning

Both pay special attention to the planning of the plaza. The concept of drawing a

complex core plan with architectural standards for the surrounding facilities is common to both. The location of the main plaza should be at the harbor in case of a sea coast town, and should be at the center of the town in case of an inland town. Both draw particularly detailed criteria for town core planning;[21] however, some differing points are very apparent.

In the *Ordinances*, the proportions of the plaza mayor (length/width = 1.5) [Article 112] and construction of the porticoes [Article 115] are not entirely the same as those expressed in the *Ten Books on Architecture* [V.i.1, 2]; although basically these ideas are faithful to the Vitruvian idea of shape for its use and its proportions. Moreover, both suggest a rectangular shape for the plaza. As for the scale of the plaza, the *Ordinances* not only indicates the Vitruvian idea of calculating the size by considering the number of inhabitants [V.i.2] but also suggest a concrete size for the plaza.[22] The *Ordinances* provides a direction of physical shape and an ideal model for the plaza [Articles 112–113].

With regard to the surrounding facilities of the plaza, the *Ordinances* points out the churches, royal facilities, and other public facilities, shops, and residences for merchants [Articles 118, 126]. On the other hand, Vitruvius indicates basilica (basilicarum), national treasury (acararium), prison (carcer), and the senate house (curia foro) [I.vii.1, V.i.1–10]. Naturally, the facilities argued in both are not the same because of the difference in era, but Vitruvius treats the spatial structure of the plaza and surrounding facilities as a whole. Vitruvius gives detailed regulations about a forum surrounded by two-story porticoes, its column pitch, diameter of the materials, scale, and so on [V.i]. A strong attitude of resolving subjects architecturally is recognized in the Vitruvian idea. On the other hand, the *Ordinances* is faithful to the idea of the porticoes in Vitruvius but show no detailed argument for the architectural criteria such as the scale system of columns and materials. The *Ordinances*, however, pays much attention to detailed town planning such as decoration along the streets around the plaza, the connection of streets and plaza as town scenery, and spatial structure around the plaza with regard to the path of the merchants' flow [Articles 111–115].

5.6. Location of town facilities

The *Ordinances* gives detailed regulations on the location of religious facilities. There is a deliberate control for producing a dignified view, such as the intentional location, level of the base, and distance from neighboring facilities [Articles 119–120, 124]. This idea derives from the Vitruvian idea that regulates the direction of temples and their location in the walled town [IV.v.1, 2].

Vitruvius also gives detailed descriptions of location and planning conditions for facilities such as the theater (theatrum) [V.iii–xii], public baths (balineae) [V.x], gymnasium (palaestra) [V.xi], harbor (portus), and dock (navaliorum) [V.xii]. The *Ordinances*, other than the facilities around the plaza, gives location norms for public facilities such as religious facilities, custom house, arsenal, and hospital [Articles 121], and commercial facilities that have problems of waste (butcher, fish, and leather shops), all from the

viewpoint of sanitation [Articles 122–123]. As for the hospitals, the *Ordinances* also indicates separate locations of hospitals for infectious and non-infectious diseases [Article 121].

5.7. Lot division

In contrast to Vitruvius, with regard to town expansion, the *Ordinances of Philip II* argues rather for the security of land and its use as meadow and farm land [Articles 129–130]. The *Ordinances* also provides regulations with respect to the supply of land to the colonists and its utilization; on the other hand, this kind of attitude is not seen in the Vitruvian idea [Articles 127, 130–131].

5.8. Building criteria

Ten Books on Architecture gives detailed explanations of all features, from the location of houses to the path of flow inside the house, based on the aspects of safety, health, and comfort [VI.i–viii]. The physical endurance of the buildings, especially the foundations of a building, is discussed in the *Ten Books on Architecture*, and similar ideas on public facilities such as temples and theaters are stated [III.iv.2, V.iii.3] The *Ordinances* does not widely establish a building code as in the Vitruvian idea, but the ideas on firm foundations and sanitary planning for residence [Articles 132–133] derive from the Vitruvian idea. On this point, however, the *Ordinances* also pursues economic and fast construction [Article 132], as the *Ordinances* provides guidelines for town construction in locations with a limited amount of materials and techniques. The idea of unifying the building scenery is also peculiar in the *Ordinances*. This is a remarkable regulation concerning the esthetic aspects of the town, which is not discussed in the Vitruvian idea.

6. Conclusion

With regard to the location for town construction, the *Ordinances of Philip II* and the *Ten Books on Architecture* by Vitruvius provide common aspects of usage and sanitation. Concerning town shape, however, the *Ordinances* do not argue for a town wall as the basis, and thus do not fix the town boundary. This is a remarkable difference in the basic attitude to town planning. This difference also has a considerable effect on the composition of street layout. The *Ordinances* establishes a planning methodology that corresponds to town expansion.

Thus, in the *Ordinances*, a strong, ordered design is important for the spatial structure inside the town rather than the town boundary. This is apparently the origin of the grid pattern for street layout, in complete contrast to the Vitruvian idea of a radial layout of streets and a circular town shape.

There is also a clear difference in the planning process. In the Vitruvian idea, the town's boundary and the layout of the streets are the most important, and the location for the

main plaza is selected as one of the main facilities of the town. In contrast, the *Ordinances* gives precedence to the location of the plaza, and the physical planning conditions of the plaza form the basis of the layout design of the whole town. In short, the spatial structure of the town core corresponds to the whole structure of the town.

As for the town facilities, each document discusses the different building types of each period. Therefore, it is difficult to directly compare the philosophy of the norms, but the concept of locating plazas and public facilities from the aspects of attractiveness, sanitation, and function in the Vitruvian ideas are accepted and rearranged in the regulations concerning the location of facilities in the *Ordinances*. The *Ordinances* also shows a strong intention to provide visual effects relating to the different religions of the native society. Vitruvius does not establish the same idea but the location concept of the temple as a town's symbolic facility does appear to be an intentional feature of the scenery and view; therefore, the philosophy of facility location in Vitruvian ideas has a strong relation with the idea of town location methodology in the *Ordinances*.

The *Ordinances* keeps the aspects of safety, health, and comfort as given in the Vitruvian ideas and add new viewpoints of practical methodology of town planning, which correspond to the expected town expansion by means of a grid pattern. This scheme of town layout shows an idea of town planning with high adjustability in case of expansion, which has not evolved from the Vitruvian ideas. The *Ordinances of Philip II* provides a methodology of standardization and systematization of town planning philosophy.

(1) GRAVAGNUOLO, Benedetto: *HISTORIA DEL URBANISMO EN EUROPA 1750-1960*, (Madrid: Akal Arquitectura, 1998), p.58. In the city expanding project of Barcelona by Ildefons CERDÀ (1816-76) 1859, Gravagnuolo points out the similarity with the criteria for town planning in the Spanish colonies rather than past examples of town improvement in Europe.
(2) CERDÀ I SUNYER, Ildefons: *TEORÍA GENERAL DE LA URBANIZACIÓN y aplicación de sus principios y doctrinas a la reforma y ensanche de Barcelona,* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Fiscales, 1971, Edición Facsimil de 1867ed.), pp.186-197.
(3) This document is preserved in the Archivo General de Indias (A.G.I.) in Seville, Spain, the Document code: Indiferente General, legajo 427, libro 29, folios 67-93; the Document title: Ordenanzas de descubrimiento, nueva población y pacificación. This is a manuscript document written in the sixteenth century Castilian language, which extends for 27 pages of almost A4 size on both sides. It was issued on July 13th, 1573 by the King, Philip II. This code consists of 149 articles in all widely about three themes on the colonization of the Indies; discovery (search for the territories for colonization), the population, and the pacification (the Christian missionary work), each of which respectively comprises a chapter. The documents about the code referred to in this study are the following. ICAZA DUFOUR, F. et al.(eds.): Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias (Miguel Ángel Porrúa, México, 1987), a typed version of the original manuscript and Archivo General de La Nación: "Fundación de pueblos en el Siglo XVI," *BOLETÍN DEL ARCHIVO GENERAL DE LA NACIÓN, Tomo VI, No.3* (Mexico, 1935), pp.321-360, a contemporary Spanish version.
(4) STANISLAWSKI, Dan: "Early Spanish town planning in the New World," *The Geographical Review, 37* (American Geographical Society, 1947), pp.94-105.
(5) This architectural treatise was supposed to be written in the last half of the first century B.C. by the architect and engineer, Marcus Vitruvius Pollio. Its manuscript copies did exist during the Middle Ages and were rediscovered in the early Renaissance, when it was rapidly translated into other European languages and the Vitruvian ideas on architecture and town planning spread all over Europe and its colonies. In this study, the following version in Latin and Japanese was referred to. MORITA, Keiiti:

VITRUVII DE ARCHITECTURA LIBRI DECEM IN SERMONEM IAPONICUM VERSIT, (Tokyo, JAPAN: TOKAI UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1969), a Japanese translation of the Latin version in Valentin Rose, Hermann Müller-Strübing: *Vitruvii Vitruvius Pollio, De architectura libri decem*, (Teubner, 1867).

(6) ZUCKER, Paul: *Town and Square: From the Agora to the Village Green*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959).

(7) The King, *Fernando II*, named the extensive continental territory *Castilla de Oro* and appointed Pedrarias Dávila as general captain and governor of the territory in 1513 on a mission of town establishment for the colonization and pacification of the land. Dávila is the first colonist that was given the concrete task of town establishment.

(8) SOLANO, Francisco de: *NORMAS Y LEYES DE LA CIUDAD HISPANOAMERICANA (1492-1600) I*, C.S.I.C., (Madrid, 1996), pp.36-38.

(9) In Spanish America, more than 225 towns had already been constructed at this time. SOLANO, Francisco de: *CIUDADES HISPANO- AMERICANAS Y PUEBLOS DE INDIOS*, C.S.I.C., (Madrid, 1990), pp.51-52.

(10) The town planning philosophy and the town planning scheme practiced before the issue of the Ordinances have a meaningful relation. KASHIMA, Akihiro and FURUYAMA Masao: "A Study on the Basis of Urban Planning Found in the Ordinances of 1573 promulgated for the Spanish Colonies," *Papers on City Planning, No.35*, (THE CITY PLANNING INSTITUTE OF JAPAN, 2000), pp.55-60.

(11) URREA, Miguel de (trad.): Marco Vitruvio Pollión, De Architectura, (Alcalá de Henares, 1582).

(12) SOLANO, Francisco de et al.: HISTORIA URBANA DE IBEROAMERICA, TOMOII-1, LA CIUDAD BARROCA 1573/1750, Tesitimonio, (Madrid, 1990), p.25.

(13) Stanislawski (1947), *op.cit.*, p.101

(14) Many of those concerned with the Christian missionary work engaged in the town planning itself, and the ideas of Renaissance architecture and town planning were effectively conveyed through them. KUBLER, George: "Mexican Urbanism in the Sixteenth Century," *THE ART BULLETIN, Vol.XXIV-2*, (THE COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, 1942), pp.160-171.

(15) DIEGO-FERNÁNDEZ SOTELO, Rafael: "Mito y Realidad en las leyes de población de Indias," ICAZA DUFOUR, F. et al.(eds.), *op.cit.*, 1987, pp.209-255.

(16) Discussion tends to be focused only on articles 111–137 in the *Ordinances* regarding town planning regulations. The leading study is the following. NUTTALL, Zelia: "Royal Ordinances Concerning The Laying Out of New Towns," *Hispanic American Historical Review, vol.5, no.2*, (1964. Reprint of the 1922 ed.), pp.249-255.

(17) In the original text there is an error—the article number 111 is on two different articles. Here the second article 111 is numbered "Article 111-ii," and the first just "Article 111."

(18) The most sacred chamber of an ancient temple, which usually contains a cult image or statue.

(19) The town of Palmanova, Italy, a star fort town, was founded in 1593, and its form was drawn by Vincenzo Scamozzi. Reference to the figure 2: http://www.clubitalianoautogiro.it/galleria_immagini.html.

(20) The city of Buenos Aires was founded by Juan de Garay in 1580. The figure 4 (Archivo General de Indias; MP-BUENOS AIRES, 11) shows the rigid pattern of its street layout in 1583. The figure 5 (SOLANO, Francisco de (dir.)(1992): *HISTORIA URBANA DE IBEROAMEREICA TOMO III-2,* Madrid, p.682), Buenos Aires in 1713, shows that the town has expanded accepting the grid pattern which was the base of the town planning from the origin.

(21) The *Ordinances of Philip II* and the *Ten Books on Architecture* do not argue on the same facilities but both expect the main plaza to be a spatial structure with a highly ordered design as the town core. Both provide planning criteria in detail about its surrounding public facilities and streets.

(22) Article 113 of the *Ordinances* suggests an ideal size for a plaza; "The main plaza should be larger than 200 'pies' in width and 300 'pies' in length and smaller than 800 'pies' in length and 530 'pies' in width and the medium size is 600 'pies' in length and 400 'pies' in width." A pie is a unit of length utilized in sixteenth-century Spain, and was equal to 278.33 mm. Converting pie into meters, it is about (83.5 m, 55.7 m) < (X, Y) < (222.7 m, 148.1 m), and the ideal size: (X, Y) = (167.0 m, 111.3 m). X: long side, Y: short side. The unit conversion of pie and meter is according to the following study: DOURSTHER, H.: *Dictionnaire Universel des Poids et Mesures anciens et modernes*, (Amsterdam, 1965 [repr. of the 1840 ed.])

Appendix
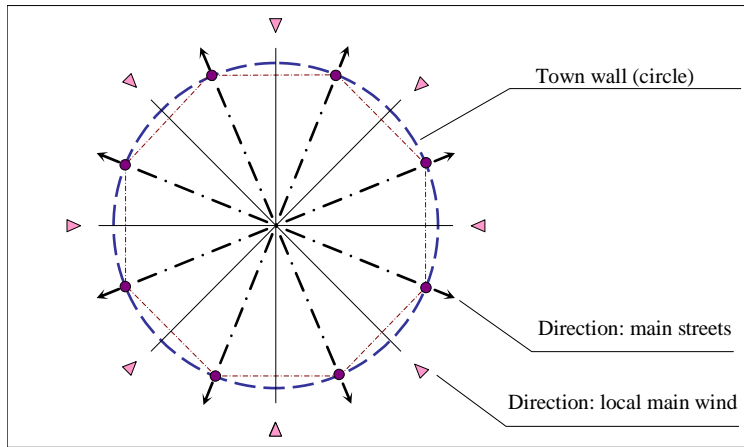
Figure 1: Vitruvian ideas on town shape and the location of
the main streets in Ten Books on Architecture

Figure 2: Palmanova, Italy, a star fort town founded in 1593.
Designed by Vincenzo Scamozzi.
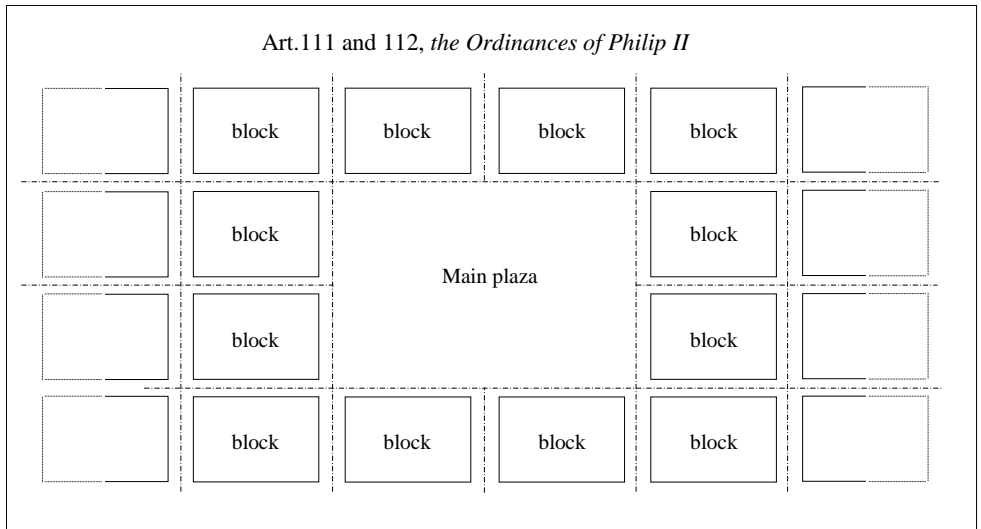
Figure 3: Layout of the streets and blocks in the *Ordinances of Philip II*

Figure 4: The town of Buenos Aires (1583)
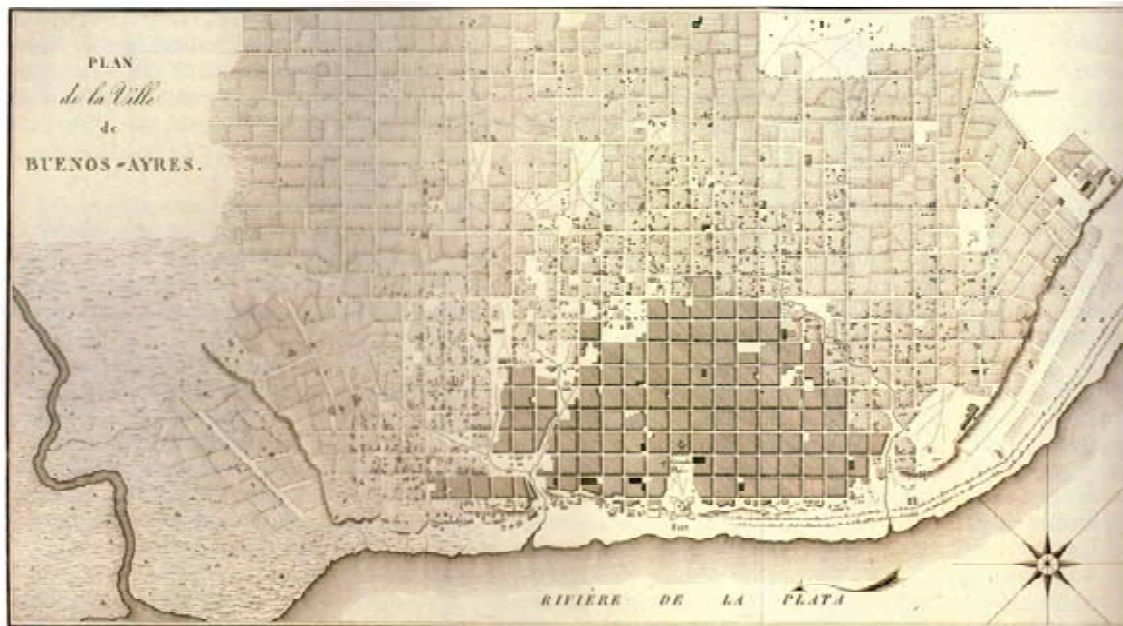
Figure 5: The town of Buenos Aires (1809)

Reconstructing meaning: urban space in post-apartheid South Africa

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Memory space

Among the many functions served by urban space is its role in memorialising and commemorating significant events in the life of cities and nations. London's Trafalgar Square and Beijing's Tiananmen Square are but two examples of urban spaces inscribed to commemorate important events. It is thus not surprising that from time to time urban spaces such as these become the focus for appropriating or contesting the authority they are perceived to represent. Trafalgar Square was a focus for anti-apartheid rallies of the 1980's, and Tiananmen Square, where Mao Zedong proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the site of the 1989 student protests.

When more radical cultural and political transformations occur, such as the in dissolution of the Soviet Union, urban space inscribed with meaning significant to the old order presents dilemmas for the new. In these circumstances there may be strong desires to erase past memories, but this is not always easily achieved because urban space is a concrete artefact embedded in the urban fabric. Visitors to Berlin in recent years would not have missed the extensive urban construction projects that have followed in the wake of reunification and the reestablishment of this city as the capital of Germany. In this development there appears to be an intention to erase the distinction between East and West previously marked by the infamous Wall. Following the original route of the Wall from the Brandenburg gate it is surprising to discover little remaining evidence apart from a flagstone trace in some of the roadways, a short surviving portion in Neiderkirchnerstraße, and the previous border control post known as 'Checkpoint Charlie' in Friedrichstraße.

However, despite appearances, this part of Berlin contains spaces, buildings and places that have been the source of deep and divided emotions for Berliners. This includes the refurbishment of the 19th century Martin Gropius Building as a new cultural centre with questions about the adjacent vacant site previously accommodating the administrative headquarters of the Nazi Gestapo and the SS, now memorialised as the '*Topography of Terror*'.[1] Across the street (and over a short surviving section of the Wall) sits Hitler's former Luftwaffe Air Ministry (now the Federal Government's Finance Ministry). Close by, after years of contentious discussions, is the Jewish Museum designed by Daniel Libeskind and the newly completed Holocaust Memorial by Peter Eisenman, all serving to construct a visual landscape as evidence of Berlin's past (Fig 1). Indeed, Karen Tills contends that Berlin in the context of Europe now possesses the 'first cultural space…that publicly acknowledges national guilt, commemorates the suffering of victims, and represents the history of the perpetrators in a national capital'[2].
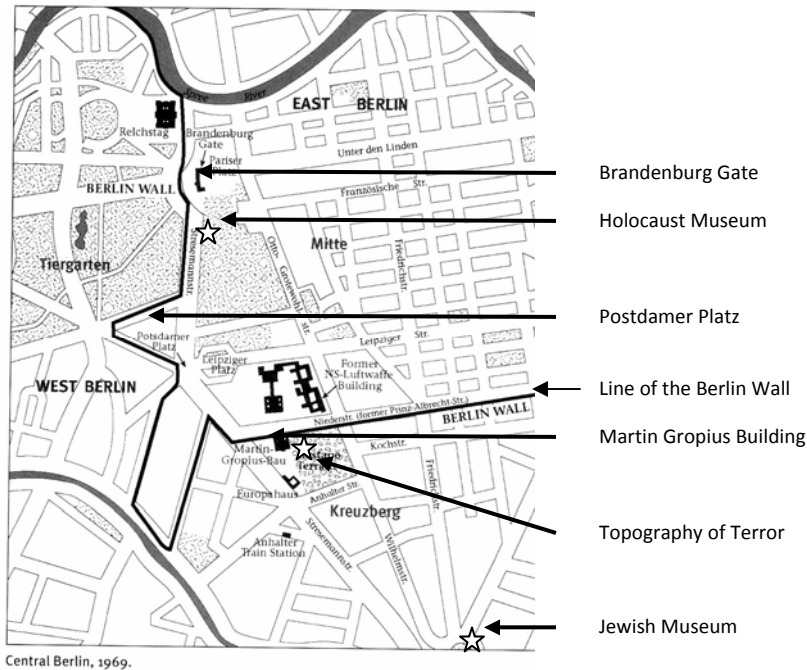
Figure 1: **Berlin's 'Memory Spaces'**[3]

This paper is concerned with the process whereby concrete and material urban artefacts such of public squares and other urban spaces are inscribed, and under certain conditions, re-inscribed with cultural narratives and meanings. Post-apartheid South Africa provides a rich context in which to examine this process in the wake of the political, social and cultural transformations that have occurred since the 1994 democratic elections.

One of the hallmarks of post-apartheid South Africa is a policy and process that seeks to reconcile the past by acknowledging the existence of collective memories of previous injustices, and by creating institutions able to give this a public voice. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission gave the victims and perpetrators of apartheid a vehicle to confront each other, and despite many flaws in both process and outcome, it did offer a way of bridging between the past and future, and moving forward.

In this context Annie Coombes has explored how various forms of visual and material culture represented in South African monuments has dramatised the tensions involved in the process of transformation from apartheid, and at the same time contributed to the process of change[4]. In a similar way Vicky Leibowitz considered the design of new post-apartheid museums and how these are giving expression to narratives and events previously suppressed or unacknowledged by previous white minority governments and institutions[5].

Two questions are posed in this paper concerning the construction of memory in urban spaces in South Africa. Firstly, how far is it possible to divest existing urban space of meanings associated with the previous colonial and apartheid pasts to make them relevant in contemporary South Africa? Secondly, how is success to be judged in new

urban spaces created since the demise of apartheid in representing cultural meanings for all South Africans?

It is argued that three different approaches can be distinguished, each illustrated by a case study. The first approach gives new meaning to urban spaces originally designed to symbolise what has become redundant, both from the colonial past and the apartheid period. The urban precinct of the 1910 Union Buildings in Pretoria that continues to serve as the administrative capital of South Africa provides the case study.

The second approach concerns the construction of new urban spaces as 'palimpsest', where the layers of past history contained within it remain visible. The case study is the urban precinct known as Constitutional Hill in Johannesburg, previously a fort and former prisons established at the beginning of the 20th century, and now the location of the Constitutional Court completed in 2004.

The third approach relates to the making of new urban spaces that aims to memorialise significant events previously suppressed. The case study is the Walter Susulu Freedom Square of Dedication completed in 2005 in Kliptown, Soweto that commemorates the life an anti-apartheid activist and the signing of the Freedom Charter in 1955.

Before considering each of these strategies and case studies it is useful to contextualise the discussion by considering the nature of the apartheid city and how this created a specific set of conditions that post-apartheid urban space construction confronts.

The apartheid city

It is often overlooked that apartheid in South Africa was preceded by a long period of colonisation beginning with Dutch settlement of the Cape in 1652. In the settlement of the hinterland and the later establishment of Boer Republics and British Colonies, land was the material issue in the conflict between European settlers and the indigenous inhabitants. From a settler perspective this was resolved early in the 19th century through the establishment of 'Native Reserves' as places of 'refuge' for those dispossessed of their ancestral land, that also created pools of labour serving white farmers, and more generally, the expansion of white capital. These reserves lay the backbone to the 'Bantustans', a cornerstone to apartheid government policy from 1948 onwards.

Rapid urbanisation that followed from the discovery of gold and diamonds in the interior, and the consequent development of manufacturing industries resulted in a major dilemma for successive white minority governments: how to ensure a steady supply of cheap labour necessary for an expanding economy on which prosperity was seen to depend, while at the same time keeping urban areas essentially white? The seeds of a solution were found in the Stallard Commission of 1923 (13 years after the founding of the Union of South Africa that united the previous British Colonies and Boer Republics) recommending that '…the native should only be allowed to enter urban areas which are

essentially the white man's creation when he is willing to enter and minister to the needs of the white man and should depart there from when he ceases so to minister.'[6]

Giving effect to this recommendation was the mandate of the 1948 Government who institutionalised racial segregation by law, effectively confining black South Africans to designated and impoverished 'Bantustans', and requiring a 'pass' to enter and work in what were designated as 'white' areas. Resistance to the 'pass laws', the consequent injustice and suffering caused by the apartheid laws, and the refusal of successive minority governments to recognise all South Africans as citizens of a unitary state, resulted in the conflict and violence that has marked South Africa's more recent history.

Under these policies the apartheid city acquired a distinctive urban form and structure leading to considerable suffering on the part of the urban non-white population. Essentially the city centres and prime residential areas were reserved as 'white'. Residential areas for other race groups were designated for Africans, Indians, and Coloureds, usually on the urban periphery from where workers were required to commute[7]. Residential zones were physically separated from each other by industrial zones or border security strips to eliminate neighbourliness between members of different race groups (Figure 2). The implementation of this policy during the 1960's and 1970's resulted in substantial communities of 'non-whites' who historically resided in what were designated 'white' areas being forcibly removed to their designated residential zones.
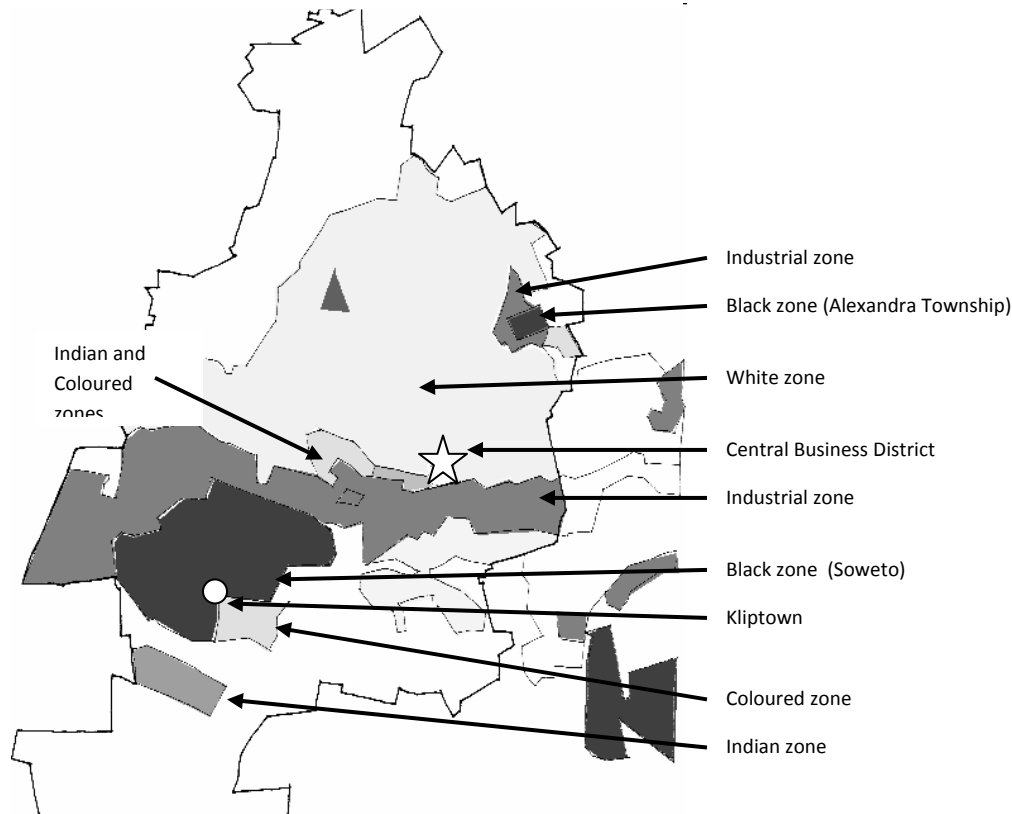
Figure 2   Map of the Johannesburg Region indicating racial zones designated under apartheid policies[8]

Among the many legacies of apartheid and enforced segregation seen by Coombes, has been the alienation of individuals and communities from their own histories – 'so much so that aspects of those histories are either ignored through disinterest or wilfully exploited for other ends and in the process destroyed'[9]. Consequently during the long period of colonial and apartheid rule, black history was largely suppressed. 'Official' South African history was constructed around ideologically biased events dominated by the settlement of the Cape by the Dutch from 1652 onwards and their establishment of a European 'civilisation' at the tip of Africa, later British settlement of the Eastern Cape and Natal and the mythologised accounts of settlers facing adversity, hardship and opposition from the indigenous population whose land was being confiscated, and an event know as the 'Great Trek' that saw Afrikaners leaving what become British rule at the Cape to regain a perceived freedom in the establishment of Boer Republics in the interior. From 1948 onwards the apartheid governments gave new voice to nationalist ambitions of the Afrikaners and their perceived claim to exclusive sovereignty over South Africa[10]. Non-white groups have thus been doubly harmed – first by being subjugated and excluded from participation in central economic and political functions, and secondly by having their very existence denied in official history[11]. Challenging the primacy of these historical constructs and accommodating the previously suppressed histories in the inscription of post-apartheid urban space has emerged as a factor in the transformation process since 1994.

Achieving transformation in South Africa, however, was always going to be difficult. Unlike the political transformation achieved on the day all South Africans went to the polls in 1994, the legacy of apartheid remains embedded in the urban form and the spatial structures of cities. Creating new meanings to urban space consequently requires mediation between existing urban artefacts largely created during colonial and apartheid periods on the one hand, and the desire to memorialise suppressed memories of the past and represent the new reality of a democratic South Africa on the other hand.

Case study 1: the re-inscription of meaning

In the debates that followed the elections of 1994, what to do with the monuments that celebrated the colonial and apartheid histories loomed large. Coombes in her study of public monuments raises a question about the 'possibilities and impossibilities for rehabilitating a monument with explicit history as a foundation icon of the apartheid state[12]'. The icon of interest was the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria that is central to symbolising Afrikaner nationalism. She goes on to be curious to know '…how far it is possible to divest such an icon of its Afrikaner nationalist associations and re-inscribe it with new resonances that enable it to remain a highly public monument despite a new democratic government whose future is premised on the demise of everything the monuments have always stood for?'[13] The same question can be asked about Union Buildings and its urban precinct in the same city of Pretoria built to accommodate the

administrative functions of government following the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910.

During the two decades that the architect Herbert Baker practiced in South Africa he produced a large body of work. The Union Buildings was his last major work before joining Edward Lutyens in India to plan and design the new capital of British India: New Delhi. The urban precinct of the Union Buildings was intended to symbolise unity in South Africa forged after the Anglo-Boer War. In his autobiography Baker further describes his concept as 'symbolising the two races of South Africa' reflecting the fact that the constitution at that time only recognised whites of British and Boer origin as citizens[14]. Baker expressed this perceived duality in the two wings of the building symbolically 'unified' by an amphitheatre and colonnade at its centre. The Amphitheatre sits astride a visual axis running from the city in the valley below across terraced and landscaped gardens creating an urban precinct of impressive scale (Figure 3). In Baker's original plan this axis was to terminate behind the amphitheatre on a Parliament building he called the 'Temple of Peace'. However, the decision to locate this function of government in Cape Town resulted in this part of the proposal never being realised.
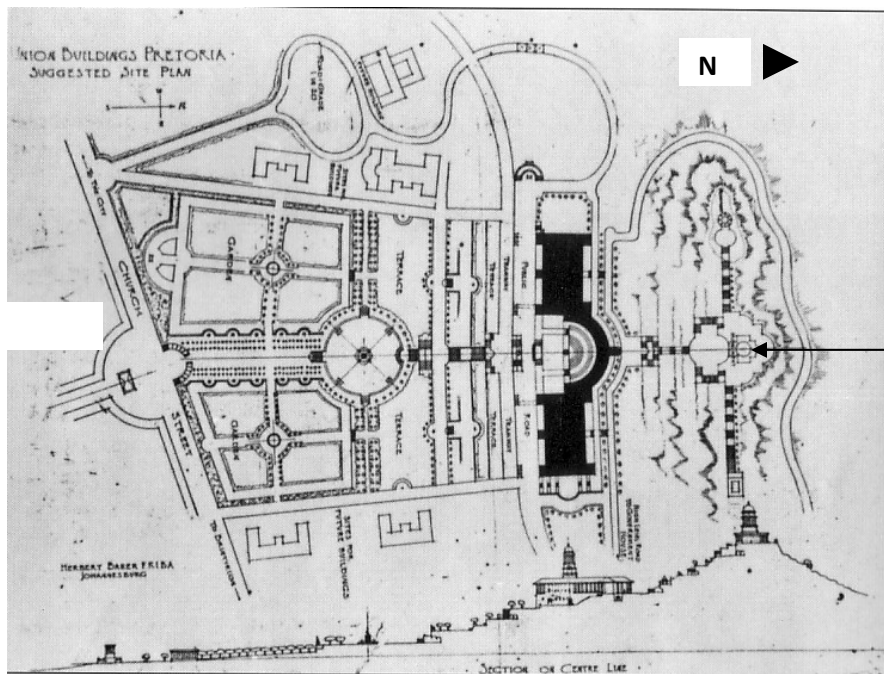
Figure 3   **Herbert Baker, The Union Buildings and precinct, Pretoria[15] (Keith, n.d.)**

The Union Buildings precinct thus excluded the majority of South Africans in its inscribed symbolism. It also did not necessary symbolise 'unity' between the British and Boers either, the latter considering the Union to rather represent their defeat at the hands of the British and their imperialist ambitions. Baker's own imperial visions are made clear in his 1927 address to the Royal Institute of British Architects in London when describing the role Union Buildings would play as the capital of a colonial Empire extending northwards from Pretoria '…realising the dream of Cecil Rhodes on the highlands of Central Africa from Rhodesia to Kenya and the source of the Nile'[16].

From 1948 onwards, the Union Buildings were to house governments who conceived and implemented apartheid policies and laws. But despite representing white dominance and black subjugation, the historic symbolism it was chosen in 1994 as the site for the inauguration of the first majority elected President of South Africa, Nelson Mandela, and the installation of his African National Congress led government in ministries housed in the Union Buildings. The televised spectacle of the event in the very building where Nelson Mandela's predecessors presided over his lengthy imprisonment was a powerful symbolic gesture. This gesture both denied the inscribed memories of the place and re-inscribed new ones. It was able to exploit the advantages of its spatial construct focused on an amphitheatre organised around a visual and symbolic axis extending over the nation governed. In a similar way, the implicit symbolism of imperial rule in New Delhi has been re-inscribed to represent democratic rule in an independent India.

Further re-inscription of the Union Buildings was marked in 2000 with the establishment of a Monument to the Women of South Africa in the amphitheatre and its renaming Malibongwe Mbokodweni ('the place of the women'). This commemorated a 1956 historic gathering of 20,000 women in the amphitheatre protesting the extension of the 'pass laws' to women. The modest monument comprising of a traditional corn grinding stone under the colonnade with words from the women's petition rendered in stainless steel letters fixed to the amphitheatre stairs, is intimate and paradoxically diminutive in scale. Yet it assumes larger significance by being located on the grand axis at the symbolic heart of the nation. Disappointingly current security measures now make the monument inaccessible to the general public. Despite this flaw, the Union Buildings and its urban precinct provide a cogent example the possibility of divesting original meaning and (in Annie Coombes' terms) re-inscribing it with new resonances that enable it to remain a public monument representing new governance in contemporary South Africa.

Case study 2: urban space as 'palimpsest'

A palimpsest literally refers to a surface on which the original writing has been erased to make way for new writing, but upon which traces of the old remains visible. It is this notion that the winners of the international design competition for a new Constitutional Court in Johannesburg argued underpins their concept[17]: where the 'site is – and must remain – a place where the layers of history contained within it remains visible'[18].

The history of the precinct begins in 1883 when Paul Kruger, President of the South African (Boer) Republic, established a fort on the hill top overlooking and protecting Johannesburg and the economic wealth produced by the adjacent gold mines. Johannesburg was taken by the British during the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) and the fort was pressed into service as a prison. In 1902 a new 'native' prison known as 'Number Four' was built on an adjacent site, to which a women's prison was added in 1910, and an awaiting trial block in 1928. Among those incarcerated were Mahatma Gandhi, Albert Luthuli and Nelson Mandela (the latter two being later recipients of Nobel Peace Prizes) along with thousands of others, many for the infringement of apartheid laws. In 1983 the fort and prisons were closed, the buildings and area become derelict,

and given high land values was under pressure to be sold for commercial development. Its history and embedded memories would have been effective erased, were it not selected as the site for the new Constitutional Court as part of an urban precinct now named Constitutional Hill.

The awaiting trial block was demolished to create a new urban space at the centre of the precinct. However, three original stair towers were retained and memorialised by being extended vertically as sculptural glass lanterns, one now embedded into the Constitutional Court foyer, the other two free standing in a new urban space. This new space physically links the new Constitutional Court to the original fort and prisons now refurbished and developed as museums, that symbolically mediate between the past and the future (Figure 4). Previous injustice and prejudice is thus juxtaposed in a very material way against the new imagery equitable justice.

Rejecting the more familiar and conventional idea of a large formal urban space fronted by a public building (an idea well represented in the unsuccessful entries to the design competition), Constitutional Hill in the words of the winning designers is intended to be '…a place where all people would feel welcome, where South Africans from urban and rural areas, the young and the old, could gather without inhibition, and have a connection, a sense of belonging and identity.'[19]
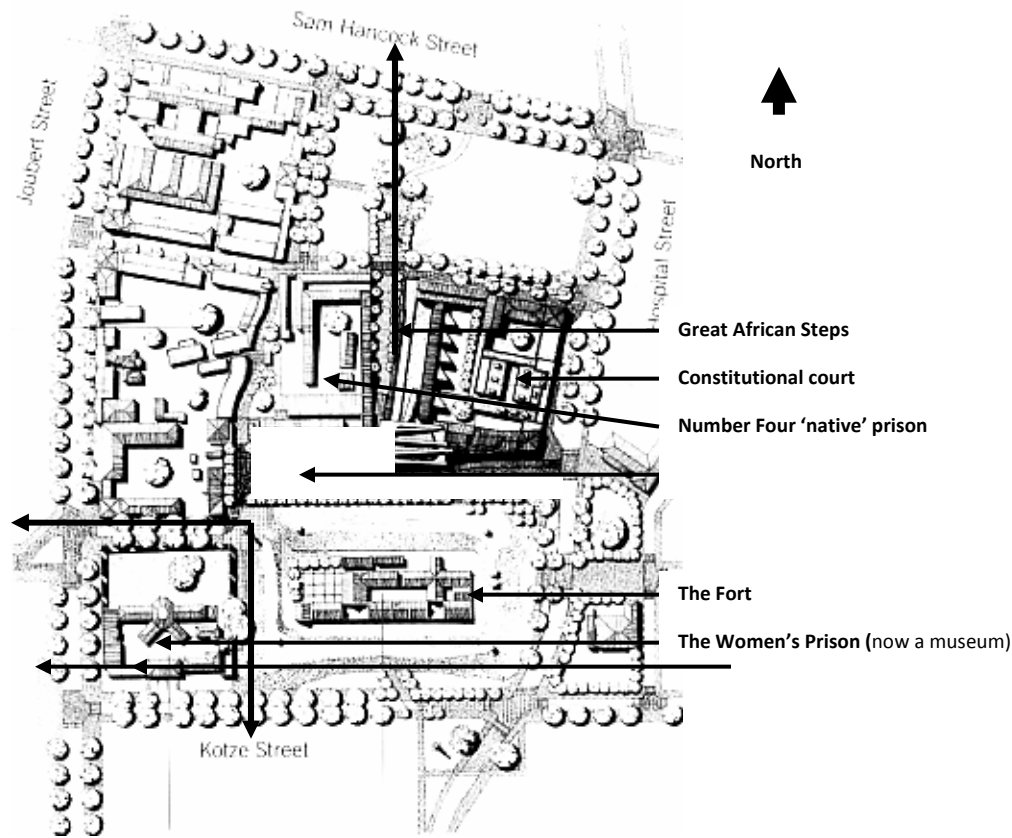
Figure 4   Constitutional Hill urban precinct, Johannesburg, 2006[20]

The drive to be inclusive and represent every facet of South Africa is reflected in the repetition of building's name in the eleven official languages on the entrance canopy, and in the richness of the artwork and decoration striving to represent all sectors of society. This creates a very different architectural experience when compared to the more staid imagery of more formal buildings with judicial functions where the purpose is to intimidate rather than embrace users. The urban precinct as a whole creates the same effect in being more inclusive and intimate and reflective of African notions of place and space. In contrast to the aloofness of the Baker's Union Buildings, sitting on the Pretoria skyline and separated by a formal axis and terraced gardens from the city, Constitutional Hill has been woven into the fabric of Johannesburg. Consequently the precinct becomes permeable, reversing the conditions of exclusion that prevailed when it functioned as a prison. The main public square mediates between buildings of different scales and characters – the earth embankment of the fort, the brick walls of the former prisons, and the entrance to the new Constitutional Court at the top of what is called the 'Great African Steps'. More like a village, the precinct is a collection of parts, each unique and identifiably woven into the broader urban fabric of the city beyond.

Case study 3: memorialising new urban space

In contrast to the two case studies discussed above the Walter Susulu Square of Dedication in Soweto, Johannesburg is a new urban space in post-apartheid South Africa[21]. The Square memorialises a significant event in the history of the struggle for democracy– a gathering of 3000 representatives of resistance organisations meeting as the Congress of the People to sign the Freedom Charter on what was then a dusty open space in a place called Kliptown. The Freedom Charter was to become the founding document of the African National Congress, the majority political party elected to govern South Africa in 1994, and was the foundation document for the new South African constitution adopted in 1996.

The signing of the Freedom Charter in 1955 triggered the arrest of 156 delegates who were charged with treason, many, including Nelson Mandela, receiving long prison sentences. Walter Sisulu (later to be Mandela's Deputy President) died in 2003 and was also among those imprisoned. The Freedom Charter was declared a banned document by the apartheid government, although as Suttner and Cronin point out, it was 'not erased from the minds of oppressed and democratic South Africans'[22]. The memorialisation of this event contributes towards what Annie Coombes argues has been a focus on redressing the perceived imbalances of 'hegemonic historical narrative challenging the often exclusive focus on white settler histories so that voices and events previously suppressed could be represented'[23]. A cone-shaped brick structure within the Square serves as the Memorial to the 1955 event, with the words of the Charter engraved on plaques.
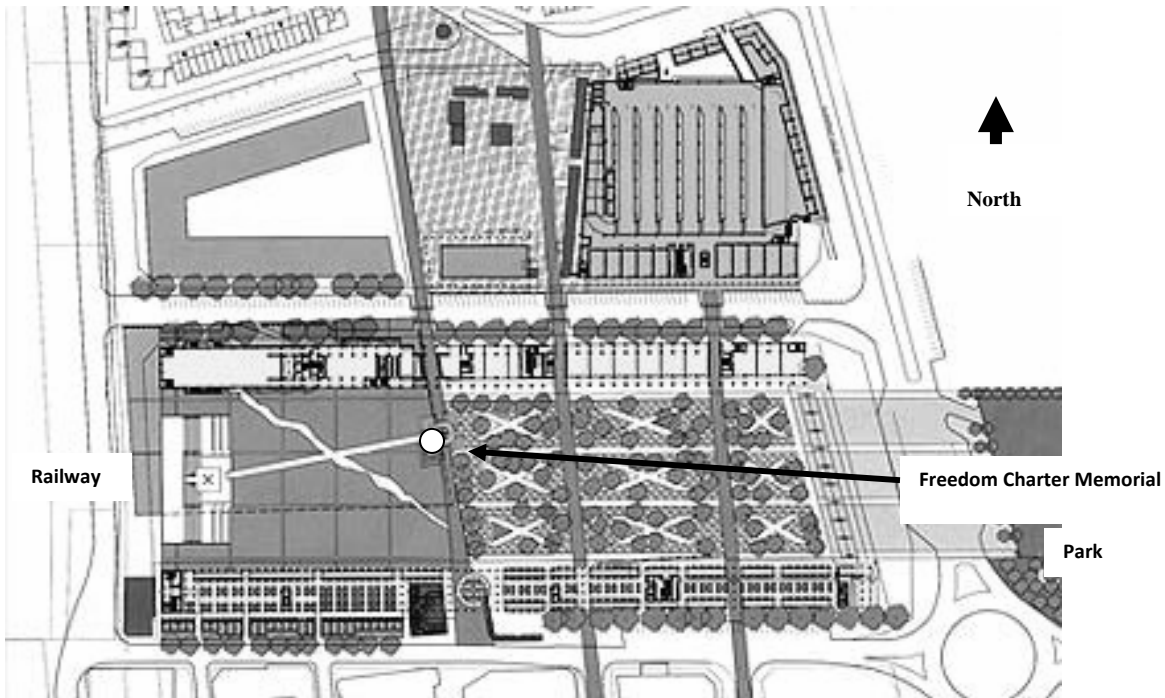
Figure 5   StudioMAS, Walter Susulu Square of Dedication, Kliptown, Soweto[24].

The Memorial forms part of a much larger commercial development and regeneration project for this part of Soweto designed by the Johannesburg architects and urban designers, StudioMAS. The Freedom Charter memorial is contained within the western portion of the Square at the site of the original dusty space where the Congress of the People gathered. The western edge of the Square opens to a railway line (and proposed railway station), and is hard paved as a location for outdoor events. The eastern portion of the Square has raised elements in the shape of X's symbolising crosses on a ballot paper and landscaped with trees to provide shade. This section opens to bus and taxi ranks, and across the road, to a proposed linear park. The north and south sides of the Square are enclosed by large scaled colonnaded structures that contain commercial functions such as market stalls, offices, banks, retail space, a tourism office, an art gallery, community hall, library and community meeting rooms.

Beyond the purpose of memorialising Walter Susulu and the signing of the Freedom Charter, the Square can be viewed as a conventional urban space drawing on historical urban space prototypes. However, in the context of contemporary South Africa the Square also has practical relevance. One factor is the extent to which the Square introduces a new scale and building type that was absent in the apartheid conceived urban township environment almost exclusively composed of small low-scale houses accommodating temporary residents. Although located at some distance from the central parts of Johannesburg, townships such as Soweto are now conceived as suburban areas housing permanent residents, and the Square and other new commercial developments introduce facilities previously been denied. In many ways it reflects the process of 'normalising' South Africa society in the globalisation of modern

culture, and the integration of these previous 'black' residential areas into the fabric of the greater city.

The development has not been without controversy. The proposed railway station has not yet been built to provide a source of pedestrian traffic to populate the Square and patronise traders. Partly as a consequence, but also because of high rental charges, informal traders intended to be relocated from surrounding streets into the purpose built market has not yet materialised[25]. Moreover, the investment has been perceived to be a showcase for the hosting of the 2010 Football World Cup in South Africa, rather than genuine investment in social upliftment. However, despite the perceived shortcomings, Walter Susulu Square demonstrates the possibilities of commemorating and memorialising a more inclusive history, of reintegrating previous isolated and impoverished communities into the greater fabric of their cities, and using private investment to achieve public outcomes.

Conclusions

Urban Space is inscripted with cultural meaning derived from individual experiences shaped by the collective consciousness and shared social processes. Prior to the democratic transformation of South Africa, shared consciousness was suppressed and urban space was constructed to largely reflect the hegemonic historical narrative of ruling white regimes. Following the demise of apartheid in 1994 and transformation towards a more inclusive society, there has been considerable struggle over the re-inscription of public history. What has made the process distinctive in South Africa has been to not deny the past no matter how painful, while at the same time giving voice to those sectors of society whose histories have been denied or suppressed. Apartheid and the many consequences are not denied, but now rather represents what has been overcome.

Although urban spaces are relative fixed concrete artefacts, it is suggested that ascribed cultural meanings are more flexible and fluid. Thus despite the inscription of original meaning in the Union Buildings precinct, it has been re-inscribed by appropriating the material properties of its formal elements. With an axis originally intended to symbolise British imperial rule over Africa, this was later appropriated by the apartheid regimes to symbolise their autocratic will over the nation, and now represents the transformation process in a democratic South Africa. Re-inscription of this kind is not uncommon as suggested in the case of New Delhi cited in the paper.

Less typical is the construction of meaning by way of the notion of urban space making as palimpsest, that makes the past evident and visible, while permitting the emergence of a future. Constitutional Hill is distinctive in constructing a space that is African in conception by eschewing the qualities normally associated with the formal ideas of urban space.

The Walter Susulu Square of Dedication, is in many ways far more conventional and formal in its conception, effectively using prototypical urban space elements. Its success

potentially will be derived from the context of impoverished black townships improvements in South Africa, and the extent to which it contributes towards a normalisation of the urban fabric and public memory. Moreover, it provides a positive example of private investment able to deliver social infrastructure, and at the same time memorialise histories previously suppressed. There are also potential difficulties arising from community aspirations not being met in what may be perceived as an imposed elite development.

But how do these spaces measure up to the two questions posed in the introduction concerning how it is possible to divest urban spaces of the meanings associated with previous colonial and apartheid pasts, and how is success to be judged? These are difficult to assess but can be viewed from the lens of post-colonial discourses. Anthony King was an early observer of the colonial process and insisted that any understanding of the physical and spatial arrangements of colonial environments must be derived from the social values, beliefs, institutions and social organisations operating within a given distribution of power[26]. There are now newer comparative studies that have focused on the process national identity formations in countries that sustained large scale colonisation by those of British and Irish decent in Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa that all have significant indigenous populations. In this context Annie Coombes sees distinctive identity arising from:

> '…the colonisers' dealings with indigenous peoples – through resistance, containment, appropriation, assimilation, miscegenation or attempted destruction – is the historical factor which ultimately shaped the cultural and political character of the new nations, mediating in highly significant ways their shared colonial root/routes'.[27]

In looking for measures of success in the urban spaces considered, it is clear that they have redressed an imbalance in the way in which history has been inscribed and represented. The more difficult question is the extent to which they may represent society as a whole because this confronts issues of race, and racial identities. In a paper on 'subjective whiteness', Sarah Nuttall reflects on how such perceptions may have shifted between the apartheid and post-apartheid periods in South Africa, examined through the narratives of three writers[28]. She points out that the notion of 'settlers' always implies a 'native', and carries with it a master-slave dialectic: 'a relationship based on conquest and ownership on the one hand and on dispassion and subjugation on the other, in which one party acts and the other is acted upon; a relationship of response rather than co-invention'[29]. She goes on to argue that:

> '…visual metaphors have come to hold a potent influence over consciousness and memory. The privileging of the image has been ubiquitous for a number of reasons. First, cultural debates in South Africa have frequently been tied to an identity politics based on visibility based on race…Second, the experience of being the object of the look – one of the most extraordinary aspects of visuality- must necessarily permeate a context of racial scopophilia where the visible and the invisible have been racially coded.[30]

What is emerging in South Africa, Nuttall argues, is the analysis of the visual metaphors which structure 'whiteness' in this context, producing a rich set of meanings which moves closer to an understanding of racialised identity in South African. The significant shift she believes marks the change is a move from a perception of 'whiteness' based external models where 'whiteness' is seen to be secure and politically upheld, to a perception that 'whiteness' that has roots in the struggles of South Africa. This recognises that identity with past struggles are not entirely based on racial identities: both black and white participated in the struggle and its opposition. Thus while the re-inscription process of the spaces discussed can be seen to be successful in articulating past memories previous suppressed by 'white' governments, the ultimate measure would need to be the extent to which they represent 'South African' identity. While acknowledging that this is a difficult task, Nuttall remains optimistic, suggesting that 'while colonial histories still have a force and impact on contemporary imaginaries, we need also to trace their limits as interpretative frames. In this project, South African could well offer a leading vision.'[31] In the case of urban space what is evident is that meanings can be changed, and that moving towards a more inclusive South Africa identity remains a distinct possibility.

Although South Africa is often seen as a unique case, it is suggested that there are other places where political transformation may yet supplant what are currently seen as intransigent conflict. This would include North and South Korea, the divided island Cyprus, the Balkan states, and the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. In the wake of political transformation in places such as these, the re-inscription of meanings associated with urban space will emerge as issues, and South Africa provides a useful case study of what is possible.

Endnotes and References

1   Karen E. Till. *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005. p197.
2   Karen E. Till, 2005. p197.
3   Karen E. Till, 2005, p198
4   Annie E Coombes, *History after Apartheid: Visual culture and public memory in a democratic South Africa*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2003
5   Vicki Leibowitz, 'Constructing memory Space: New Perspectives on Museums and Memorials', *Proceedings of the XXIVth International Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand*, Adelaide 21-24, Sept. 2007
6   M.W Swanson. 'The Roots of Urban Apartheid in Colonial Natal', *African Studies,* 35, p159-176, 1976.
7   These are the race categories still used in South Africa. 'Black' refer to the indigenous populations belonging to different ethic groups, 'Indian' are those who have origin from the Indian Sub-continent; and 'coloured' are those of mixed race. 'White' refers descendants of European settler origin beginning in the 17th C, mainly of Dutch, French, German and English origin.

8   Lindsay Bremner, Iain Low & Michael van der Merwe (eds), *Freedom Square: A site investigation of Freedom Square, Kliptown, Soweto*, Johannesburg: Department of Architecture, University of the Witwatersrand, 1998.

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A Latin-American metropolis in the early Twenty-First Century (a case study of São Paulo, Brazil)

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Introduction

In this first decade of the 21st century São Paulo shows clear signs of the incapacity of its society and local government to deal with a number of important urban issues. It is often said that, during all of São Paulo's 450-year history, the region received very little attention in terms of urban planning and thought. Some historians have even based their analyses on the premise that São Paulo is the very negation of urbanism. But recent academic researchers on the city's urban construction tend to show otherwise. In any case, the idea of there having been no urban planning at all is an extreme over-simplification. Although the region may appear to be a perfect example of disorder and misgovernment, it cannot be assumed that this is due to the absence of urban thought and planning. São Paulo's current urban cycle is the logical consequence of a specific type of articulation between owners of private property, through their various agents, and the public powers that be, and this articulation has been operating from the very beginning of the city's process of rapid growth.

The Metropolis of São Paulo is analyzed in this paper as an *agent* of change in the recently installed process of economy and production, and not a simple *reflection* of the changes. The structural and functional organization of the São Paulo metropolis has been changing since the 1980s. The first hypothesis to explain this is that today's overall organization is based on the demands of a new model, where the metropolis plays a very active role. A second hypothesis is that the relationship between the two main material dimensions of social life – *time* and *space* – is intensely present in the São Paulo Metropolitan Region and makes it especially appropriate for studies involving these two dimensions. According to Manuel Castells (2000), space governs time in today's network societies. Castells also shows that both large and small cities participate in an international hierarchical system, where they all serve as nodal points that operate in conjunction as they command the overall global market. In this sense the São Paulo Metropolitan Area will be able to serve as the center of gravity for other Brazilian and Latin-American metropolitan areas to the extent that it can operate in a reality where the time dimension requires top performance from the spatially organized territory.

The above description of the steps already taken encourages new queries that future research should try to answer. We thus propose as a general hypothesis that São Paulo is now a regional metropolis that offers support for an emerging market. Urban dynamics are articulated in its territory that result from its more traditional condition as an eminently industrial metropolis and its new status as a region committed to advanced services and the industries associated with them. The topic of this present theme

project is the meaning of this process from the point of view of São Paulo's spatial and functional organization, and includes a description of the urban dynamics that this new status involves.

The theoretical framework and the history of what is now the São Paulo Metropolitan Area are reviewed and constructed here in order to develop an analytical model that will allow us to identify and analyze the changes that São Paulo has undergone since the early 1980s.

Intense urban change

The functional and spatial changes that have taken place in the São Paulo Metropolitan Region since the 1980s indicate the beginning of a new cycle in the process of adapting the metropolitan area to a new pattern of production, as well as further integrating Brazil into the globalized economy. As in earlier cycles in the construction and consolidation of the metropolitan area, the present period is producing its own pattern of structuring. New urban sectors are emerging, with a number of aspects that can be seen distributed throughout the Metropolitan Region and, more specifically, in the central municipality itself. These aspects include places, spatial arrangements, architectural programs, forms for the use and occupation of the land, appropriation of natural resources, and forms of illegal occupation of urban sectors. All this is occurring according to conditioners and potentialities present in the *existing city,* which today is one of the most important representatives of social inequality in Brazil, even though it still has enormous potential for economic development as this new century begins. This new urbanization is representative of the present moment, which can be described as an "advanced stage of urbanization." As in earlier phases, the current cycle is producing spaces and places that allow us to identify its historical determinants.

Today it is not enough to consider the relationships of physical and functional approximation among urban hubs within the São Paulo area, with their classical type of conurbation. Graphic representations of the region show many different geometric figures tangentially related to one another and having more or less intense reciprocal relationships. The *metropolitan city* is a space that has been urbanized in a *continuous* way and within which a very broad economic, social, cultural and functional reality has been organized. Today its most visible characteristic is the *dispersion* of urbanization throughout the entire territory. As we will see when identifying its features, this *dispersion* has not resulted in a cohesive urban territory because both *dispersion* and *discontinuity* reveal internal forms for organizing urban relationships and functions.

The explanation for this aspect could well be the embryonic nature of the process. Since the purpose of this paper is to discuss the features of this new metropolitan cycle, it must be recalled that the essence of the concept of *metropolitan city* is intimately related to the changes that are taking place in the metropolitan area. Another basic fact is that the outstanding characteristic of the present cycle is the reorganization and articulation of the existing structure and its internal functioning, in view of its active participation in the new stage.

The São Paulo Metropolitan Region and its new urban scales

Image 1 – The Macro-Metropolis

In the 1970s the specifically urban question was consolidated with the regional context through the Brazilian Federal Government's *Metropolitan Action Program.* One of the results of this program was the decision to designate a number of large urban areas in Brazil as in "metropolitan regions," one of which was the São Paulo Metropolitan Region. This metropolis stands out from the others in Brazil in various aspects, including the fact that it has the largest urban population in the country while also showing the highest demographic density (2,465 inhab/km^2)[1]. In addition, São Paulo relates intensely with cities in the surrounding region – within a radius of 200 km – known as the *macro-metropolis* or *extended metropolitan complex.* This complex includes the São Paulo Metropolitan Region (17.9 million inhabitants) plus the Santos Coastal Metropolitan Region, to the south (1.5 million inhabitants), the Campinas Metropolitan Region, to the north (2.3 million inhabitants), both of which are within 100 kilometers of São Paulo, as well as the city of Sorocaba, to the northwest, and, **to the east**, a number of slightly more distant but important cities in the **Paraíba Valley, with their respective micro regions.**.

This extended metropolitan complex covers 17.18% of the area of the State of São Paulo and has a population of 26.2 million inhabitants, meaning 71.13**%** of the state's population. It is responsible for 79.3**%** of the state's general product and 27.7**%** of the Brazilian GNP.[2] The relationships that affect the use and occupation of the land in this territory are extremely complex and interdependent, and result from processes of different natures, ranging from the macro-economic to those micro-relationships that define spaces for housing.

The São Paulo Metropolitan Region has an area of 8,051 km^2 and includes 39 municipalities, with that of São Paulo (1,509 km^2) occupying its center. This region, with its total population of 17.9 million inhabitants, has three outstanding characteristics: 95.7% of the population is urban, 10.4 million persons are concentrated in the municipality of São Paulo, and only eight of the 39 municipalities are not part of the continuous, uninterrupted geographical territory comprised of the remaining municipalities.

The data shown below indicate that the proportion of the population of the municipality of São Paulo in the Greater Metropolitan Region has been falling significantly, with a considerable concomitant growth of the periphery, as can be seen in the following table.

Table Percentage of the population of the municipality of São Paulo in the São Paulo Metropolitan Region						
Population	**1950**	**1960**	**1970**	**1980**	**1991**	**2000**
Municip. SP	2,198,096	3,824,102	5,978,977	8,475,380	9,646,185	10,406,166
SP Metrop. Region	2,696,031	4,905,421	8,172,542	12,575,655	15,452,537	17,878,703
Munic./ Region	81.53%	77.96%	73.16%	67.40%	62.42%	58.20%

Source: IBGE (Censuses of 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1991 and 2000)

Image 2 – Evolution of the Urbanized Area 1980/1992

In 1990 the urban sections of the São Paulo Metropolitan Region occupied approximately 1,765 km^2.[3] In fact, over the following 12 years the urbanized area grew by 443 km², occupying 2,208 km², in 2002.[4] There is no doubt that much of this increase in area was the result of the enormous growth of illegal housing built in areas that should not be occupied, usually consisting of land classified as watershed protection areas. This peripheral pattern of urban expansion has brought about chaotic occupation on the fringes of the region. In addition, general encroachment of the urban space onto environmentally important and legally protected areas, with low initial investment by government and private real-estate investors, reveals a conflict between social and environmental aspects. It also adds a further characteristic to the process of urbanization, namely, growth onto vulnerable areas, a fact that further compromises natural resources and places the populations themselves in situations of risk.

Approximately 900,000 inhabitants in the São Paulo Metropolitan Region live in public housing complexes called areas of "social interest." Since the 1970s the state and municipal governments have built approximately 210,000 dwellings in this category. Comparing this figure with data on the region's current estimated housing deficit, it can easily be seen how difficult it will be to address the demand, especially if one considers the government's limited capacity to produce housing for low-income populations and

the limited availability of financing for the income brackets of up to three times the minimum wage, where most of this deficit is concentrated.

The deficit in 2000 was 529,202 dwellings, 69.5% of which should have been destined to the population with family income of up to three times the minimum wage (total wage of about US$700 per month). In 2005 the deficit had increased to 738,334, of which 86.3% would be destined to this poorest sector.

Constructing the *Metropolitan City*

The analyses presented to date confirm that the physical changes going on in the metropolitan region as it becomes a *metropolitan city* are partially materialized by major public works in urban infrastructure. This is especially true of works related to mobility and accessibility, which, by their systemic nature and because they are operated by different levels of government, create new scales of intervention that have been centralized by the São Paulo State Government. However, the consolidation of the *metropolitan city* currently taking place can be seen as a further, more complex stage in the process of metropolization that encompasses other processes of change as well. These other processes depend on the distribution of simple and specialized services, public and private equipment, and consumption chains.

This fact can be seen in empirical research on both the outlying areas of the municipality of São Paulo and other municipalities in the region. For example, the installation of shopping malls, supermarkets, hypermarkets and fast-food franchises in the periphery is a phenomenon that has largely arisen during the last decade. Until fairly recently no establishments of this type existed in these areas.

Reorganization of the mobility and accessibility systems

Urban interventions carried out on a metropolitan scale, especially those related to costly but indispensable mobility and accessibility services, are systemic, and controlled by various levels of government.

Besides territorial aspects, socio-economic factors are also involved. The adoption of new procedures by the real-estate market in sectors that receive public investments results in chain reactions in terms of changes and impacts, and this requires discussion and planning. The basic components of the socio-economic impact are closely related to the territorial dimension, giving rise to specific positive processes collectively termed "urban development." The needs deriving from the constant expansion of the territory, therefore associated with demographic growth, were the driving force behind governmental action in the past, especially during the period of greatest expansion of the metropolitan area. However, the "negative effects" of these interventions were not clear, or were even imperceptible. Based on known, and even measurable, demands, the great public works projects associated with mass transportation proposed objective and even oversimplified solutions.

The main challenge involving projects and actions for mass transportation and mobility in São Paulo today is how to guarantee the functioning of the metropolitan machine in all its various sectors. For example, when the metropolitan area was taking shape at the beginning of its industrialization process, the removal of physical boundaries was a very important factor.

Today, however, the next steps which must be taken can no longer be reduced to unlimited urbanization in the constant search for ever more distant tracts of land. The expansion of the metropolitan territory that is behind the current plans and projects for mobility and transportation involves the articulation of the area based on pre-suppositions for expansion.

The aim is no longer to address the demand for transportation, mobility and accessibility throughout the entire area in a piecemeal fashion, since the bus system has been doing just that for the last 50 years, albeit inadequately. This now outmoded system favored the expansion of the metropolitan area far beyond tolerable limits. The centrifugal network of bus lines, insufficiently articulated with other modes of transportation, determined the growth of the metropolitan area until the early 1980s, when problems with transportation began taking on different forms. The impacts of this process were discussed above.

Therefore, the present analysis will now concentrate on the new complex of projects that have been proposed or are underway and their repercussions on the consolidated metropolitan territory. We consider that new processes are already present which were identified as the "construction of the *city over the city*." In this light, projects for mobility on a metropolitan scale were of major importance.

It is now quite clear that specific aspects of the current organization must be discussed, since the *metropolitan scale* has been considered only in reference to *surface*. To date, nothing has been added as to the way the new organism is understood, nor has any evaluation been made of the impacts of major projects in mobility that have been implemented. The exact functioning of the metropolitan gears must therefore be examined. It should also be recalled that not only have conventional forms of industrial activity been replaced with organizations that operate with new types of labor arrangements. Other complex phenomena have also taken place. For example, the attributions of metropolitan areas in this new stage of the Brazilian and international economies are expanding, largely due to the presence of organizations that are better able to perform new services and different industrial functions. Another characteristic phenomenon involved is that services have become more important than industry.

The emergence of this new pattern of production is creating a type of dynamics in the metropolis that tends to dilute conventional urban formats and establish a new order based on the dispersion of activities throughout the territory. The metropolitan area, with its new systems of mobility, is defined by the spaces where almost all activities of society, both productive and non-productive, are carried out, including daily commuting from one place to another. So, today, we are farther than ever from the simple

pendulum type of physical movement that prevailed during the specifically industrial cycle.

Metropolitan mobility as the motor for urban structuring

The so called centers, nodes, or poles of *metropolitan mobility* are specific points found in many different parts of the metropolitan area where local and metropolitan urban functions are articulated with mass public transportation. They are the direct result of the increasing complexity of the functioning of the metropolitan territory. In other words, they are clearly influenced by the urban dynamics that generate the two characteristics most in evidence in the current phase: *functional dispersion* and *territorial discontinuity*. They structure the territory, and have two basic characteristics. First, they facilitate the dispersion of urban functions, such as housing and employment, which are often located at considerable distances from one another. Secondly they also produce discontinuity in the territory.

Their emergence is therefore associated with two aspects of public mass transportation: the presence of all modes of public transportation and the guarantee of functional and territorial articulation on a metropolitan scale. In this regard these *nodes of mobility* are distinct from other forms of aggregation of functions and territorial cohesion because today they are seen as an antidote to two important factors mentioned above, namely, functional dispersion and territorial discontinuity.

In this new pattern for organizing functions and activities -*poles of mobility* - play on a decisive role in structuring the metropolitan territory, especially in their capacity to increase mobility and provide access to all the region's sectors. The current aim is not to expand the metropolitan area even further, which was clearly what happened during earlier periods of metropolization. The objective now is to adapt and articulate the existing territory and make it possible to implement the new "metropolitan paradigm." *Mobility* is thus the urban function with the greatest potential to connect urban sectors that are segregated from the social standpoint, dispersed from the functional standpoint, and discontinuous from the spatial standpoint. The consolidation of a pattern of spatial organization described as the *metropolitan city* requires an infrastructure for transportation that is efficient because it can integrate activities that are scattered throughout the *metropolitan territory.* Strong and efficient *local organizing poles* should then be set up that are capable of guaranteeing the socio-spatial integration of the metropolitan population.[5]

MAIN SYSTEM OF MOBILITY

Connection points according to the number of lines:

In the municipality of São Paulo
- 1 - 3
- 4 - 7
- 8 - 12
- 13 - 27
- 28 - 44

In the São Paulo Metropolitan Region
- 1 - 3
- 4 - 7
- 8 - 12
- 13 - 27
- 28 - 44

Estimated routes
- NORTHEAST
- NORTHWEST
- SOUTHEAST
- SOUTHWEST

Main streets and expressways
Railroads
Occupied urban area 1997
Rivers and reservoirs
Boundaries of the São Paulo Metropolitan Region
Boundaries of the municipality of São Paulo
Boundaries of the municipalities in the São Paulo Metropolitan Region

LUME
Metropolitan City Planning Laboratory
FAUUSP
University of São Paulo School of Architecture and City Planning
CEM
Metropolitan Study Center

Image 3 – International Metropolitan Connections and Bus Terminals

The future of industrial sectors and their installations

It is clear that the transformations introduced in the form of industrial production directly influence the urban functional systems on their different scales. One of their best known aspects is the installation of the advanced technology industry, based on microelectronics and informational communication which have created new criteria for choosing their sites that are different from those of traditional industries.[6] The essence of this new pattern of urbanization, generically known as "new industrial space," has become one of the major characteristics of metropolitan territories in their current phase. In developed countries, new industrial locations have corresponded to the flexibilization of production made possible by newly developed means of communication, and have brought about noticeable improvements in urban industrial sectors. Some large cities, especially those located in developed countries, have drawn up public policies to face the consequent problems and, at the same time, to make the

best of the opportunities available for restructuring urban sectors in the respective metropolitan areas.

The migration of functions related to the central area and the emergence of *new centralities*

According to some standards, São Paulo's *central functions* began migrating in the 1950s, and this fact had major repercussions on both central areas and more distant districts. Since then, many central functions have been decentralized. That is, they have been relocated to more distant districts in the municipality of São Paulo and to emerging central areas of neighboring municipalities. This was a natural process propelled by the growth of the metropolis, and can be considered positive since it accompanied the expansion of the complexity of urban life in the metropolitan region. The urban repercussions of this process in the municipality of São Paulo were significant, since, as a result, *neighborhood centers* were created or consolidated. The unfolding of these processes in the region's municipalities was essential for structuring the metropolitan area as a whole.

However, the process described above has specific characteristics and is part of a broader process that became clearer as of the 1980s. This process arose and developed in a very different way from the functional decentralization described in the paragraph above. Specifically, we are referring to a migration of central functions that have two essential characteristics. On the one hand, there was a dispersion of the traditional functions of central areas to other urban areas. These newer areas, however, could not be identified as *district centers* because their new functions did not correspond to the emergence of any centrality that might be supplementary to that of downtown. On the contrary, these more recently developed areas basically serve as alternative space for real-estate investors who, until that time had preferred to concentrate their attention on the downtown area. From the beginning this dispersion clearly corresponded to a migration of real-estate capital within the municipality of São Paulo.

The migration of *central functions* to these new areas is significant in the functional organization of the municipality of São Paulo. It is also an indispensable factor for analyzing the current restructuring of the metropolitan region in general. Although this process began and developed long before the 1980s, it became clearer as of that period.

A reciprocal process: residential emptying of central districts and the growth of inner-city slums

The *central districts* of the municipality of São Paulo have fallen in population (-1.29 per year until 1990 and –2.27 since then). This loss was expressed both by the overall fall in the number of dwellings and rented and in the deterioration or vacating of buildings in these areas, giving rise to inadequate housing, especially inner-city slums,[7] although these phenomena do not always show up in official statistics. According to the São

Paulo City Government, revenue from property taxes has fallen considerably. In contrast, and as part of the same process, the outlying areas of the metropolitan areas continue to show high rates of demographic growth. The visible face of this process, whereby the population of the municipality of São Paulo and the surrounding metropolitan area seems to be spreading out, is related to the deterioration and state of neglect in both the central districts and the outlying areas. The constant search for housing space by the poorer strata of the population is a basic factor in this process. Its irrationality is causing ruinous urban occupation whose main characteristic is that large intermediate tracts of urban land remain vacant, even though they are fully equipped with basic infrastructure.

This process was intense, and created a new urban paradox: some areas that have complete infrastructure, including mass transportation, are gradually being vacated, while distant areas of urban expansion are being occupied indiscriminately. This centripetal expansion is taking place both in function of simple housing for lower-income groups in the periphery, which is virtually devoid of urban infrastructure and social equipment, and more sophisticated regions for the wealthy, who have moved into gated communities located near expressways that link up with downtown. This situation obviously overburdens the already inadequate street and expressway system even further.

It is clear that the most essential component in a metropolitan urban policy is that it would guarantee articulation among housing, water supply, sanitation, and mass public transportation, but this need has not appeared in governmental programs. During recent decades, all those who deal with urban issues, both globally and sectorially, have stressed that the weakening of the metropolitan areas and the total disorganization of their functioning is the corollary of omission by all three levels of government in the conduction of the region's pattern of expansion.

Continuous expansion of the "*informal city*"

Three movements are taking place simultaneously: 1) the densification of large shantytowns with their occupants hoping to eventually be integrated into the urban structure; 2) the construction of illegal housing tracts through new operative strategies, especially in areas of environmental protection, thus giving rise to social and institutional conflicts, and; 3) the multiplication and dispersion of shantytowns in the metropolitan periphery, usually in situations of environmental risk. Therefore, in large and continually expanding parts of the metropolis, predatory and unsustainable processes of occupation predominate, thrust ahead by limited access to adequate housing. The occupation of watershed protection areas that supply water to the São Paulo Metropolitan Region is the most conflictive and revealing expression of this process and a clear indication of the dearth of effective urban development policies.

The concept of *informal city* is the most inclusive term used to designate urban spaces that result from processes characterized as inadequate and illegal. Such expansion thus goes hand-in-hand with social exclusion and brings about many different types of

irregular housing, including shantytowns and inner-city slums. This approach presupposes that there are many ways to access the city, and that access is always socially determined. Such parts of the metropolitan area are poorly equipped and neglected, and the spaces involved lack the basic features of urbanity. Given the predominant characteristics of the processes of urban expansion, these factors only exacerbate the already present socio-environmental disparities.

The funding of housing through public social programs has been low in comparison with the existing deficit. The demand has been concentrated in the population earning income of up to three times the minimum wage. The municipal and state housing policy, however, has gradually broadened its scope of action. During the 1980s and 1990s, new approaches were put into place to provide housing and set up action programs in informally produced areas. These actions included the urbanization of shantytowns, the regularization of unregistered and clandestine housing on new scales, the transfer of populations living in risk areas, the urban and environmental recovery of protected areas, and programs in inner-city slums. Other public programs were also involved, such as the implementation of urbanized subdivisions and the construction of housing complexes through neighborhood joint-work projects. This set of initiatives shows that the *informality* present in the production of metropolitan space has become a basic factor for projects, and even the objective of public policies. Nevertheless, the scale of the action is generally minimal in view of the degree of the inadequacy of spaces allocated for housing in such low-income neighborhoods.

Current challenges of the metropolitan city

One very important aspect in this analysis is to take into account the history of the metropolis with special attention to the tension between two different aspects of the dynamics of the urban system that operates in the metropolitan territory, namely, the industrial and the tertiary. These two aspects are sequential in time and continuous in space, but they are based on very different questions and produce urban processes that are also different. The commitments of each in regard to their respective urban cycles led them to operate directly on the metropolitan territory, and they continue to operate in this way. They make the territory an active agent, which can consist either of similarities or of contrasts, continuities or interruptions.

Both the metropolitan territory and geographical space in general are seen here as active agents in the processes taking place. Therefore, they cannot be considered mere consequences of social and economic dynamics. In other words, certain topics are taken up here to better describe the history of the changes that have taken place in the metropolis of São Paulo from a perspective that is internal to its own evolution. Although some of these topics are classified here as emerging, this does not necessarily mean that we are dealing with merely transitory events, since the situation today has its origin in earlier stages of the structuring of the metropolis. It would be well to recall that the various situations involved have generated a structure that is now seen as *contemporary.* It should also be noted that socio-spatial issues in the metropolitan territory, especially those associated with processes of ever-increasing precariousness and poverty, are presented

separately. Each topic is treated in view of the articulation of its two dimensions, which are actually two sides of the same coin, with modernized territory on one side and precariously installed territory on the other.

Studies on the processes of change in contemporary Latin-American cities, such as Bogotá, and in Europe, such as Paris and London, indicate the importance of restructuring the capitalist mode of production on the basis of new realities, especially those associated with informational technologies. The main features of this new urban context are admittedly subject to numerous generalizations. Without neglecting the importance of these aspects in the metropolis of São Paulo – since they also provide valuable information on the new process – more attention is given to the specific aspects of this situation of convergence.

The simultaneous reduction in industrial investments, on the one hand, and the growth of the services sector, on the other, has created a new urban panorama in the metropolis of São Paulo. As mentioned above, the process that began in the 1980s in São Paulo has many of the same characteristics as those seen in other large cities, where there are indications of an incipient post-industrial phase. However, although the classification is very similar, these features are not identical because their roles in globalized capitalism are different. Also different are their processes and internal material organizations. It is methodologically important to discuss the specific aspects of the process that is underway in São Paulo because the objective of an urban study with this profile is to contribute to the definition of an agenda for planning and intervention on a metropolitan scale. Although both demographic and territorial aspects of the *metropolitan dimension* are taken up here, it is important to underscore that the aspect of change is only one among many aspects that are analyzed in this paper.

A report published by the United Nations in 2006[8] lists a number of megacities and classifies São Paulo as the fourth largest metropolis in the world, behind Tokyo, New York and Mexico City. This report reinforces the phenomenon of the appearance of urban agglomerations of over ten million inhabitants in various social and economic regions as the most significant feature of the activities and functions that the new economy has made operationally indispensable. However, as is very often pointed out there is need to define the important distinctions between those metropolises that are classified as *global cities,* and those referred to as *megacities.*

Important researchers and authors have sought to broaden the consistency of the current theories and point out directions for the practical application of these two dimensions of the execution, planning and determination of public policies, and have synthesized them into two categories, *plan*s and *projects*. In terms of the theoretical and analytic formulation of political decisions, it is generally held today that urban *plans* and *projects* are equivalent forms of intervention into reality. They are also mutually articulated ways of approaching their subject. Both forms depend directly on the type and degree of knowledge of reality placed at the disposal of those responsible for drawing up, executing and administering broad, multi-sector urban policies.

Endnotes

[1] Site of EMPLASA – **RMSP Indicadores Selecionados 2008**: www.emplasa.sp.gov.br.
[2] http://www.emplasa.sp.gov.br/metropoles/cme.asp
[3] Marcondes, 1995, p. 154.
[4] Site of EMPLASA – **RMSP Indicadores Selecionados 2008**: www.emplasa.sp.gov.br.
[5] Among other projects, it is illustrative to once again cite the Integrated Urban Transportation Plan (PITU 2020), developed jointly by various organs of the São Paulo State Government (CPTM, EMTU and the Metro). As was seen above, plans are for a high-capacity network of transportation on tracks, designed to interconnect railroad lines of the metropolitan train system with the metro
[6] Castells, M. "A sociedade em rede." Paz e Terra. São Paulo. 1999.
[7] Old single-family mansions located in originally wealthy neighborhoods but since transformed into collective housing for the poor. These buildings are frequently referred to as *"casas-de-cômodos ,"* where numerous families share a single bathroom and a single kitchen. It is estimated that 600,000 people live in this type of housing in the central districts of São Paulo.
[8] United Nations Settlements Programme - 2006 - Nairobi, Kenya

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Private ownership of community spaces in master planned estates in Australia: a legacy of neo-liberalism

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Most major Australian cities are growing at a rapid rate. Cities such as Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane are expanding not only in population but also in geographical spread as Australians continue their preference for low density suburban living. New suburban housing is commonly now supplied by large development companies producing integrated master planned estates. This represents a shift from traditional house building to more comprehensive place making. Master planned estates (MPEs) are utilised particularly, but not solely, in the growth areas on the urban fringe. Increasingly, developers are seeking to offer more than simple house and land packages or land alone and are now marketing residential estates that emphasise community, security, a particular lifestyle in a resort environment, or a combination of all three. Aimed particularly at the second or third home buyer with greater disposable income, these estates offer a more comprehensive style of master planned living. They are part of the trend that has seen a growth in developments catering for the more affluent on the urban fringe (Gwyther 2003; Dodson and Berry 2004; Randolph 2004).

New Australian master planned estates might include recreational and community facilities such as golf courses or equestrian facilities, country clubs, water features such as wetlands and landscaped open spaces. Increasingly environmental features including retained native vegetation, water sensitive urban design, or energy efficient buildings are promoted to appeal to particular market segments. However with these additional features can come ownership arrangements of which consumers may have little experience or knowledge. Some of these community assets may in fact be owned by private corporations, however they might also be placed into some form of collective ownership which may mean compulsory membership to legal entities, such as owners' corporations, responsible for ongoing maintenance. In traditional Australian suburban development community assets such as public open space are owned by the local government authority, although it is common for developers to be levied for financial contributions towards their provision. Likewise, recreational facilities are normally planned for and provided by local government. Local councils thus have a relationship with their residents as both service provider and regulator. However where community assets are privately owned this is obviously altered, with residents connection to council, and therefore to other parts of the community, more distant.

This paper addresses aspects of the trend to place assets in various forms of private ownership which ensures that their use is exclusively for residents only. This has a number of implications relating to separation from the wider community. It also requires a greater degree of contact and cooperation amongst members of the community, and therefore has the potential to lead to greater degrees of conflict over asset management, than would traditional forms of public ownership (Goodman and Douglas

2007). In this paper we investigate the manner in which these estates are promoted, and the extent to which people buying into the estate might be reasonably expected to be aware of their legal obligations and some of the potential implications arising from these structures. This is done through an analysis of five case studies of MPEs in Melbourne which highlight a range of different assets and arrangements. The MPEs we investigate all utilise owners' corporations (previously called bodies corporate in Victoria), with shared assets that would in more traditional suburban developments remain in public hands. The particular legal structures are explored and presented here as exemplars that may well become standard practice in the near future.

Master planned estates in Australia

Much of the literature on master planned estates has been concerned with the exclusionary nature of some, particularly those at the higher end of the market, and in particular the phenomena of the security inspired gated communities (Blakely and Snyder 1997; Low 2003; Atkinson and Flint 2004; Rofe 2006). Predominant here are studies form North America (Blakely and Snyder 1997; Grant 2004; Sanchez et al. 2005) or Britain (Blandy et al. 2003; Atkinson et al. 2004; Atkinson and Blandy 2005) but there have recently been a number of contributions exploring the Australian context, some of which we outline here. However, the issues we report on in this paper are less well researched in the Australian context overall.

Most scholars writing on MPEs in Australia utilise the definition provided by Minnery and Bajracharya (1999). These authors refer to master planned communities and define them as large scale, private sector driven, integrated housing developments on greenfield suburban sites, which usually include a mix of housing types, open space and recreational, commercial and service facilities and sometimes employment opportunities. McGuirk and Dowling (2007) draw a distinction between master planned estates and communities, defining the former to be "large scale, integrated housing developments produced by single development entities that include the provision of physical and social infrastructure, and that are predominantly located on the growth frontier or city fringe" (2007 p.22). Master planned communities are similarly large scale but with a greater emphasis on comprehensive planning. Freestone (Freestone 2003 p. 1) defines them as "forms of development usually organised around a complete and manicured living package of house, land, open space and community facilities". Gwyther (2005) accepts Minnery and Bajracharya's (1999) definition but notes that there is a spectrum that can range from those with more orientation on actual facilities such as the golf course estates - aimed at people looking for a lifestyle rather than community as such - to the comprehensive master planned community with greater 'value adding' beyond simply the design and layout. Gwyther (2005 p.59) considers that "value adding refers here to the additional capital investment in design features and community facilities often absent in more conventional residential developments". She includes in this elements such as ostentatious entry points, artificial lakes, community gardens and open space, bike tracks, community centres, tennis courts, golf courses, community newsletters and community development programs.

Arguably, the most significant difference from the traditional suburb is the conscious attempt to create community. Eves (2007 p. 165) considers that this new form of estate can comprise some or all of the following: security services, including in some cases full gates and restricted access; recreational facilities such a golf course, gyms, swimming pools etc; and natural or man-made surroundings such as bushland, parks or water features. The cost of these services is borne by the purchaser with "the developer providing a lifestyle as well as a home". Much of the literature on MPEs has explored issues of community creation and social exclusion. Not all of this literature is critical of the current approach to the development of MPEs. Minnery and Bajracharya (1999 p. 41) consider that there are substantial advantages to this type of development in that it enables orderly growth, private funding for infrastructure, security, certainty for investors and economies of scale. Costley (2006) although not entirely uncritical, sees MPEs as an opportunity to ensure better planned and integrated communities with a greater degree of social coherence. However, other writers critique MPEs in relation to the issue of social coherence and community as they may encourage an exclusivity and lack of integration with the wider and more diverse community. Kenna (2007) found evidence of deliberate encouragement of socio-spatial polarisation in her case study of a Sydney MPE. She suggests that the exclusivity of some of these developments is driven more by security concerns than race or ethnic segregation as it might be in the US. McGuirk and Dowling (2007) have also focused on MPEs in Sydney. They consider that Sydney has relatively few truly gated communities and that those that do exist are probably more motivated by a sense of status aspiration than a true fear of crime. Bosman (2003) also expressed concerns about exclusion with her work on a South Australian MPE.

The degree of control exercised by developers over form and function of their estates can be criticised for the propensity to lead to a repressive degree of uniformity. Gwyther (2005) sees the origins of these types of developments in the garden city movement. She considers that they involve an anti-urban romanticised view of social harmony and a compulsory adherence by residents to a set of social standards determined by the developer. "These standards implicitly include notions of civil behaviour, pride in housing and in the estate, and most importantly, abiding by the estate's restrictive covenants, regulations and social norms", (2005 p. 57). Gleeson provides a scathing critique of these developments labeling them 'privatopias'. He contends that the prevalent general preference for private facilities over the public is fed by a combination of both security concerns and aspirations in potential buyers. He is concerned about the perpetuation of a culture of anxiety which "might well be dissipated if we were to re-establish public spaces, facilities and services that invite participation and interaction by all" (Gleeson 2003). Following her identification of the range of assets and facilities 'value added' by developers, Gwyther (2005 p. 59) points out that this practice is "an appropriation of the role of local government by MPC developers, and is indicative of the 'privatism' underpinning such developments".

In some circumstances assets and facilities that would normally be in council hands are actually owned by a private company. This choice of legal entity appears most commonly when the asset can be run on a commercial basis for profit, such as a golf

course. In other estates however owners' corporations, or bodies corporate, are created to hold title of the communal assets. Owners' corporations have been used for an extended period in Australia in developments such as multi-unit flats or apartments where there is shared property, such as driveways or stairwells, in common (Consumer Affairs Victoria 2006). Usually, purchase of a property where an owners' corporation exists involves compulsory membership of the owners' corporation, for which an annual fee is required. This trend in shared property in MPEs appears to be an expansion of this role involving more complex and valuable assets, and covering a range of property that is traditionally managed by councils. Architectural controls of the estate, in the form of building guidelines and regulations on ancillary issues such as colours, fencing and letter boxes often utilise an owners' corporation as the mechanism to approve and enforce requirements. This is also an important issue but not one that we will pursue in this paper. The issue is pursued in our larger research project.

The research reported on in the present paper is part of a larger investigation into forms of ownership in MPEs in Australia. Our empirical investigations of the five case studies detailed here, show a range of assets and a variation in the use of this ownership mechanism, and a fairly consistent approach to the marketing of these MPEs. In this paper we explore not only what the arrangements are in these new estates, but the ways in which they are promoted, in order to assess how much of this could be expected to be understood by the potential buyer. The work is motivated by two concerns. Firstly we share with Gleeson (2003) and many of the other critics, a concern for the social implications which flow from a form of urban development emphasising segregation and difference, drawing upon both lifestyle aspirations and generalised anxiety. Secondly, we are concerned for the many potential consequences from the practice of privatised ownership itself. These include the potential for ongoing community conflict in the management of these assets, the possibility of inadequate financial resources to maintain complex assets and a likely alteration of the relationship with local government and the wider community stemming from this organization of assets. Previous research (Goodman and Douglas 2007; UNSW 2008; Blandy et al 2006) has suggested that the reality of life within estates where significant assets are placed in owners' corporation rather than public hands may be quite at odds with the harmonious image of community frequently promoted.

Land use planning in Melbourne and the effects of neo-liberalism

The current system of planning and land use regulation in the state of Victoria was introduced more than a decade ago as part of a suite of changes brought in by the Kennett state government, heavily influenced by neo-liberalism (Alford and Considine 1994; Salvaris 1995; Hayward 1997; Costar and Economou 1999; O'Neill 1999; Engels 2000; Gleeson and Low 2000; Gleeson and Low 2000a). It widely understood that widespread adoption of neo-liberalism involved substantial change to the notion of governance, that is, of what governments do, and for the role of government in the land use planning system. The key tenets of neo-liberalism, as applied to the task of governance, include: the reduction of public sector expenditure, taxation and indebtedness; privatisation of government assets; competitive tendering for many

government tasks; and the removal of constraints on the operations of the market through deregulation, particularly of the labour market and the financial system, (Bell 1997 p. 130-4). Neo-liberalism established the primacy of economics as the major determinant in public policy, and this has flowed through to the planning, where emphasis has been placed on development facilitation rather than regulation, particularly in response to increased urban entrepreneurialism and city competition (Gleeson and Low 2000).

Urban planning, which can be seen as a classic nation building activity, essentially interventionist in nature, with a sense of collective and societal good rather than individual benefit, is fundamentally at odds with many elements of neo-liberalist ideology. Gleeson and Low, (2000 p. 172), went so far as to suggest that "neo-liberalism abhors planning". Healey (1997) described neo-liberalism as a reduction in the role of formal government. She contends that a neo-liberal approach to planning involves a shift from a policy framework which involves regulation and a spatial plan to one based on outputs and performance indicators. She has also pointed to the connection between a market-based, deregulated system and powerful property interests which can help shape and benefit from a more liberal planning regime. The planning system adopted in Victoria in 1996, known as the Victoria Planning Provisions (VPP) fitted well within this deregulatory agenda, removing a great deal of regulatory certainty and control from local government (Buxton et al. 2005). The system is one in which the state government, (principally responsible for planning under the Australian federal system) provides overall strategic direction and a standardised suite of regulatory tools, whilst delegating day to day administration to local government.

Recent analysis of the role of neo-liberalism in Australian planning has attempted to move away from a simplistic narrative of a historic shift from a Keysian-Fordist approach to government in Australia to a uniform neo-liberal climate of deregulation and small government, suggesting that approaches are more uneven and locally varied (O'Neill and Moore 2005). McGuirk (2005) argues in this context that recent metropolitan plans for Sydney show both elements of the classic neo-liberal rolling back of the state, and the rolling out of new forms of regulation and governance arrangements including the many variants of public-private partnerships. McGuirk suggests that the new neo-liberalist planning approaches in Sydney included a de-emphasising of detailed spatial planning, and an emphasis on flexible, place specific planning. "Spatial blue print planning was increasingly viewed as inappropriate to the dynamic uncertainty and complexity for the globalised city and its related need for adaptiveness" (2005 p. 63). Thus some of the larger aspirations for planning, such as a commitment to mitigating spatial inequality, are being lost in the detail of individually negotiated plans and special arrangements with particular developers.

The increased spread of a range of ownership arrangements, including the increasing tendency in MPEs for communal assets to be in private rather than public hands, can be seen as deriving from the neo-liberalist agenda in several ways. Firstly it indicates a willingness on the part of government to allow private ownership of community assets in order to reduce ongoing government financial responsibility, and shift if liability and risk

on to the private sector. Secondly, it demonstrates a move away from involvement in the detail of planning, away from blue print planning, in favour of outcomes-oriented planning. Thirdly, it highlights the primacy of the individually negotiated agreement between developer and local government, between developer and consumer and ultimately between residents of MPEs themselves.

Methodology

Content analysis was the methodology chosen to investigate the nature of information contained on MPE websites dealing with legal structures and in particular owners' corporations. Bryman (2004 p.183) defines content analysis as, "an approach to the analysis of documents and texts that seeks to quantify content in terms of predetermined categories in a systematic and replicable manner". We utilised this in order to analyse the kind of information available to potential consumers of house and land, or land alone, in MPEs that include complex legal structures such as owners' corporations and corporations to hold assets. MPE websites are a major source of advertising for the sale of house and land packages and development lots, with other types of advertising commonly including television, radio and print media. Websites are likely to be consulted by a significant percentage of consumers. They have the potential to contain greater detail than other forms of advertising or promotion. The use and content of websites is being increasingly analysed in social science research (Bryman 2004, p. 467). They are now recognised as legitimate sources of data and combine with content analysis to provide an insight into the framing of selected issues, such as the representation of legal structures to potential consumers of products in an MPE. A drawback of research involving websites is the capacity of these sites to change without notice. Thus the research findings of any project must be subject to the caveat that the research is accurate only for the period of data collection (Bryman 2004).

Although details regarding legal structures are generally available to the purchaser prior to the signing of contract, (in Victoria this is a requirement of recent legislation), our research focused upon an early point in the decision making process to purchase property within an MPE. In doing this we sought to establish the degree of forewarning that potential customers might have of the more complex legal structures, and the nature of the information relating to these, in the early stages of their inspection and investigation. Similar concerns have been raised in relation to research upon MPEs in England and New Zealand (Blandy et al) and in NSW (UNSW 2008). It is reasonable to suggest that information might be most useful to the decision making process at this early stage as by the time a contract of sale is viewed potential consumers are likely to be emotionally committed to the purchase and thus less likely to be able to appreciate possible disadvantages of legal structures. Advertising for MPEs is often aimed at engendering an emotional response, promoting not only the product, i.e. the house and land, but a particular lifestyle which might be assumed to come with them. Rosenblatt (2005) has argued that our homes now reflect an important part of our sense of identity and status. The extent to which advertising for MPEs that focus upon community assets also include details of the legal structures that are used to hold these assets was also investigated.

The data presented in this paper was gathered between January and March 2007. The five MPEs investigated here were chosen firstly on the basis of the developer providing a detailed website (a common occurrence in Victorian developments). Secondly, prior scoping research had established that assets, including facilities and open spaces, were included in MPEs in Victoria and that these assets were commonly held in owners' corporation or private company arrangements (Goodman and Douglas 2007). The five MPEs were chosen to give a geographical spread within and around metropolitan Melbourne, predominantly on the urban fringe as that is the most common location for estates of this type. All the estates are a considerable distance from the Melbourne CBD. The data was analysed under a number of headings which included master planning, lifestyle and resort living, open areas, community, facilities/leisure and security and exclusivity. The category of legal structures was the prime category explored and each of the other categories was considered in relation to this issue. For each category an analysis of content was undertaken (both in visual images and text) and the secondary question of where the information appeared on the web page was noted.

In addition to website content analysis we sought qualitative data by contacting the five MPEs that are the subject of our research by telephone, email or both telephone and email. We made contact with the sales office of each MPE in order to gain more detailed information about the legal structure of each development. The research questions to be answered included:

1. What discussion of 'lifestyle' assets (particularly resort style) held by the body corporate (owners' corporation) or other legal entity appear on the websites of the selected MPEs?

2. What are the legal structures utilized for ownership of the community assets in the selected MPEs?

3. What information of these legal ownership structures is available on the websites of the selected MPEs or provided by a follow up contact with the MPE sales office by telephone or email?

Promotion of lifestyle assets on the case study MPE websites

Unsurprisingly, the community assets which could be seen as lifestyle enhancing within the case study estates were described in very favourable terms in the text and visual documents stored on each website. The lifestyle and resort living promoted on the MPE websites generally identified improved living arrangements through resort, or in one instance 'escape', facilities. The range of facilities in the five case studies included golf courses, gymnasiums, tennis courts, and an equestrian facility. These are summarised in Table 1 below. Each opening page of the MPE websites referred to 'lifestyle' or 'resort living' either explicitly or implicitly. Clearly, the developers saw this theme as important in constructing these sites. The information is targeted to prospective purchasers who wish to buy into an established area with facilities, rather than merely a

house and land package in an otherwise sparse new area. Considerable emphasis within the websites was placed on the lifestyle and resort features. Sanctuary Lakes Resort, an MPE that includes a golf course, swimming pool, tennis courts, gym and restaurant, describes itself as providing a 'lifestyle opportunity' in the western fringe of Melbourne in Victoria. The opening web-page includes the following text.

> *Sanctuary Lakes Resort takes resort style living to a new level. Set around an 18 hole Greg Norman design golf course and 168 acres of lake at Point Cook, Sanctuary Lakes Resort boasts an unparalleled selection of residential land in a stunning natural, environmentally friendly setting next door to a bird sanctuary, nature reserve and Port Phillip Bay. Outstanding home sites with golf frontages, lake views and parkside locations are only part of the story… Sanctuary Lakes Resort is a self-contained lifestyle enclave where residents are members of an exclusive club.*

In the Sands, on the urban fringe near the beach area of Torquay in Victoria, the opening page of the website proclaims it as 'a stunning new resort located in Torquay, at the Gateway to Victoria's Great Ocean Road.' The focus of the opening page is upon the resort hotel, a major hotel complex that is part of this development. The estate also includes a golf course. On the opening page links are provided to other pages of the website describing in more detail the lifestyle facilities.

> *The estate boasts a $12m club house featuring a 25m four lane lap pool, tennis courts, gym, 300+ restaurant, spike bar and pro shop. And $25 million 112 room residential hotel Peppers The Sands Resort.*

Under another section of the website further information is given to potential purchasers of the resort style facilities, emphasizing their exclusivity.

> *The fully equipped gymnasium and 25 metre lap pool is the centrepiece for this incredible recreational area. The Health club is a 'Members Only' facility offering fully trained gym staff and all the state-of-the-art gymnasium equipment, making this a great place to exercise, while overlooking the practice areas of the golf course.*

Sandhurst estate in the south east of Melbourne (approximately 35 kms from the CBD on the urban fringe) also promises resort-style enjoyment for those who purchase.

> *Designed for those who aspire to the best in life, Sandhurst Club is Melbourne's first totally private master-planned club community. Exclusive yet affordable, private yet welcoming, conveniently located yet removed from the worries of the world. It's an unparalleled lifestyle offering residential and golf members all the benefits of a private club — beautifully landscaped, environmentally friendly surroundings using recycled water, a wealth of recreational facilities including two Peter Thomson designed championship golf courses, Health Club with gymnasium, indoor pool and tennis courts, clubhouse with cafe, bar and*

restaurant, and a level of personal concierge service you'd expect from a club of such high quality.

Martha Cove also claims to be unparalleled.

There is nothing like Martha Cove. It is a lifestyle concept that is unique in every sense. As a location, Martha Cove provides much more than just a place to live, work or set your boat adrift. It also provides access to the beach, and transcends architectural and lifestyle boundaries in a harmonious village atmosphere.

Eynesbury estate promotes a focus on lifestyle as an 'escape' from conventional urban living through a return to a notionally 'country' lifestyle. Here the natural environment is promoted as the vehicle of escape, and environmental features are highlighted prominently on the website. All the estates promoted elements of the natural environment, perhaps proximity to beaches or native trees, but only this estate contributed to the preservation of a significant, environmentally sensitive asset, a Grey Box Forest. The Eynesbury website emphasises the notion of escape through flash text appearing and pictures of idyllic country setting. The lifestyle represented is a peaceful and tranquil environment that residents can escape to and be enriched by. The opening page of the website has a button 'Escape to Eynesbury' and the linked page provides the following text.

It begins with an enchanting drive through an ancient forest that cleanses your mind and revitalises the spirit. It continues as you return home to relax with your family and friends in a place you can truly call your own. Just imagine being able to raise your family in a superbly planned residential community that combines the peace and tranquility of a country town with all the sophistication of city living.

This advocacy of the best elements of city and country is reminiscent of Garden City ideals, as is the estates isolation from any contiguous urban settlement (Howard 1945). Eynesbury includes the development of a town centre, a golf course, a hotel and conference facility, an equestrian centre with horse trails and open areas and significant grasslands Grey Box Forest. There is also an agribusiness. Attributes of the various estates are summarised in Table 1 below.

Local Government	Estate	Developer	MPE characteristics and size (when complete)	Legal Structures (gained through perusal of websites and contact with Sales Offices)	Legal Structure information on Website (including location)	Information from enquiry to Sales Office by telephone or email
Wyndham	Sanctuary Lakes[1][2]	LinksLiving	Security emphasis, 24 hr security guards, golf course and lake, gated sections. 2,700 lots	Owners' corporation for recreational facilities and corporation for the holding of the golf course.	Provision of constitution of the public company and two annual reports under the Members button on the website. No explanation of legal structures or a summary fact sheet.	The owners' corporation fee includes maintenance of the lake, access to facilities (including pool) including the golf club, restaurant, function room and bar access but not fees for playing golf. Owners' corporation fee is $1,500 annually or $2800 for gated section.
Melton and Wyndham	Eynesbury http://www.eynesbury.com.au/	Eynesbury Development Joint Venture	Lifestyle oriented, recreation and open space facilities. New urbanist design. Golf course. Development of a town as well as a primary school. 2,900 lots	Incorporated Association as mechanism for contributions from owners' corporation to the upkeep of environmental areas including Grey Box forest and grasslands.	Provision of summary fact sheet. Detail provided of owners' corporation and incorporated association. The link to the fact sheet is gained through a button on the first page headed 'owners association'.	The owners' corporation fee is for the upkeep of common reserves and nature areas and a shuttle bus which will run until a commercial bus company provides transport. The fee is $25.00 a week. When queried regarding the incorporated association the response was that the incorporated association was the owners' corporation.
Bass Coast	The Sands http://www.thesandstorquay.com/welcome/index.mhtml	Mirvac	Lifestyle orientated resort style with facilities incl. gym, pool and tennis courts, security patrolling Golf course with own club house (the club house includes its gym, indoor pool, practice facilities, bar and restaurant.) 200 lots and a	Owners' corporation for leisure facilities and corporation for the holding of the golf course.	No information provided	There are two owners' corporations – one for house and land and one for apartment property. Land: covered in owners' corporation fee are 2x membership to gym, pool, tennis at $1758 per yr, This gives cheaper house and contents insurance, discount at restaurant on site, access to nature strips, covers the cost of the Architectural Review Committee Apartment: investment only; you become part of the hotel. There is a guaranteed min return. You can stay for up to 28 days per year. The body corporate fee is $4,800.00.

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[1] These are offered to the public for investment and leased back. Owner can stay in investment property for only a few weeks of the year.

			proposed 168 condominiums and 112 apartment residential hotel[1]			
Frankston	Sandhurst http://www.sandhurst.com/	Links living	Lifestyle orientated resort style with facilities incl. two golf courses. Clubhouse with health club, indoor pool, tennis courts, café, bar and restaurant. Golf retail shop and headquarters of Australian PGA. Size not specified.	One body corporate Two public corporations, Sandhurst Holding Company and Sandhurst Club	PDF of constitutions of the two public corporations provided under the 'members' button on the website. No explanation of legal structures or a summary fact sheet.	The owners' corporation fee is $2,300 per annum which includes and covers gym, pool, tennis, golf club but not gold membership, access to recycled water, and a levy to general maintenance. There is 24 hours security coverage in the estate. There is only one owners' corporation. The cost of owners' corporation rates do not vary according to land packages
Morning-ton Peninsula	Martha Cove[3][4]	City Pacific Limited	Lifestyle oriented with resort style including waterfront marina luxury lifestyle development. Some freehold marina berths for purchase or lease. 1,000 lots	Owners' corporations for Marina development waterways, boardwalk, roads, landscape and conservation areas. Swimming pool, bocce and yoga lawn	No information provided	Owners' corporation fees range from $5,000 to $9,000 per year. There is one full-time owners' corporation Management team on site at the estate. Membership of the owners' corporation gives - Maintenance of car spaces. - Maintenance of swimming pool and gymnasium - Maintenance of lift - Maintenance of all waterways (pumping and filtration systems), public garden, board walk, revetment walls. - Includes building insurance and public liability - 24 hour monitored security

Table 1: Summary of information on privatised assets in five case study estates

Presentation of legal ownership structures on websites or through other information

As indicated on Table 1 all of the five MPEs chosen included an owners' corporation (previously known as body corporate and often still referred to as such by these developers) and most also included a private corporation structure. Eynesbury included an owners' corporation and an incorporated association. The table provides a summary of the appearance of information about legal structures on the websites (including location) and information gained from the MPE sales offices.

The gathering of the data for these five case studies provided some information regarding legal structures but overall the detail provided could be said to be sketchy. We noted a discrepancy in most websites between the degree that they reported upon these benefits of these facilities and the degree that they provided detail of the legal structures that held these assets. When we inquired about the legal structures we were frequently provided information about what residents received for the owner's corporation fees, rather than what the corporation actually owned. For example, fees at Sanctuary Lakes include provision for maintenance of the lake, but it was not clear whether that meant that all residents were therefore part owners in the lake. In contrast to the primacy given to a description of facilities that enhance lifestyle, the legal structure information was either absent from the websites or minimal information was provided. The exception was Eynesbury, which provided considerable detail and placed this information behind a button on the first page of the website where an extensive fact sheet was located. This sheet explained the difference between the legal structures of an incorporated association and an owners' corporation and further advised that prospective purchasers should seek legal advice. The heading given on the web page however was not legal structures but instead the button was termed 'owners association' arguably making it harder to identify the information. Interestingly, when speaking with the sales office of the Eynesbury estate the information provided was the least accurate as the sales representative stated that the body corporate and the incorporated association were the same legal entity. From the website information this assertion is clearly incorrect.

It may be the Eynesbury provided detailed website information due to the atypical legal structures adopted by the developer. The incorporated association seems to be the vehicle for maintaining the environmentally sensitive Grey Box Forest and grasslands. The owners' corporation contributes to the environment maintenance through making payments to the incorporated association. The incorporated association can include non body corporate members such as councils. The fact sheet noted however that ownership of the forest and grasslands did not presently rest with the incorporated association but remained with a pastoral company and that access to the forest and grasslands may be restricted according to environmental assessments. This is a particularly complex web of legal structures for consumers to enter into as part of buying a house and land package.

Other structures found amongst our case study estates were also relatively complex in their organization. The information on two of the websites, Sanctuary Lakes Estate and Sandhurst, included the constitutions of corporations that appear to hold the golf courses that are part of these estates. However, there is no detailed explanation of the relationship between the corporations and the body corporate. There is no detail regarding the body corporate at all on these sites, although the sales offices were relatively forthcoming regarding information about the owners' corporations. Presumably, corporations hold the golf courses to allow non-residents to join the club and to allow residents who hold shares (there are a number of categories) to sell or lease their club rights. However, this is an assumption that is not explicitly referred to on the websites. Indeed merely including a complex legal document such as a corporation's constitution on a website does not appear to us to be a helpful method of assisting understanding of the legal structures on an estate. The Sands, which includes the resort hotel, had little information available on the website, but did provide a relatively detailed fact sheet after an email query. Similarly, the Martha Cove development did not provide information on the website, but was forthcoming when a telephone enquiry was made. No fact sheet was provided to assist understanding about Martha Cove.

None of the legal structures of the five MPEs that we studied could be described as simple. This was to be expected as we have deliberately chosen MPEs with more complex structures. For example, in the constitution of the Sandhurst Club, a golf club on the Sandhurst estate, there are a number of membership classes of the club; some of which relate to residency. This constitution is available on the website and in one section, dealing with membership eligibility (Sandhurst 2005, p. 16), reads as follows:

> *Any person who is entitled to become the registered owner of a Lot*
>
> *For the purposes of this sub-clause 11.4.21., a person is regarded as being entitled to become the registered proprietor of a lot if that person can satisfy the Board that they are in possession of an executed transfer of land capable of registration at the Lands Title Office that will enable them to be recorded as the registered proprietor (whether individually or jointly) of that Lot .*

We, as researchers (some with legal training), were at times struggling to understand these legal structures and therefore must indicate that whilst we believe the descriptions provided in this paper to be accurate, but cannot guarantee it. In order to be sure that we have an accurate sense of the legal structures in each estate we would need to gain access to the contracts for the land or house and land where disclosure would be mandatory. Our sense of confusion about these legal structures must surely be mirrored in potential purchasers' minds. This raises the question whether, at an early stage, these possible buyers are forewarned of the complexity of the legal structures that they may enter into when purchasing their dream lifestyle.

Privatized Communities

This form of development, the master planned estate, appears to be growing not only in Australia but around the world. There are many reasons why the presentation of these housing options as offering a whole lifestyle and ready made community might be very attractive to buyers. These include the desire for people in cities to feel they belong to a community, nostalgia for some of the (real or imagined) values of small town existence, the balance of attributes of city and country, or simply the added extra facilities that appear to offer a higher standard of living than the average person can normally afford. Developers are providing the types of facilities seen in our case studies in part because there are few pre-existing facilities in the green field sites on the metropolitan fringe, and local government has become increasingly unwilling or unable to provide them, or at least to the standard that developers would like. Eynesbury estate is a fairly extreme example of this, where the developers' website claims that they are constructing a whole new town. This is in part due to its complete isolation from any existing developed area and therefore from any transport and community services, and one reason why its original approval was controversial (Buxton and Goodman 2003).

The retreat from public provision of recreational, community and even transport facilities, is in part an effect of nearly two decades of neo-liberalism, and partly a genuine financial shortage as local government in Australia has to provide more and more with less (Dollery et al. 2006) (transport provision remains a state responsibility in Australia). Developers are therefore stepping into the breech, arguably in their own self-interest, and may offer design features in the assets superior to what is usually provided by government or councils (UNSW 2008). This form of value enhancement is clearly very marketable and attractive to buyers but we question whether the public are really getting a fair choice. If they were to choose between an estate with facilities and one without, then one suspects the decision would be obvious, provided the cost differential wasn't too substantial. However, choice between an area with local recreational and community facilities provided by a public authority might also be attractive, especially as most residents of either type of estate still have to pay rates to the local council in Victoria, but only residents of MPEs with owners' corporations have to pay the additional corporation fees. We only know of one estate, Sanctuary Lakes, where residents receive a rate reduction because their community open space is privately owned and maintained (Goodman and Douglas 2007).

Conclusions

It would seem unlikely that the average consumer will be aware of any of the potential problems with participation in an owners' corporation, as these arrangements in housing estates are relatively new in Australia. From our investigations there is a great variability in the amount of information on ownership forms available to the public considering buying property within one of these estates. Details provided are often complex and hard to understand, and much of this information was only supplied when specifically requested.

Research has shown that these forms of private ownership are fraught with potential for future conflict amongst residents over management of assets, particularly where as the estate expands, the original facilities prove inadequate and there are limited opportunities of financing an expansion (Goodman and Douglas 2007). There would appear to be a certain irony in the conflict that can arise in estates through the ownership arrangements of assets designed in part to enhance a sense of community. However once put in place these complex forms of ownership are hard to change. The arrangements over owners corporations in Victoria in particular are can be very difficult to alter requiring agreement from, in some cases, 75 %, or in others an impossible 100% of owners, with non-voters considered to be endorsing the status quo. Recently, in an attempt to make the arrangements in owners corporations more flexible new legislation allows for an opportunity in limited circumstances to overcome these voting requirements through interim special resolutions or where a 100% vote is required the opportunity to apply to a tribunal, the Victorian Civil and Administrative Tribunal, for an exemption from the requirement for an unanimous resolution. This opportunity requires litigation and is therefore not likely to be commonly used.

We suggest that caution should be exercised by government decision makers approving these new arrangements. Whilst the private provision and ownership of community assets may be initially attractive to local governments with tight budgets, this retreat from public provision may be an unfortunate legacy of an area of market dominated planning which will be regretted in years to come.

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[3] Additional information obtained from http://www.marthacove.com.au/

[4] Additional information obtained from http://www.marthacove.com.au/

The private university and the public good: Illinois Institute of Technology, the South Side Planning Board, and urban renewal in postwar Chicago

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On April 12, 1947, Robert E. Garrigan, Executive Director of Chicago's South Side Planning Board (SSPB), forwarded a draft of a speech he had been working on to Dr. Henry Heald, President of Illinois Institute of Technology and Chairman of the SSPB. It was clear from the attached memorandum that Garrigan was quite proud of the speech, which Heald was to present at an upcoming event. "I will not brag about its organization," wrote Garrigan, "but I think it will make good newspaper copy."

The speech laid out the mission statement of the newly organized SSPB, a group that, concerned about urban blight in the area between 12th Street and 47th Street (east of the Pennsylvania Railroad), had come together just one year earlier. "[T]he simple fact remains," wrote Garrigan, "that Chicago is rotting away." Referencing a map highlighting vacant land in the organization's area of concern, Garrigan found that "It is easy to see by looking at this map how rot is covering the entire South Side and growing and spreading away from the center of the city leaving devastation, disorganization, crime and lost lives and investments in its wake." Yet even such visual aids could not adequately represent the sheer horror of Chicago's streets. Making an incredible comparison, Garrigan found that

> This picture of destroyed buildings and homes is worse than any picture of London destruction by the German Air Raids of the last war. The lost lives, human misery and financial loss caused by blight in Chicago in the past 25 years has probably far surpassed the destruction caused by the atom bomb on Hiroshima. Because blight doesn't happen all in one day, with a lot of drama, but instead creeps on us until it strangles us without our knowing it, we give it no attention."[1]

Despite the enormity of the problem, though, Garrigan did not feel that all hope was lost. To Garrigan, the solution to urban blight could be found in the world of modern urban planning, a world that would help lead to "a definite and sound policy for replanning and rebuilding Chicago" (or, as Garrigan prophetically warned, "someday there will be no Chicago."). First and foremost, this was a project that would require incredible skill and expertise, as "[t]here are very few laymen and in fact not many technicians in the field of urban redevelopment who understand its full scope and significance." And such experts had to engage in large-scale planning, planning that dealt with every aspect of the urban dweller's life – and not just the immediate problem of adequate housing for south side residents. "It is our position," wrote Garrigan on this subject, "that it is just as important to the welfare and future prosperity of this city to plan where the people will work as it is to plan where they will live." [2]

To SSPB leaders – which included representatives from many nearby institutions and organizations – there was a clear public need for a "crusade" to contain the spread of creeping blight in Chicago, a crusade that could only be won through the implementation of a new public/private partnership that re-imagined the public good in the urban center. The driving force behind such efforts was the private university IIT, whose leaders and faculty members played vital roles within the SSPB. It was such individuals that called for the university and its private-sector allies to take full advantage of federal urban renewal grants and programs in their fight against urban decay and disorder on Chicago's near South Side. This essay focuses upon this relationship between the school and the redevelopment group, and hopes to show how these parties attempted to forge a new relationship within the postwar era that renegotiated the boundaries between public and private in their struggle to create a new understanding of the public good within the city.

This search for consensus and cooperation between the public and private sectors became a crucial component within the world of postwar American liberalism, and a close examination of the world of the SSPB provides one with a specific representation of liberal values and strategies during this important historical moment. Holding this relationship together – at least in the arena of urban redevelopment and renewal – was a confidence in the power of modernism, both in the realms of architecture[3] and urban planning. The clean, abstract lines and carefully proportioned spaces associated with modern urban planning provided both IIT and the SSPB the antidote for the urban disorder that seemed to be surrounding them on all sides. The leaders of such institutions wholeheartedly embraced modern urban planning as early as the 1940s, and a commitment to modernism became a central tenet in the process of defining the urban public good. Such a strategy played a crucial role in the urban renewal efforts that Chicago would implement throughout the postwar era.

Yet there was more to this embrace of modern urban planning than such a clear-cut contrast between perceived urban order and disorder. In addition to putting the liberal reliance on the public/private partnership on display, the turn to the modern within urban planning also came to serve as a physical representation of the values of postwar American liberalism, values that liberal university leaders (and many within the surrounding community) wholeheartedly endorsed and believed was their mission to teach to the young people of the United States. Modern urban planning – with its predilection for large-scale projects, its commitment to consensus and rationality, its embrace of expertise and specialization, its distrust of history, its vision of an evolving administrative state, and its deification of technology (among others) – proved a perfect fit not only for the broader vision of American liberalism, but also for the way many liberal leaders were coming to view the city within the postwar era. The push to suburbanize urban space and have the city serve the automobile – popular thoughts among many urban liberals – were key tenets of modern urban planning, as practiced within the SSPB and elsewhere. The actual plan of the urban university and its immediate surroundings can be read as a concrete articulation of both the values of American liberalism, and the way that liberals pictured the ideal public good in

America's cities. Such a marriage between modernism and liberalism would have tremendous repercussions for the broad arc of twentieth-century US history.

Fighting the fight against blight: the birth and evolution of the South Side Planning Board (SSPB)

In 1945, Michael Reese Hospital, centered on 29th Street and Ellis Avenue, established a group called the South Side Redevelopment Agency and provided the agency with a planning staff under the direction of Reginald R. Isaacs. The reasons for such a strategy were highly based on the desire for self-preservation: The hospital didn't want to lose its $10,000,000 investment to the urban blight that seemed to be moving in on its property. At the same time, the hospital knew that it would need to expand in the near future. Understanding that such an endeavor could profit through partnership, Michael Reese Hospital reached out to other area institutions, organizations, and individuals also concerned with the viability of south side stability and development. [4] By the summer of 1946 the group had a new name – the South Side Planning Board – and had been incorporated in the state of Illinois as a non-profit organization designed "To aid in the planning and carrying out of a program of development of the Central South Side area of the City of Chicago."

And who made up the SSPB? According to a list of those present at a spring 1947 meeting, representatives from IIT, Michael Reese Hospital, NAACP, University of Chicago, Chicago Memorial Hospital, Chicago Federation of Labor, American Society of Planning Officials, Chicago Urban League, Chicago Building Congress, Inc., and the Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago were in attendance. Members also came from prominent railroad companies (New York Central, Pennsylvania, and Illinois Central, to name a few), corporations (Hydrox, Walgreen Company, Marshall Field and Company, Eastman Kodak Company, and Mentzer-Bush Company), and many other organizations, both governmental and private. As the group grew in membership and influence, it was in constant contact and partnership with many key Chicago governmental offices. The group seemed to highlight the public/private blend of postwar liberalism perfectly: members saw the need for governmental aid and assistance, but still believed that the private sector had a vital role to play in tackling the crucial issues of the day. Yet there was one group that was underrepresented during the early efforts of the SSPB: African-Americans. Interestingly, this fact that did not go unnoticed by group's leaders: In an undated "Prospective Members" document the group noted that – in order for their efforts to appear legitimate in the eyes of local community members – the organization must include "Representatives of the Negro Community." Such individuals as Earl Dickerson, Oscar DePriest, Horace Cayton, Rep. William L. Dawson, and Metz Lochard (editor of the *Chicago Defender*) were suggested as potential members.[5]

Yet internal documents from the group reveal the struggles that the organization faced in convincing African Americans that they were on their side. In December 1947, SSPB hired an African-American man named William Hill to work for the organization as Director of Community Relations. Wilford G. Winholtz, then serving as Acting Executive

Director of SSPB, told Walter H. Blucher, Executive Director of the American Society of Planning Officials and SSPB consultant, that he thought Hill might work out because "He is a real dark Negro…" Such racial dynamics, present early in the group's history, would foreshadow the problems that the SSPB would have concerning race as their plans for the south side of Chicago continued to evolve. Put another way, how many voices should contribute to the effort to redefine the public good within the city? [6]

The SSPB started off as a rather streamlined group, but quickly grew to become more and more bureaucratic. By June 1947 the group featured the following committees: Membership Committee, Forum Committee, Planning Committee (which had four sub-committees: Planning Coordination, Utilities, Use and Value Survey, Graphic Representation), Committee on Industrial Development (three sub-committees), Local Services Committee, Committee on Community Relations, Committee on Health, Committee on Insurance Company Development, Committee on Public Housing Development, Committee on Small Investors Development, Committee on the use of Revenue Bonds for financing redevelopment, Committee on Integrated Community, Committee on Redevelopment Authority, Committee on Land Distribution Procedures, Committee on Relocation, Committee on zoning and legislative action. The push towards specialization and expertise was alive and well in the SSPB, along with the layers of bureaucracy necessary to make such a system function.[7]

Within such committees, there is little doubt that it was individuals from IIT that held the most sway. Dr. Heald was appointed the first chairman of the organization, and Executive Committee meetings were often held at the IIT student union. Raymond J. Spaeth, Vice-President and Treasurer of IIT, played a vital role in the SSPB throughout the group's history, and took over the position of chairman after Heald left IIT to become the chancellor of New York University in the winter of 1952. Heald's successor, Dr. John T. Rettaliata, also often participated in the SSPB, speaking, for example, at the organization's annual meeting in May 1952 (He spoke on the topic of "Extending our Planning Horizon"). Mies van der Rohe and Ludwig Hilberseimer, two IIT faculty members in the fields of architecture and urban planning, also had close relationships with the SSPB. A 1946-1948 membership list for the organization marks Mies a member, and both men participated on the SSPB Planning Committee. "We [IIT administrators and faculty members] were the leaders and organizers," according to Spaeth, "not just participants. IIT put a tremendous amount of time, money, and talent into urban development." [8]

As the examples of van der Rohe and Hilberseimer illustrate, architects and urban planners with an affinity towards modernism were particularly welcome in the SSPB. Individuals from the modern architectural firm Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill (SOM) claimed membership in the group, and architectural luminary Walter Gropius served as a consultant for the SSPB. Planning Committee meetings were often held in the Chicago offices of SOM, with architect John O. Merrill actually presiding. Correspondence from Heald to Blucher in November 1947 gave note of the "increased personnel and assistance of the firm Skidmore, Owings & Merrill to prepare the preliminary planning report for publication at the earliest possible date"; not surprisingly,

this document – along with, as we will see, other products of the SSPB – relied heavily upon a modernistic understanding of urban planning.[9]

The bogeyman in these early SSPB redevelopment/urban planning publications and efforts was the idea of blight, which was seen as the greatest threat to the urban public good. "Blight," according to a SSPB July 1946 prospectus, "attacks and destroys industrial and commercial areas as well as residential areas." In language reminiscent of both Kennan and Ross, the SSPB found that "Blight is a cancerous disease which afflicts and destroys cities and property and investment in them." And how did the SSPB plan to effectively deal with such a disease? Some, according to the SSPB, have advocated the "Segregation of Blight" – cordon it off and simply forget about it. "From time to time, business leaders have advanced the theory that blight could be segregated, and its effect cut off from the rest of the community." However, the SSPB found that "The collected past experience of municipalities provides clear, vivid and decisive proof that if the spread of blight is to be stopped, blight must be eliminated." The idea of containment was perhaps a start, but it was not enough.

Yet perhaps even more disturbing to the SSPB leadership was the "Run Away" approach to the problem of urban blight. "There are those in this city and in all other cities," found the SSPB,

> who take the view that blight does not concern them. They believe they can run away when blight disturbs them too much….For some years now people have been taking losses and running away from Chicago. These people have thought of the total city as a total blight….It is the story of disaster. Thousands of people and businesses have written off losses, tremendous losses, and run away. They ran away to permit blight to spread and be damned. It has spread and it has had a serious effect on all of Chicago.

"The 'run away theory,'" concluded the SSPB, "just isn't any good. It is even costly to those who run. It is cheaper to stay and fight the thing." The SSPB had then to decide exactly how to stand and fight this spread of blight.[10]

A Move towards the Modern: The Intellectual Underpinnings of the SSPB

In their articulations of strategies for fighting this blight and pushing for urban redevelopment, the SSPB found useful intellectual allies in such individuals as Mies van der Rohe and Ludwig Hilberseimer, and their plans for the rebirth of Chicago's South Side clearly drew from the work of both men. In fact, Mies's IIT buildings often went hand-in-hand with the urban renewal efforts of the SSPB, and his modernist designs put on display the values – order, rationality, and a commitment to technological advancement – that the group was attempting to inscribe on the south-side landscape. Not surprisingly, Mie's own thoughts on urban redevelopment proved a nice fit with the ideology of the SSPB. One begins to see Mie's ideas on such subjects in his introduction to Hilberseimer's work *The New City: Principles of Planning* (1944). "Reason," began Mies by way of quoting Sir Thomas Aquinas, "is the first principle of all

human work." And it is reason that should guide all efforts to redevelop the urban landscape. Mies then approvingly noted that Hilberseimer

> examines the city with unwavering objectivity, investigates each part of it and determines for each part its rightful place in the whole. Thus he brings all the elements of the city into clear, logical order. He avoids imposing upon them arbitrary ideas of any character whatsoever.

Here, Mies found great comfort in the fact that Hilberseimer – much like himself –greatly valued objectivity, order, and the rational thought: the very same values that postwar liberalism had begun to champion. "City planning," concluded van der Rohe, "is, in essence, a work of order," and this search for order led Mies to adopt the language of value-neutral social science, at the precise moment that it was gaining ascendancy in American culture.[11]

Hilberseimer himself saw the need to answer the prevailing trends of "wild decentralization" and "planless disurbanization" with a call for "immediate constructive action."[12] To Hilberseimer, what was needed was "comprehensive planning, in which all of the many and different necessary undertakings are fitted together to establish a framework for a better life."[13] One begins to see greater detail of such a philosophy in the afore-mentioned *The New City*. Here, Hilberseimer envisioned a city where "all the necessary elements of a city are segregated according to their function." In such a plan,

> the backbone of the settlement unit is the main traffic artery. On one side of that artery are located the industrial areas; on the other side, first the buildings for commerce and administration set within a green belt, and beyond them the residential area surrounded by a park with schools, playgrounds and community buildings in it.[14]

Within such segregated spaces, Hilberseimer saw the need to move beyond the accepted understanding of neighborhood, block and street systems. "The city today," he wrote, "is based on a street and block system which was used in Egyptian cities four thousand years ago and which is certainly older than Egypt. The function of the block has been the same at all times." To Hilberseimer, such a system had worked admirably throughout much of human history. Yet modernity – and specifically the rise of the automobile – had rendered such a system obsolete. As he concluded:

> However our motor vehicles have rendered this once perfect system questionable and even dangerous. We are beginning to consider and try out modifications of, and even departure from, the block system. We are trying especially to solve the problem created by the speeding automobile – the dangerous intersection.[15]

By posing the problem in such terms, it was clear that Hilberseimer now saw the car is perhaps the means of traveling throughout the city. They – and not pedestrians or other forms of public transportation – must now be accommodated.

The answer to such a problem, according to Hilberseimer, lay in the creation of a SUPERBLOCK (capitalization his), which sought to combine a number of city blocks for up to two square miles. This new mega-space would be bounded by four highways (instead of streets), with clover leaf intersections at the four corners to make sure that traffic flowed smoothly. Residences, commercial buildings, and offices would all rise high into the air within the superblock, and motor vehicles could drive underneath such buildings and even park there. Such a design – besides bringing much needed order to the chaos of the city – would also serve to open up recreational space. "The park space within such an area," wrote Hilberseimer, "could now be much larger. Schools and playgrounds could be located within these parks." And, importantly, such children-friendly areas would be located within confined, safe spaces. Little attention was paid to what such spaces might be replacing. There was an explicit mistrust of history in the work of Hilberseimer, a feeling that all that came before (as in his example of the changes wrought by the automobile) was now outdated. Any new version of the urban public good would have little to do with what came before.[16]

From word to deed: the SSPB and its plans for the remaking of central South Side Chicago

Promotional material for the SSPB stressed that they saw themselves – at least in Chicago – as the organization to begin this process. An early brochure for the group stressed this proactive stance, along with the idea that such an undertaking wouldn't be easy. Here one begins to see the use of war metaphors that would become so predominant in SSPB activities: the brochure collected copies of headlines and newspaper clippings on the young group, headlines that included "Citizens Rally to Redevelop Blighted Area," "Funds to Attack Slum Area Assured," and "Stand and Fight." A reprinted editorial on the organization, originally published in the *Chicago Sun*, found the newspaper reiterating the SSPB's message:

> No section of the city or its suburbs, however remote it may seem from blight today, is really safe from the contagion….The 'good neighborhood' of today may become the slum of tomorrow unless planned growth is substituted for planlessness….As the South Side board points out, we now possess the resources of technical knowledge and experience to make a significant attack on redevelopment.[17]

Going hand-in-hand with this idea of contagion was an obsession with order, cleanliness, and the public good within the SSPB. The foreword to a draft of an SSPB redevelopment report noted that the area that they wished to redevelop was "noisy and dirty. Its ancient buildings are frequently the victims of poor maintenance."[18] Focus therefore shifted onto how the group could create and maintain a "healthy" city. Indicative of this is an October 1946 report by Robert E. Garrigan and disseminated to members of the Executive Committee on "the problem of refuse collection and street cleaning." To Garrigan, the filth of Chicago served as a visible manifestation of the disorder plaguing the city. And within 12 pages of mind-numbing detail, Garrigan's report called for "the necessity for an educational program designed to secure the

cooperation of residents and merchants in maintaining an efficient system of refuse collection and clean streets and alleys." A clean city, to Garrigan and other SSPB members, was the first step towards becoming an ordered city.[19]

As one might expect, much of this perceived need to contain and fight urban decay came from the belief that blight would lead to declining property values and lost business opportunities for all of the institutions involved with the group. It would be a folly to not note that much of the impetus behind the founding of the SSPB was to protect the security of prominent south side individuals and institutions. As early as 1942, IIT President Henry Heald was telling Mies van der Rohe that

> In connection with the development of our campus, I feel that it would probably be desirable to have a fence or wall around the entire area….This would give us a chance to do a considerable amount of work in improving the appearances of the landscape, and also give a degree of security which could probably not be accomplished in any other way in this district.[20]

There was also a widespread belief among SSPB members that urban renewal would spur greater investment in the near south side of Chicago. An early draft of a SSPB preliminary report, for example, finds that, while the group is interested in creating a dialog with "the general public," it's efforts are – more importantly – "specifically designed to point out to housing investors the attractive possibilities of large scale urban redevelopment."[21]

At the same time, the SSPB's relationship with IIT helped to lift the group's mission above the merely economic, and it must be stressed that the SSPB always saw themselves as contributing to the greater good of Chicago. With the support of such educational institutions as IIT, the group could portray its plans and policies in a more idealistic light. By 1947, the IIT campus had grown from 7 acres to 65 acres,[22] and promotional material for the university from the late 1940s was quick to note that "One of the most dramatic aspects of the Institute's growth has been the acquisition, clearance, and rehabilitation of the blighted area in which it is building a great center of technological education and research." Here, the school – with the support of the SSPB (Promotional materials for both IIT and the SSPB were always quick to mention their working relationship with the other) – portrayed itself as bringing a vital new set of buildings to the city, buildings that would house programs that had the potential to benefit all of humanity. Returning to this image of the university as a crucial piece of the struggle to contain and overcome blight, the pamphlet continued:

> In 1940 the seven acres which comprised the former Armour Institute area was surrounded by encroaching blight and decay in a once proud section of the city. In less than 10 years Illinois Tech has expanded to 85 acres and plans to acquire another 25. Unsightly buildings have been razed and in their stead have risen the inspiring glass and brick structures of Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, distinguished modern architect who heads the Institute's department of architecture."[23]

Such promotional material made one point abundantly clear: IIT believed that it was helping to bring the benefits of modernism to Chicago's south side.

SSPB leaders were quick to adopt this more humane and idealistic understanding of urban redevelopment within the city of Chicago. The group saw itself as actively working to save the city's residents from the horrors of blight (as Garrigan noted in the speech that begins this chapter), and such individuals saw it as their mission to win the hearts and minds of all Chicago citizens in the war against urban decay. In a closer examination of the SSPB, one begins to see an almost messianic faith in long-term, large-scale modern urban planning. A letter from Wilford G. Winholtz, Director of Planning for the SSPB, to Henry Heald begins to illustrate this phenomenon. Crediting Heald for a moving speech before the Chicago Urban League, Winholtz wrote:

> I was particularly happy to be an audience on an occassion [sic] where it was both timely and appropriate to give some emphasis to the 'moral and spiritual rebuilding' factors resultant from an urban redevelopment program. These to me are of paramount importance, although on most occasions one has to emphasize the dollar values to be 'practical.'[24]

IIT President Heald also often stressed these more humane aspects of SSPB activities. According to Heald, social disorganization in the neighborhoods that bordered his university had "shockingly manifested itself in the forms of unnecessary death, disease, crime, and unspeakable filth." To Heald, such a reality "actually comprises a steady deterioration," of life in the area. Yet Heald was quick to point out that he was not referring to "property," but to "human beings." Bravely (and necessarily), SSPB had stepped up and "undertaken the task of wiping out the infamous and costly slums in 7 square miles of Chicago's Central South Side. Here, some 200,000 persons are jammed together into a mass of misery and suffering." It was up to the SSPB to liberate these individuals from such wretched conditions, to create an urban landscape that brought order to such a disorganized world.[25]

Reflecting back on the early days of the SSPB, Raymond J. Spaeth focused on the moral side of urban renewal as well. When SSPB formed, according to Spaeth, the area around IIT was "the worst possible slum, where houses had dirt floors, often no toilets, and alleys where garbage was piled 10 feet high." With a hint of liberal paternalism, Spaeth then goes on to note that "IIT assumed much of the responsibility for the people in the area," taking on absentee landlords and wretched living conditions. Dangerous, decrepit buildings were razed and "many people," according to Spaeth, "were relocated at IIT expense." All such efforts proved that IIT had "not merely paid lip service but proven its dedication" to the redevelopment of all of the central south side.[26] At the same time, however, the SSPB historically only begrudgingly helped displaced renters find new homes, and very little attention was paid to building new low-income housing projects within the vicinity of IIT and other near south side institutions. "The Planning Board [of the SSPB]," announced Reginald R. Isaacs and Raymond J. Spaeth in March 1948, "does not have responsibility for relocating families." Yet Isaacs and Spaeth didn't necessarily see this as detrimental to the futures of displaced renters. In fact, such a

strategy, they argued, may have provided them a much-needed push towards a move to the suburbs. As they wrote: "The Planning Board fully recognizes that suburban communities may be available into which families may voluntarily move." In their own way, the SSPB felt that it was helping to bring the suburban dream to those that urban renewal was beginning to displace, namely Chicago's African-American population.[27]

Perhaps not surprisingly then, the group never became too overly wide-eyed or utopian in its fight against urban decay. The SSPB clearly spelled out this realistic approach to urban renewal in an undated promotional brochure from the group. "The founders of the South Side Planning Board," according to the brochure, "have no illusions about their ability to create a Utopia on the Central South Side. Their goal is not that high." With perhaps the fear of appearing too communistic in their approaches to urban poverty, blight, and redevelopment, the SSPB adopted a brand of modern urban planning that – while eschewing some of the reformist, socialistic flair of early twentieth-century modernists – fit in nicely with the steely-eyed, postwar liberalism associated with Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. and his allies. Government clearly had a role in the group's endeavors, but it was always in tandem with the efforts of the private sector. At the same time, there was very little celebration of direct democracy or community involvement within the SSPB. The community-at-large could be consulted, but they were not seen as leaders within redevelopment projects. In fact, they were more often than not seen as impediments to redevelopment, uninformed individuals who had neither the training nor the capacity to fully grasp the details of the group's plans. Here, one sees shades of the more general relationship between postwar liberalism and "mass man," as detailed by such scholars as historian Gary Gerstle. It was often to experts – highly trained in specialized fields – to educate a public that knew little about the forces impacting their lives.[28]

To address all of these issues and concerns, the SSPB thought big – incredibly big. In the spring of 1947, the group began to work on what the press quickly dubbed the "50 year blueprint," a plan that, according to the *Chicago Tribune*, would demolish "thousands of dilapidated structures" and reestablish "communities and neighborhoods in accordance with modern planning standards."[29] Strikingly, such plans conformed remarkably well to the ideas of such modernists as van der Rohe, Hilberseimer, and Le Corbusier – and drew from the works of such sociologists as Louis Wirth, Frances E. Merrill, and Mabel A. Elliott. Yet what is perhaps most fascinating about the SSPB's efforts is how they began to equate modern urban planning with the philosophy and goals of liberalism. Building upon the realistic mindset detailed above, SSPB leaders thought that pluralism, racial equality, and a suburbanized urban landscape could all be achieved through modern urban planning, a strategy that exemplified the culture of expertise and relied highly upon the latest technological innovations. Here, at last, the group expressed their ideal vision of the urban public good.

In April 1947, SSPB member (and Director of Planning for Michael Reese Hospital) Reginald R. Isaacs drafted a document for the organization that saw the idea of the small, self-contained "neighborhood" as "a basis for social disorganization." The idea that schools, shopping centers, playgrounds, churches, and housing facilities should all

be within walking distance was inherently faulty. "The formula," insisted Isaacs, "appears very simple and is derived from janus-headed planners' nostalgic and sentimental view backward to the days before good transportation, communication, industrial development and growth of the large cities." To Isaacs, such a model was not based on the modern urban landscape, but rather on the "small colonial village," where there were "few differences of religion and none of race." For a liberal society concerned with pluralism and racial and ethnic equality, "'Neighborhoods' are a fine device and frame-work for the organization of covenants and deed restrictions against those whom the FHA terms 'inharmonious people.'" In fact, such small, tight-knit neighborhoods may have actually helped to breed intolerance, as "Many residential areas find their only bond is the fear of Negro infiltration."[30]

At the same time, such a "cellular concept of city structure tends to breed political disorder, dividing the city politically, and "discouraging 'at large' representation." Psychologically, such a set-up would discourage any sort of great vision or cosmopolitanism to develop. People would continue "to look introvertly inward to the relatively narrow confines of their 'neighborhood' and not to the purpose and well-being of the metropolitan area." To Isaacs, the ideal city would therefore be one in which "Residential areas would extend indefinitely without political or other divisions between people."[31]

Such a location could only come into existence through the development of "larger unbroken residential blocks with fewer traffic streets" The key to such a plan, according to Isaacs, was the creation of superblocks, city blocks that built up rather than out. "Rather then crowd the land with great numbers of monstrous detached houses," according to Isaacs,

> greater use is made of taller apartment structures providing the same or larger number of families with much more open space for recreation and amenity. Planners and subdividers now realize that increased densities are necessary in today's city and that they can be planned for with satisfactory relationships.[32]

Going even further than many modern urban planners, Isaacs went as far to suggest "dormitory areas" for elderly couples, childless couples, and single younger persons.[33]

As Isaacs implicitly made clear in his tract, there was a definite need for the planning expert in the creation of such ideal communities. Other SSPB publications echoed this need for expertise in modern urban planning. An undated SSPB pamphlet, for example, noted that "A definite need has, therefore, been created for specially trained people to make a specialty of relating the human or community factors to large scale physical construction." And, as such a quote also illustrates, the SSPB did not shy away from the idea of bigness. SSPB, as many of its promotional materials proudly proclaimed, was committed to "Building Whole Communities."[34] When pressed for details on what such whole communities might look like, the plans of the SSPB sounded like they based on the principles of CIAM-inspired modernist city planning. According to a preliminary draft of the group's South Side Redevelopment Report:

In order to protect the desirability of the residential buildings, the street pattern proposed will require all through traffic to by-pass the residential areas, being concentrated on thoroughfares roughly a half-mile apart. Within the super-blocks bounded by these thoroughfares, the residents will be able to supply many of their needs at convenient shops." [35]

Within this superblock, the report continued, a large community shopping center was to be placed at 35th Street and South Park Way, and a large community park was to be located north of 39th Street and west of South Park Way. Here were the ideas of Mies van der Rohe, Ludwig Hilberseimer, and Le Corbusier being adopted by a civic organization on the near south side of Chicago. The concept of the "neighborhood" – marked, according to the SSPB, by insularity, fragmentation, and unsafe street and traffic patterns – was to be replaced by a more holistic brand of community planning. The process of "Building Whole Communities" could only occur through an emphasis on the "Whole," rather than the pieces (i.e. small neighborhoods) that make up the urban fabric. It was within the large-scale superblock that city dwellers would finally find a workable community. [36]

The SSPB also toed the modernist line on the issue of urban housing. A SSPB document on residential planning, for example, saw "Multi-Family Dwellings (Apartments)" as "particularly satisfying." High-rise buildings were seen as exemplary, because such structures could leave the urban core "relatively free of congestion and with more open space and thus many of the amenities people are seeking." This was necessary not only for the good of the area, but also because such a solution "requires that there be sufficient space to adequately compete with suburban areas." This notion that the urban must begin to take on the perceived benefits of the suburban became a critical component of the plans of the SSPB. The group believed in the statement that the "essential need provided by a home as a place of refuge and isolation from noise and tension from tempo of urban life," while numerous SSPB documents stressed that the need "privacy" trumped almost all other concerns in the planning of urban housing. These were the "Psychological Needs" that the congested, unplanned city simply could not address. [37]

And how would one get around in such an environment? To SSPB, like many modern urban planners, the answer was new highways. Such highways would help solve the problem of urban "congestion," which was often seen as directly leading to urban blight. [38] The SSPB advocated the construction of the South Expressway, which involved the destruction of a large area of housing due west of IIT's campus, and called for State Street to become something of a dividing line within the neighborhood. On October 27, 1947, the SSPB "reported the recommendation that the South Expressway location now set by the City Council action, just west of State Street, be approved at its original location as initially recommended by the Chicago Plan Commission with the endorsement of the Department of Subways and Superhighways, just west of and parallel to the Pennsylvania Railroad." [39]

Members of SSPB were clearly aware of the racial implications of such highway construction. Referencing the above-mentioned October 27th meeting, Wilford G. Winholtz, in a letter to V.E. Gunlock, commissioner of the Department of Subways and Superhighways, wrote:

> As far as I have been able to determine, the main reason for placement of the existing approved location is that certain interests west of the Penn. R.R. wanted the 'race barrier' at State Street rather than so close to Halsted Street. And for obvious reasons I did not mention this matter in the meeting.

Winholtz realized that this "present location has value in helping clear slum land," but also noted to Gunlock that it removed many acres of residential land within "the Negro community which is tightly hemmed in by restrictive covenants, and thus places land available for Negro residential use at a much higher premium."[40] The expressway would go on to be described as a road that helped strengthen – in literal concrete – "the neighborhood's traditional racial boundary." The SSPB was clearly attuned to issues of racial discrimination (and one could even argue they tried to take steps that they thought would alleviate such discrimination), but redevelopment trumped all other concerns at this moment in American urban history.[41]

It should therefore come as no surprise that the SSPB displayed very little interest in preserving the history of the central south side. To many within the SSPB, the conditions that marked the central south side revealed the fact that "cities have not been planned (needless to add 'on a sound base.') Cities 'just grew' into the congested hodge-podge that exists today."[42] Such a thoroughly negative view of the history of the city (along with a tremendous faith in a progressive understanding of physical and social change), made the issue of blight a black and white one for the organization. SSPB's brand of modern urban planning saw very little worth saving among the historic buildings that dotted the south side. To them, there was no hope for the renovation or rehabilitation of the structures that they saw as contributing to the decay of their neighborhood. The only solution on the table was demolition and redevelopment.

One begins to see evidence of this position in a draft of a statement that Wilford G. Winholtz was to make at the City Council Planning Committee's Public Hearing, January 26, 1950. Winholtz was clearly upset that the Chicago Plan Commission had recently reported that

> taking cognizance of the special characteristics that apply to the area bounded by Harrison Street, Halsted Street, Roosevelt Road, and Ashland Avenue and of the initiative of its citizens; recommends that the subject area no longer be designated as blight, but be reclassified with certain exemptions as a proper area for rehabilitation of existing structures.[43]

To Winholtz, such a decision went against the objective standards of modern urban planning. "Such re-classification," argued Winholtz, "cannot be done as a matter of arbitrary decision, but must be based upon objective factual data similar to the

procedure used in evaluating the conditions which resulted in the blighted area classification." Winholtz was incredibly concerned that the idea of preserving or rehabilitating buildings might come to override all designated blighted areas, or, as he put it, "the suggestion of 'rehabilitation' might be so construed as to defeat the City's slum clearance program completely." What was needed was a fresh start based upon objective social science, not a nostalgic mindset that attempted to save outmoded and blighted structures. Any new understanding of the urban public good could not be grounded in the past.[44]

Based on such a strategy, it is not surprising that the group's efforts were often met with resistance by predominantly African-American community members. But the group did try to build a working relationship with such individuals. Spaeth and Isaacs – acting as technical consultants to the SSPB's Executive Committee – attempted to assess exactly why the community was not supporting the nascent group in a March 1948 memorandum. Interestingly, the two saw the problem as resting almost solely on the shoulders of the SSPB: they were not doing enough to educate the public on the group's mission. According to the two men, the SSPB must always maintain leadership on such issues, with community members limited to making up the rank-and-file of renewal projects. One key element of their "Community Action" plan called for the SSPB to "Assume leadership in coordinating activities of all organizations in the area, and act as spokesman for the community in planning, housing, redevelopment and civic matters." Direct democracy is thwarted as the community must allow the SSPB to speak for them. More to the point, the SSPB firmly believed that African-American leaders should cede all neighborhood power to them, the experts on matters of modern urban planning. The memorandum drafted by Spaeth and Isaacs concluded with the observation that "Organization is underway for a federation of some 1500 Negro organizations for planning action." Rather than welcome such potential allies, the two authors can only write that "This, too, is unfortunate for the SSPB. Our program calls for SSPB to coordinate all such activities and act as spokesmen. To lose this leadership will greatly weaken SSPB's position." Such a statement sums up perfectly the postwar liberal response to matters of race, urban planning, and urban renewal. When it came to efforts to define the urban public good, there was little room for voices outside of the SSPB. [45]

As the 1950s became the 1960s, individuals such as Spaeth began to see those within the surrounding community not only as nuisances or as individuals in need of leadership on matters of urban planning, but as outright threats to their development agenda – a crucial turning point in both the history of postwar liberalism and postwar urban planning. The expert, once seemingly motivated by a desire to educate and help the community-at-large, had now become the cynic. In a March 1968 letter, Spaeth, now the Vice President and Treasurer at IIT, told IIT officials and faculty members that a new line of defense was going up to secure the residents of the IIT Apartments. "For added protection," Spaeth wrote, "and to provide added security for residents, the solid fence barrier along 31st Street and Michigan Avenue will be extended on Michigan Avenue from 31st Street to 32nd Street." To Spaeth, this "barrier" would serve to give "added protection against infiltration of undesirables." Such a position would have tremendous

repercussions for the SSPB, IIT, the city of Chicago, and indeed numerous cities across the United States. By the late 1960s, the city' African-American population had begun to voice their displeasure with the organization's attempts to remake the city, and had also begun to articulate competing visions of the ideal urban public good. Unable to see such voices as little more than threats to their ideas and programs, the SSPB – as well as liberal advocates of urban renewal across the country – could not constructively respond to such critiques. It was this silence that effectively sealed the fate of both a certain brand of modernism and political liberalism in the United States. The urban landscape – politically and physically – would never be the same again, as a new vision of the ideal urban public good, one that turned its back on such concepts as superblocks, high-rise housing, and embraced mixed-use planning, began to slowly emerge.[46]

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[1] Memorandum and speech, Robert E. Garrigan to Henry Heald, April 12, 1947, Henry Heald Papers, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago, Illinois, Box 63, "SSPB" folder: 2, 3

[2] Ibid., 1, 5, 8

[3] I explore the architectural implications of such a reality in my dissertation "Between Being and Becoming: On Architecture, Student Protest, and the Aesthetics of Liberalism in Postwar America."

[4] Condit, Carl W., *Chicago: 1930-70: Building, Planning, and Urban Technology* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974), 205.

[5] "List of Those Present," Central South Side Development Association, April 3, 1946, American Society of Planning Officials records, University of Illinois-Chicago, Special Collections, Box 2, Folder 19; "Prospective Members," undated.

[6] Letter from Wilford G. Winholtz to Walter H. Blucher, December 1, 1947, American Society of Planning Officials records, University of Illinois-Chicago, Special Collections, Box 2, Folder 20.

[7] "South Side Planning Board, Additional Statement to Program Committee by the Executive Director," June 5, 1947, Box 2, Folder 3.

[8] "Profile: Raymond J. Spaeth," *Technology and Human Affairs*, Summer 1969: 16-17, 17. Within this profile, Spaeth complains that the true role of IIT in the history of SSPB had never been adequately told. It is my hope that this essay begins to fix this historical oversight; "Spaeth Elected New SSPB Chairman," *South Side Planning Board News*, January-February 1952, p.1. Spaeth was not a newcomer to SSPB. Since its inception, he had served as technical consultant to the Board and had contributed to all of the Board's planning efforts. At IIT, he directed coordination of the school's campus redevelopment program, including management of land acquisition and construction of new buildings, as well as supervision of community relations activities.

[9] "South Side Planning Board, Minutes of Joint Meeting of Council and Planning Committee," October 27, 1947, Box 2, Folder 20; "Membership List 1946-1948," Box 3, Folder 22; "The South Side Planning Board Announces its Annual Meeting," flyer, May 7, 1952, Louis Wirth Papers, Box 36, folder 5, University of Chicago Special Collections; "South Side Planning Board, Minutes of Meeting for Sub-Committee on Planning Coordination (Planning Committee)," November 20, 1947; Correspondence from Heald to Blucher, November 22, 1947, American Society of Planning Officials records, Box 2, Folder 20.

[10] Central South Side Redevelopment Association, "Prospectus," July 9, 1946, Henry T. Heald Papers, Illinois Institute of Technology, Box 63, "SSPB" folder, 1,2, 5, 6.

[11] van der Rohe, Mies, "Introduction," in L. Hilberseimer, *The New City: Principles of Planning* (Chicago: Paul Theobald, 1944), xv.

[12] Hilberseimer, Ludwig, *The New Regional Pattern: Industries and Gardens, Workshops and Farms* (Chicago: Paul Theobald, 1949), 187.

[13] Ibid., 193.

[14] Hilberseimer, Ludwig, *The New City: Principles of Planning* (Chicago: Paul Theobald, 1944), 71, 72. Hilberseimer expanded on many of his ideas on urban planning in his *The Nature of Cities: Origin, Growth, and Decline* (Chicago: Paul Theobald, 1955).

[15] Ibid., 100.

[16] Ibid., 104.

[17] "South Side Planning Board Launches Membership Drive," promotional pamphlet, October 1946, American Society of Planning Officials records, Box 2, Folder 19.

[18] "Foreword," South Side Redevelopment Report, Preliminary draft, April 25, 1947, Box 2, Folder 20, 3.

[19] Robert E. Garrigan, "Refuse Collection and Street Cleaning," October 17, 1946, Heald Papers, Box 63, "SSPB" folder.

[20] Memorandum from Henry Heald to Mies van der Rohe, July 30, 1942, Heald Papers, Box 17, Folder 4, "Department of Architecture, 1941-48."

[21] South Side Redevelopment Report – Preliminary Draft, April 25, 1947, Heald Papers, Box 63, "SSPB" folder.

[22] IIT Chronology of events, n.d., John T. Rettaliata Papers.

[23] IIT Promotional materials, n.d., Heald Papers, Box 64, "Capital Gifts, Campaign Committee Foundations – Ryerson Landscape Planning Proposal" folder, 2.

[24] Letter from Wilfred G. Winholtz to Henry T. Heald, February 25, 1948, Heald Papers, Box 62, "South side" folder.

[25] Letter from Henry Heald to Emmons Blaine, June 13, 1947, Heald Papers, Box 63, "SSPB" folder.

[26] "Profile: Raymond J. Spaeth," 17.

[27] "The Community Relations Program Suggest by Isaacs and Spaeth," March 1, 1948, Heald Papers, Box 62, "South Side" folder.

[28] "Your Investment in the South Side Planning Board will Pay Dividends," SSPB promotional brochure, n.d., Box 2, Folder 3; Gary Gerstle, "The Protean Character of American Liberalism," *The American Historical Review*, October 1994: 1043-1073, 1071.

[29] "Plan Revealed for Rebuilding S. Central Area," *Chicago Tribune*, November 9, 1947.

[30] Reginald R. Isaacs, "The Neighborhood Theory – A Basis for Social Disorganization," preliminary draft, April 20, 1947, Heald Papers, Box 63, "SSPB" folder, 1, 2, 3.

[31] Ibid., 2, 3, 4.

[32] Ibid., 5, 6.

[33] Ibid., 7.

[34] "Steam is On! We Need You – Pressure Gets Results!" SSPB pamphlet, n.d., Heald Papers, Box 62, "South side" folder.

[35] South Side Redevelopment Report – Preliminary Draft, April 25, 1947, Heald Papers, Box 63, "SSPB" folder, 4..

[36] Ibid., 4.

[37] "Patterns and Standards of Residential Planning: Introduction," November 1947, American Society of Planning Officials records, University of Illinois-Chicago, Special Collections, Box 2, Folder 20.

[38] "Patterns and Standards," 11.

[39] "South Side Planning Board, Minutes of Joint Meeting of Council and Planning Committee," October 27, 1947, Sherman Hotel, American Society of Planning Officials records, University of Illinois-Chicago, Special Collections, Box 2, Folder 20.

[40] Letter from Wilford G. Winholtz to V.E. Gunlock, October 28, 1947, Heald Papers, Box 62, "South Side" folder. Across the top of this letter is written "copy to Heald."

[41] Cohen, Adam, and Elizabeth Taylor, *American Pharaoh: Mayor Richard J. Daley: His Battle for Chicago and the Nation* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2000), 11. For more on the construction and implications of South Expressway, see Carl W. Condit, *Chicago, 1930-70: Building, Planning, and Urban Technology* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974), 242-3; Sudhir Alladi Venkatesh, *American Project: The Rise and Fall of a Modern Ghetto* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 19, 20, 23.

[42] "Patterns and Standards of Residential Planning: Introduction," November 1947, American Society of Planning Officials records, Box 2, Folder 20, 10.

[43] First Draft of Suggested Statement to be presented by Wilford G. Winholtz at The City Council Planning Committee's Public Hearing, January 26, 1950, 1998.49, Box 62, "South Side…" folder, 1.

[44] Ibid., 1.

[45] Memo from Raymond J. Spaeth and Reginald R. Issacs to the Community Relations Committee, South Side Planning Board, March 1, 1948, Louis Wirth Papers, Box 36, folder 2.

[46] Ibid.

Pre-democratizing the city

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Almost invisible for the scholarship on Cold War architecture, yet controversial, AZCA is a radical demonstration of the public-private urban management in driving Spain toward the European Common Market. In fact, projected as a commercial center and built as a financial hub, AZCA played the most decisive modernization of Spain in last century.

The architectural innovations, which made that complex succeed in socio-technical achievements, were managed by still unknown intelligences and modes of collaboration, in co-evolution with other European interventions, here presented as a three-fold picture:

1. The re-institution of modern architecture

How to interpret the "modernizing values" of that architecture, projected first by architect urbanist Antonio Perpiñá and, after, in collaboration with other architects and engineers, and Franquist officials? Distinct devices of innovation will be examined to draw the mental models that made possible a modern definition of the practice of architecture in Spain.

2. The re-organization of urban management

How to register the "urban values" managed by architects, engineers, proprietaries, and official authorities? The role of all who addressed the urbanization AZCA as the first laboratory of the first Land Law in Spain (1956) will be analyzed to what extent their activity was integrated as a socio-technical system in the practice of modern architecture and urban planning.

3. The re-invention of transnational city

Which geopolitical concerns led the detection of "transnational values" planned by Spain and the Western Block before its definitive Europeization? In line with a synchronization of equivalences and incompatibilities between Manhattan's financial district and other European urban models, AZCA will be explored as a interdisciplinar paradigm of industrialization for a European city.

To decipher the intellectual machinery of AZCA's architecture, throughout the key points highlighted above, distinct principles of evaluation are displayed. In addition, multifarious techniques are analyzed to be re-enacted as still effective modes for contemporary urban and architectural transformation. In conclusion, providing a firm definition of the organizational complex of AZCA will make its multifaceted architecture

a substantial contribution to the historiography of modern architecture during the Cold War.

1. The re-institution of modern architecture

The Iron Curtain reoriented international interest toward Spain in the framework of a global control plan. The Americanization of Spain was a direct result of the internal agreements of the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1947. As opposed to other allied countries favored by the Marshall Plan, the end of the autarchy in Spain meant recognizing the zero degree of architecture and technology toward the capitalist race. The authorities and architects were involved in diplomatic relations that were crucial. An urban development project inspired by an already extended Western plan of city (re)generation opened the possibility of putting Madrid on the map. Shortly after the *Pacto de Madrid*[1] and the *Ley Castellana*,[2] the Government promoted on June 16, 1954 a national design competition for the urban layout of the Shopping Center of Madrid,[3] on the axis of the then called *Avenida del Generalísimo*, the reference point for the center of power and the chimera of Great Madrid.

The design competition for the Madrid shopping center was situated in an area that had been pre-designated since the 1929-1931 Zuazo-Jansen project and reworked in the 1941-1946 Bidagor Plan as the most important shopping center in the country.[4] Winner Perpiñá's project in 1954 competition signified a critical shift in the understanding and practice of urban planning and architecture in the capital (Fig. 1).

The advance of the project for Madrid's second center —that depended on the Technical Office of the *Comisaría de la Ordenación Urbana de Madrid*— obliged him to move from Barcelona to Madrid in 1956.[5] Thereafter, he modified and extended the project planning (approved on July 10, 1957) whose development pressed the preparation of a judicial framework to efficiently resolve the urban problems of Madrid.

The Commission for the Metropolitan Area of Madrid approved on July 21, 1965 the Urban Plan for the shopping center, known as 'AZCA' since 1964.[6] The Ministry of Housing prepared an exhibition of the plan that did not only overcome the collective indifference at the official showing of the projects from the 1954 competition. This initiated a key precedent in Spain concerning the display of communicative techniques of architecture and urban planning and the architecture of information space, with an, until then, unthinkable interest in stimulating civic participation.

The public presentation of Madrid shopping center was set up in the Exco agency (Construction Information Permanent Exhibition) of the Ministry of Housing, at the South corner of Nuevos Ministerios with Castellana and San Juan de la Cruz Square. Local press announced the event months in advance.[7] Undoubtedly it was important to attract public interest when facing the most challenging and innovative urban project in Spain's capital. The authorities called the press conference on Tuesday April 26, 1966. The Vice President of the Government, the Minister of Housing, the Minister of Government, the Undersecretary and the General Directors of the Ministry of Housing, the General

Director of Fine Arts, the General Director of Domestic Policy and the Government Delegate for the Metropolitan Area of Madrid opened the exhibition at 1pm on Wednesday. On Thursday over two hundred guests, from stores, real estate agencies, banks, businesses, etc., celebrated their turn with snacks, croquettes, ham, shrimps, Spanish omelet, pasties, sweets, wine, Pepsi-Cola, cocktails, gin and tonic, champagne, Scottish and Spanish whisky.[8] General admission was on Friday.

The press visit served as a presentation of event objectives. Reports, releases and announcements used a lot of information from the urbanist Emilio Larrodera and the economist José Ramón Lasuén. They chose concepts which would entailed the center advantages and at same time interested the public: "Urban development Olympiad," "nerve center of the active life of 1975 Madrid," "Madrid 2000," "small autonomous city," "great nucleus of decongestion," "modern *agora* or forum," "pole of attraction," "island for pedestrians," "true center of collective contact [with] the advantages of the most advanced civilization of our time." Those slogans were intended to spread an unusual message: to seduce the masses as partners and investors towards the materialization of that 'mini-Manhattan'[9] to modernize Madrid.

From the majority of newspapers —being already liberated perhaps from the press law of March 18, 1966—, a certain anticipation was encouraged to know about the architecture that would build the city. The media produced articles to announce (and denounce) the different instances of the urban plan. A journalist of *Diario de la Noche* declared[10]: "[I] just witnessed the premiere of an exceptional exhibition. I don't know whose the idea is, it is almost not necessary to know, because now it is time for the idea to lead, the technical execution and everyone's contribution will be simply forgotten once we have the whole. The sum of the parts, the exhibition for the shopping center on the Avenida del Generalísimo, is the best, the most surprising and original exhibition than has been achieved up to now by any exhibition technique on any theme, at less as far as I know." That quick neutralization of the merits of the project appears that it was a common intention although not expressed by the press, affected by the easy elitism of the display, yet suspicious in view of the facing the also easy speculative abuse in the regulation of the plot.[11]

The winner of the 1954 competition for the Madrid shopping center and responsible for its urban layout since 1957, the architect and urban planner Antonio Perpiñá, collected press clippings[12] on a hundred and seven sheets of Galgo paper for two key dates for the publicity of the center during the years 1966-1977: the exhibition in 1966 (press assembly, official inauguration and public information) and the first official visit in 1969. An episode in the history of architecture and urbanism in Spain collected in newspapers as *Informacio*nes, *El Alcázar*, *Diario Madrid*, *Arriba*, *Ya*, *Pueblo*, *ABC*, *Revista SP* y *Hoja del Lunes*. Looking through the press clippings on the exhibition —ordered from more recent to older news—, only two references mention the architect as the author of the 1954 shopping center project and they do not even connect him to the subsequent phases of the planning of AZCA: in *ABC* and *El Alcázar*.[13] On the other hand, Antonio Perpiñá wasn't the person who planned the AZCA exhibition, but architect Javier Feduchi,[14] in collaboration with the audiovisual producer Enrique de las Casas and

other technical staff. Even so, Antonio Perpiñá, responsible for project planning, and Javier Feduchi, for the exhibition, both imagined a public demonstration that expanded the spatial, temporal and conventional limits of architecture, urban planning and media: the democratization of the contents of the plan and the Manhattanization of Madrid.

2. The re-organization of urban management

The Master Plan of Madrid finally legalized the shopping center's plot in 1963 and the regulation for its urbanization in 1964. Azca was defined as a 204,330 square meters rectangular area, attached to Castellana's axis from Nuevos Ministerios to Santiago Bernabeu stadium, and surrounded by Orense, Raimundo Fernández Villaverde and General Perón streets.

The March Foundation proposed to promote an Opera Theater in the middle of the new block to the authorities. Due to the complexity of the network of investors and owners, AZCA was set-up to coordinate the private and public interests of the new complex[15].

AZCA acted under the control of the Ministry of Housing through the Planning and Coordination Commission of the Metropolitan Area of Madrid (COPLACO). The Statutes of the association studied the development of a compensation system by means of a very new land distribution —which real estate company VACESA conceived and AZCA agreed as a land value points system (PVS, "puntos-valor-suelo")[16] (Fig. 2).

Perpiñá developed the plan with modifications derived from the speculative pressures that altered the equilibrium of the volumes of the original project. The project for the center entered into a process of commoditization, a phenomenon whose peak in Spain was not before the '60s, when the middle class grew (as much independent as salaried) and a new elite linked to finance was incorporated within the dominant class.[17] The modernization of the production systems, the financial investment and the propagation of the American myth of an increasingly more accessible middle class through the mass media ads led to the implementation of an alien American consumerism[18] (whose effect continued up until today's "wholesale commoditization of the environment"[19]).

The Spanish policy of economic development[20] (1964-1969) struck the materialization of the complex changing modern architecture from 'socialist' to 'capitalist'. While the '50s plan combined modern architecture (Sert) and Nordic architecture with organic spaces (Aalto, Baldrich), the ´60s plan calculated capitalist architecture (Belluschi) with commercial spaces (Gruen). As if it were a Fordist remodeling, some of those who advertised the Madrid shopping center as the most profitable business in the city were at the same time transformed into advantaged consumers/shareholders by knowing first-hand the capitalization mechanisms (in spite of the public information of any legal, fiscal, financial or urban news through the official bulletins.) As a result, the city's image was shaped by the authorities and investors (municipality, real estate agencies, banks…) under the desire of pursuing a modernization paradigm before the other countries, mutating the shopping center into an investment center.

That shift from CIAM 8's humanist urbanism to the spectacular corporate urbanism of steel and glass office skyscrapers (Manhattanization) linked the new plan with the implementation of Viennese architect Victor Gruen's commercial architecture, 'inventor' of the American shopping mall, which he had pushed for since 1954 with a tour on the theme *Shopping Centers of Tomorrow*.[21]

3. The re-invention of transnational city

The AZCA exhibition was projected not only to exhibit a 'futuristic' urban intervention, but also to inform on both an image of progress and a publicity technique: first, the representation of an urban center of Madrid 2000,[22] and second, the demonstration of its plan through diverse technical displays and media formats with the latest technological advances. With a treatment that precedes the Venturi's diagnostic of architecture mutated into an electronic board,[23] the catalogue of the exhibition was reproduced with a view of the plan's model, veiled by an intense blue color (as if it were night) with volumes contrasted in phosphoric color simulating the electric lighting from the interior. The visual effects of the model were carefully studied to favor its exact propagation through a printed publication that (re)presented AZCA in a pocket format. AZCA's exhibition pamphlet could be unfolded to discover the exhibition route distributed in six rooms separated three by three to exit at the same point. Each room contained devices with very advanced exhibition and audiovisual techniques.

Urban information was shown on six rows of screens creating slightly concave arches that involve the spectator. Each group exposed a theme organized by matrix, graphics and maps: the evolution of Madrid; the antecedents of the shopping center; the place for the center; the projection of Madrid-Region; the center; and the demand for areas in the center. The futuristic disposition of the urban development data responded to a certain evolution in the information techniques for architecture and urban planning. The purpose of informing all visitors about the present and the future of Madrid obliged Feduchi to adapt the contents with efficacy to legible formats. The arguments had to be simple and attractive so that everyone understood them. To facilitate public reception three-dimensional graphics were utilized and enforced with light and sound. The sensationalist techniques were adjusted specifically to each viewfinder according to the theme assigned.

The representation of the shopping center plan through a model with audiovisual effects was definitely the claim of the exhibition. It was placed in the center of the fourth room, on a base, freeing space on one side to see the silhouette of the assembly in contrast with the rest of the city. From two angles of the room some 200-150cm screens were suspended, on which movies and slides were projected at the same time as variable effects of light in the interior of the prototype were activated manually by two technicians.

The spatiotemporal concept of the model-spectacle had been planned in few months: "An adequate montage of movie, sound and lighting of the model and a voice in off with precise dialogue, will explain the life of the Center during twenty-four hours, to give the

visitor a quite exact impression of the day that commences in the early hours in which services work to prepare the activities; the shops, large stores, offices, hotels, restaurants are opened and operating. Vehicles come and go; in the afternoon entertainments are encouraged, one attends a performance in the Opera Theater, and the Center's life slows down until a new day."[24] The projections synchronize with the instructions of the recorded voice.[25] They introduced the urban development of modern Madrid and immediately coincided with the visual techniques of the model during the description of the shopping center.

Several phases explained the 20 minute spectacle[26] (a third of the estimated duration for a visit to the exhibition[27]). A script contained the points by which the presenter reproduced the memory of the project, indicating first the model and describing its placing, its function as a capital status and as a communications center, the introduction of the Opera Palace, etc. Afterwards the voice in off, a dialogue among various actors was initiated who discovered the center's 24 hour life. Some lateral instantaneous images supported the script of the complex with interior views of the center, whose coordinates were indicated at the same time on the model with a score of lights.

The attraction seemed real. Material and lights defined the spaces that would adjust the diverse activities of the shopping center: colored plastic on office facades, hotels and recreations; wood in flat roofs, sidewalks and open spaces; synthetic material in green areas; and fabric in streets with lines of light underneath in movement simulating the traffic flow. The merit of that system was the assembling of some very new techniques of architecture representation (additionally with a very powerful referential charge linked to the utopian image of Madrid), with a synchronic montage of image and sound that extended spectator perception into a personal experience felt as 'lived', despite its 'virtual' presentation. Perpiñá, Feduchi, and de las Casas considered this cognitive simulation as an efficient form of reception.

The impact of the new demonstration also affected civil servants, as a newspaper reported on the day of their visit: "Guided by the authors of the project, they visited the different dependencies that form this Exhibition, stopping particularly at the 'loudspeaker' model, at which they showed great interest. Mister Muñoz Grandes said that this Shopping Center presents an image of the future Madrid we all desire."[28] Among the buildings of the center the 150 meter height and more than 40 stories central tall building stand out —a tower like that of the Le Corbusier's skyscraper at Cap de la Marine (1938), Boston Back Bay Center (1953), Pirelli Tower (1956), and Pan Am building (1963) — which newspaper *Ya* compared in height with the New York UN headquarters (1950)[29]: "We can assure that it will be as tall as the building of the General Office of the Secretary of the United Nations, in New York; above all, with more stories, and that furthermore its perspective resembles in general that of New York." Six buildings of lesser height accompanied the tower, between 30-35 stories, grouped in the South; and one isolated in the North, with a row of buildings ordering the front of Orense Street. These buildings contained dwellings, hotels, apartments, offices, entertainment venues, and large stores. The Opera Theater was adjusted to a volume similar to the solution of the winner Polish team of the International Competition of Ideas in 1963.[30]

Finally a heliport was also assigned to the center, a railway junction (RENFE) and an airline terminal (IBERIA).[31]

Perpiñá published the document for the Partial Plan of the shopping center in an offprint of the magazine *Arquitectura* in April 1966 (n. 88): "The shopping center is not intended merely for locating business space and offices, but that these give the corresponding atmosphere for a series of community activities." In this way, the model was designed as a public exposition that simultaneously exposed the public to some 'civic' virtual effects. Likewise, it served also as a common laboratory for modes of perception to stimulate open formulations about the viability of the shopping center.

In the sixth room the movie "Madrid futuro" was shown. The scriptwriter Enrique de las Casas reproduced a movie dealing with aspects of the shopping center that could respond to the possible visitor concerns about "the convenience and necessity of the new Center,"[32] whose projection was synchronized with images of other commercial centers (from the Perpiñá's slides selection). *ABC* commented[33]: "Finally, we pass to a projection room with a brief but admirable movie, in which the ability and humor of its author, Mr. Enrique Casas, succeed in making an urban theme fun, which represents a true literary success." The tape consisted of a five minute documentary of two sequences that showed the possibilities of the shopping center to engage public attention: the first one, on 'Animation' (a preparatory setting with funny evocations of city's origin), and the second, on 'Real Image'[34] (an explanatory performance with examples of commercial centers). The movie revealed Madrid's recent progress through the presentation of various characters.[35] In parallel to the realization of this audiovisual display advertising trailers of the shopping center were carried out.[36]

International technology progress reached its climax in 1964-65 at New York World's Fair, where advances of the 'information age' were exhibited in telecommunications and data processing. Antonio Perpiñá took advantage of a field trip with the technical team of Galerías Preciados[37] from 8 to 24 October 1964, to the US to see the most important shopping centers in the country. He also went to Chicago and New York, where he possibly visited or followed the news on the exposition. There presented IBM a multimedia show, 'the machine of information', which was attended by three million visitors in total during the event. It began by raising 500 people on a platform up to the interior of an ellipsoidal form theater, designed by Eero Saarinen. Once inside, an assembly of fourteen projectors and nine screens, carried out by Charles Eames, explained in fifteen minutes the processing of information in the brain comparing it with that of the computer, from the obtaining of impressions, passing through the classification of data and arriving at a global interpretation to establish a specific mode of operation. The Fair also displayed the 'city of the future' (Futurama II),[38] a visionary illuminated model developed from the 1939 New York World's Fair, which represented the metropolis as a center of commerce, culture and communications with airports, railways, industrial parks and services around it (Fig. 3). The knowledge of the spatial brain-machine and of the model for the city of the future could be key transfers in the socio-technological focus of information presentation for AZCA.

The message of the show was to persuade Madrileños and Spanish citizens of the necessity for a shopping center to modernize Madrid and, also, Spain. The timing of the exhibition (from April 26 to June 15) promised a large crowd as predicted by one journalist in *Informaciones*[39]: "As the project enters the public information phase tomorrow it will be open to the public for the current month, which means that as many people will visit as a result of the San Isidro Festival as people with genuine interest. The event should let visitors know both the present and the future of Spain's capital." With some expectation the exhibition pamphlet was distributed with two gray colored suggestion cards for the new shopping center. One was darker with the title "We seek a name"[40] and a serial number in the top left corner to identify the holder for the purposes of a name competition. The other card was lighter with the title "You can help us" followed by five questions that encouraged the proposal of ideas next to their personal data on the back. The print run exceeded 10,000 copies. The media impact of the exhibition inspired a literary competition for articles written during that month.

The exhibition of AZCA's plan produced an architecture with democratizing effects, which we could call 'multimedia' and 'pluriparticipative'. We call this architecture multimedia because of both the publicity images of its architecture in diverse broadcast channels (press, NO-DO, TV…) and the multiple innovative forms of communication of its architecture within certain futuristic, space-age information environments (multisensorial cabins, synchronized audio-visualizations, multiscreening of film and slide-show…). And pluriparticipative because of both the display of public information (a sensorial-intellectual evolving experience) and the integration of citizens' interests in the project as a 'public thing' (suggestion box, naming competition, press competition). The use of those techniques advanced a phenomenon that surprises the current (re)presentation of architecture: an extreme simulacra of contents with democratizing effects, of technical and scientific[41] dominion, which precipitated an unexpected form of collaborative organization that made civil servants, experts and citizens, 'equally' interact with consultations, suggestions, appointments, competitions.

The exhibition was managed as a contemporarily bound experience whose contents are to be understood by the public as an invitation for self-modernization, for "the development of modern subjectivity."[42] In fact, the exhibition introduced a brief participatory democracy in the imagining of Madrid's future, although the private investment of capital dominated ultimately.

Also, that urban development arose in the context of the Cold War and functioned during the policy of Spain's economic acceleration with a view to entering the European Economic Community (in June 1970 the Preferential Agreement Between Spain and the EEC was signed).

Conclusion

AZCA's exhibition implied a unique citizen experience in a specific moment for the progress of urban culture in Madrid. The regime organized an event of exceptional urban signification, which at the same time served as an exception mechanism to

capture the attention of the most entrepreneurs, and lately to improve the relations with Europe. Either control pretext or power jactitation, the exhibition included a space with new European airs.

What instead could have constrained the transmission of that public demonstration until today? Paradoxically, the reception could not be realized without the public/private campaign for a modern citizenship. The mode of the exhibit's diffusion contains cultural and ideological mechanisms that suspend a city between late Franquism and before democracy. Even though, can one meet the limits of democratic fiction?

Notes

[1] The economic-military agreements between the US and Spain were signed at the *Palacio de Santa Cruz* in Madrid on September 26, 1953. The Pact favored the US in its anticommunist fight and the Spanish government in the recognition of the regime. The US considered the recognition of the dictatorship as a lesser evil in comparison with the urgency of consolidating the Atlantic block. Spain could do no more than accept American defense bases in exchange for economic and military support for ten years. The concession of American credit obliged it to take part in the US contention strategy against the USSR. The economic policy of the state attended the progress of Spain and at the same time exposed it as a potential target for the USSR. The US Embassy in Madrid (1950-55) was planned by Lelan V. King and Ernst Warlon, and directed by architect Mariano Garrigues. That building formed part of an ambitious world project of embassies of international style connected with an American international control plan. Situated in Serrano Street, its architecture inspired the promotion of free-standing blocks in Castellana Promenade.

[2] On December 3, 1953, *Ley Castellana* would be approved, an urban development mechanism that promoted (through some fiscal benefits originating from the Law of Expansion and Extension of July 26, 1892, and of Restructuring and Interior Improvement of March 18, 1895, i.e. exemption for 20 years from the excess of the urban contribution of real rights with respect to newly constructed buildings) the urbanization of several areas in Madrid: La Castellana, El Calero, La Estrella, La Pionera, La Florida, Puerta de Hierro, General Mola's expansion, Francia's road, etc. *Ley Castellana* was the immediate precedent of the Land Law of May 12, 1956.

[3] The competition announcement was published on June 25, 1954 in the *State's Official Bulletin*, n. 176. That opportunity (and an exceptional case of power relations between civil servants and architects) had as the jury Julián Laguna (General Commissioner for Madrid's Urban Planning), Gaspar Blein (Director of Urban Planning of Madrid's City Hall), Diego de Reina (representing Madrid's City Hall at the Commissary), Secundino Zuazo (named by the competitors) and Pedro Bidagor (Director of the Technical Office of the *Comisaría de la Ordenación Urbana de Madrid*). Meeting from 6 to 15 December, 1954, they concluded on December 16. The architectural magazines published the result of the minutes. *Gran Madrid* (*Comisaría*'s news bulletin) dedicated a whole forty-six page issue to the competition with the seventeen participating projects and a summary of homologous models of international shopping centers (1955, n. 28); the *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura (RNA)* documented Perpiña's project in five pages, preceding the two second prizes projects (May 1955, n. 161); *Cuadernos de Arquitectura*, surpassed this last publication, showing more detailed images and plans of the winning project and a more detached text from the official description (June 1955, n. 22); *Arquitectura* (Cuba), published five pages, three of them only images, and looser text although with a last paragraph taken from the jury's minutes (April 1956).

[4] "In this privileged sector we should create an expansion that, without more conditions, would be called to be the most important urban element in Spain in the next fifty years. But that moreover we understand that should be situated there the shopping center of higher category in the capital and, therefore, in a way, the most select permanent shopping center in the nation." Pedro Bidagor, "Del sector de la avenida

del Generalísimo de Madrid." Read conference in the Architecture Criticism Session in March 1951. *RNA*, August 1951, n. 116. p. 35. Also see the references on Pedro Bidagor's conference by Moneo, Rafael: "Madrid. Análisis del desarrollo urbano de los últimos veinticinco años." *Información Comercial Española,* February 1967, n. 4.021.

[5] First living alone in a hostel, afterwards in a flat on Goya Street, then with his family in a flat on Maiquet Street and finally in a house-studio in Gutiérrez Solana Street in 1958.

[6] AZCA, Mixed Association of Compensation for the Commercial District in the Avenida del Generalísimo, 'A' Apple. Statutes approved by the Ministry of Housing on July 16, 1964.

[7] "Exposición de la Ordenación del centro comercial de la avenida del Generalísimo." *Informaciones*, February 2, 1966. p. 3.

[8] Menu by 'Riesgo'. AZCA Collection.

[9] Navascues, César de: "Azca: un mini-Manhattan madrileño." *Pueblo*, October 3, 1969. p. 22.

[10] Otamendi, Miner: "La Olimpíada que no ha de fallarnos." *Madrid*, April 30, 1966. p. 6.

[11] "[The] conceivable thing was that there […] was not as an Olympic altar the reduced plan of what should be, of what will be in eight or ten years, that enormous rectangle that miraculously has been conserved intact on the left side of the N-S axis." Ibid.

[12] Press clippings of Antonio Perpiñá Sebriá (1966-1977). Perpiñá Family Collection.

[13] *ABC*, April 27, 1966. p. 85. *El Alcázar*, May 31, 1966. p. 4.

[14] María Luz Nachón Riaño named first Feduchi as author. Nachón Riaño, María Luz: "Una exposición digna de verse." *Informaciones*, April 28, 1966. p. 3.

[15] Its Surveillance Committee was presided by the delegate of the Government in the Metropolitan Area, with other executive members such as the Mayor of Madrid and the general directors of Urban Planning, Architecture, Economy and Construction Technique. The General Assembly and the Association Committee had as a vice president the lieutenant mayor of Madrid City Hall, and as a special counselor the municipal manager of Urban Planning.

[16] "AZCA. Consejo. 25-11-1966. Acta n. 21. pp. 3-4" (16:00-16:50). 1966 Proceeding Book. pp. 178-179. AZCA Collection.

[17] Conversation with Miguel A. Alonso del Val, September 14, 2005.

[18] The capitalist urgency coincided with a social depolitization, promoted by a decaying Franco regime. The combination of both enterprises served only to radicalize an increasingly more popular immunization at the power's system of values.

[19] Frampton, Kenneth: "The Work of Architecture in the Age of Commodification." *Harvard Design Magazine*, Fall 2005/Winter 2006, n. 23, p. 2.

[20] Inside the Ten-year Plan of Modernization 1964-1973, negotiated by the state with the World Bank.

[21] In the same year as the competition for Madrid's shopping center, Victor Gruen's office had organized a traveling show through several US cities: *Shopping Centers of Tomorrow*. The catalogue of the sample articulated a series of points, like the history of commercial public spaces, traffic, parking, civil security, environment, climate, commercial atmosphere, process of the project, and responsibility and possibility — analyzed continuing some ideas of CIAM 8's heart of the city (Hoddesden, July 1951) —, to conclude with four models of shopping centers. Victor Gruen Associates, *Shopping Centers of Tomorrow* (US, 1954), 33-page catalogue. The catalogue probably influenced, in concept, the exhibition for Madrid's first modern shopping center in 1966.

[22] "[Where] the possibilities of the different advances predicted for Madrid till year 2000 are studied, as much in the increase of cars, demography and spending capacity per inhabitant, inside the different areas in which the perimeter of the Metropolitan Area appears technically represented and the most distant one, with a radius of 36 kilometers from the center." *ABC*, April 27, 1966. p. 85.

[23] In 1972, Robert Venturi reflected his theories in an 'architectural' way on the cover front of the first edition of *Learning from Las Vegas*, treating it as a capable interface of communicating and registering changes: an ad book. Mark Wigley, theories on Robert Venturi. Columbia GSAPP, New York. Winter 2003.

[24] Unpublished notes referring to the shopping center exhibition. Madrid, November 30, 1965. AZCA Collection. p. 2.

[25] AZCA commissioned a French technician to install the electric circuit. He ordered platinum contacts. They were inexistent in Spain and the ones they finally put continuously blew. To record the voice for the

script the organizers' condition was that the presenter had to "talk good Castellan" so that AZCA hired "a man from Valladolid". Conversation with Jordi Brunet. Madrid, January 28, 2006.

[26] Shows took place at different times: 11.30am, 12.15pm, 13.45pm, 18pm, 18.45pm, 19.30pm and 20.15pm.

[27] Unpublished notes referring to the shopping center exhibition. Ibid.

[28] "Muñoz Grandes inaugura la exposición sobre el centro comercial de la avenida del Generalísimo." *Madrid (Diario de la noche)*, April 27, 1966. p. 9.

[29] *Ya*, April 27, 1966. p. 12.

[30] A model is prepared for the exhibition, through which the Opera Theater is resolved as a volume regarding the pre-studied occupation with the most discreet form. "Nota sobre Teatro de la Ópera." After January 8, 1966. AZCA Collection.

[31] AZCA was crossed by 'the tunnel of the laughter'. The tunnel perforator reached Nuevos Ministerios on December 7, 2005.

[32] "Nota sobre Exposición en el Ministerio de la Vivienda del Proyecto de Centro Comercial en la Avenida del Generalísimo de Madrid." *Madrid*, March 5, 1966. AZCA Collection.

[33] *ABC*, Ibid.

[34] "Escaleta de guión para la realización de un film en color de 5 minutos (Imagen real-Animación), que muestre el funcionamiento del futuro centro comercial en la avenida del Generalísimo." Screenwriter: Enrique de las Casas. Production: Estudios Moro. AZCA Collection.

[35] An actor performed as a citizen arriving at Madrid and discovering how the city was prospering. Viewed by the second time, one noticed an overuse of snobbish words. Conversation with artist Jordi Brunet, Madrid, January 28, 2006.

[36] Point 7.4. Report of the exhibition project. Ibid. For the production of the movie, Movierecord filmed at Jordi Brunet's workshop with Antonio Perpiñá. One of the films, n. 1.221-C, was shown from May 30 to June 5, 1966, at several cinemas in Madrid (Avenida, Bilbao, Carlton, Coliseum, Conde Duque, Consulado, Fantasio, Mola, Muñoz Seca, Palac, Palafox, Paz, Princesa, Real, Rex, Salamanca y Vox), in 70 provincial cinemas, and during the following 42 weeks in other cinemas of Spain, with possible subsequent projection in America. "Noticia del centro comercial en 'NO-DO'." AZCA Collection.
The original version of "Madrid Futuro" disappeared from the Azca Collection. An enormous deception when discovering that Enrique de las Casas had also carried out with Juan I. de Cárdenas and Luis E. Torán a documentary film on urbanism and architecture in 1967, "Vivir en España," filmed by Cinecorto and produced by the Ministry of Housing. The script was based on the book *Resumen histórico del urbanismo en España* (*Historic Summary of Urbanism in Spain*), by Torres Balbás, Cervera, Chueca and Bidagor and had advisors such as Jenaro Cristos, Rodolfo García de Pablos, Alejandro Blond, Carlos de Miguel, Javier Feduchi, Viloria Blon and Luis Miquel. Jacobo Torán donated the image and sound negatives (300m of 35mm) to the National Film Library.

[37] Javier Feduchi worked with Perpiñá as the architect for the commercial spaces of Galerías Preciados center two years later.

[38] Futurama video document "To New Horizons," (Prelinger Collection) at http://www.archive.org/details/ToNewHor1940. Futurama II video clip at http://www.nytimes.com/specials/magazine3/futurama2.mov.

[39] Nachón Riaño, María Luz. Ibid.

[40] 'Azca' was chosen from: Capitalia, Emporio, Madrid-Europa, Madrid Nuevo, Madrilia, Madrid Dos Mil, Europa, Eurocentro, Palacio del Comercio, Francisco Franco, etc. AZCA Collection.

[41] "Urban planning becomes, besides an art, a science, which constitutes a base that transcends politics." Offprint of *Arquitectura*, April 1966, n. 88. p. 2. The Azca's Plan was finally approved on July 15, 1966.

[42] Staniszewski, Mary Anne, *The Power of Display: a history of exhibition installations at the Museum of Modern Art* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998), p. 70.

Appendix

Illustrations credits

Fig. 1. Left: North view of the winner project's model in the design competition for the commercial center of Madrid. Front cover of *Gran Madrid*, 1954 [1995], n. 28. Top: Series of model negatives. Courtesy of the Perpiñá Family Collection. Bottom: Model photography taken at Jordi Brunet's workshop in Barcelona, probably in December 1954. Ibid.

Fig. 2. Top: Intermediate phase of the project planning by Antonio Perpiñá, previous to the Azca's show at Exco (1965). Photo-elevation of a Jordi Brunet's model. Courtesy of the Perpiñá Family Collection. Right: North view of the 1965 model. Ibid. Bottom: Nominative Certificate of PVS for AZCA's Property Registration (1,491,148.54 total PVS distributed among shares groups). Courtesy of the Azca Collection.

Fig. 3. Top left: Spectators seating on motorized boxes which roll around the 'Futurama' while a voice in off gives them explanations. At the 1939 New York World's Fair, promoted by General Motors and designed by Norman Bel Geddes.
From Colomina, Beatriz, "The Exhibitionist House," in AA.VV.*, At the End of the Century: One Hundred Years of Architecture* (Los Angeles, 1998), p. 145. "Bel Geddes Collection, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin. By permission of Edith Luytens Bel Geddes, Executrix. Photo by Margaret Bourke-White." Photo note by Beatriz Colomina. Bottom left: Spectators seating on a ride train while viewing the City of Tomorrow model (GM Futurama II) at the 1964-1965 New York World's Fair. From http://www.nywf64.com/gm06.shtml. Top right: Azca model. Courtesy of the Perpiñá Family Collection. Bottom right: Viewers at the 'Maquetorama' spectacle. Courtesy of the AZCA Collection.

The special plans for the historic parts of cities. Public planning with private development. Two Galician examples: Compostela and Coruna

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1. Objectives

Our report seeks to contribute to the Conference's debate with our experience of private developments in public planning in the historic parts of two large Galician cities, Compostela and Coruña.

In addition, we make an assessment of the political, cultural and town planning initiatives of the specific legislation that resulted from these initiatives and a method by which to address its development and management. Lastly, we evaluate the specific achievements designed and carried out under the protection of this normative framework.

2. The Galician context

An approximation of the current situation related to urban and rural rehabilitation in Galicia would be almost impossible to understand unless an effort is made to visualise the previously evolutionary context of the ideas and theories for rehabilitation fundamental within the undergoing projects; something which would also be necessary when contemplating the political and legal content wherein the gradual progress and, at times, inevitable setbacks were produced.

The incipient theoretical contributions related to urban rehabilitation (as yet, far from an official evaluation as with rural heritage or a territorial concept) were re-initiated in post-war Spain (1940). This was an undertaking based on the cultural and illustrated principles stipulated by the *National Artistic Heritage Act of 1933*. This act was instituted in order to pursue the conservation of cultural and historical landmarks from a restorative perspective.

The *National Artistic Heritage Act of 1933*, lacking a specific urban plan, was in fact the only measure undertaken for the preservation of national heritage until the passage of the current *Act for Land Preservation of 1956*. This Act proposed "special plans" as a tool and gives competence to the individual city councils.

The approval in 1985 of the *Spanish Historical Heritage Act* was passed in parallel while the first special plans mentioned above were written. There was a conflict in that the new Act of 1985 also created strict conditions for the special plans. Furthermore, the

special plans come from the *Act for Land Preservation of 1976* (a reformation of the Act of 1956), which also implemented the criteria of the previously developed Act of 1956. However, influenced by succeeding international charters and recommendations, a more urban vision was progressively established. This urban vision covered problems of deterioration of a historical city within the global dynamics involved in the city's growth. This vision joined the planning of the historical city itself with the land on which it was located, thus abandoning the previous model which was exclusive to the physical recuperation of environments and buildings.

The coming of democracy (General Elections in 1977 and the Constitution of 1978) led to the first democratically elected city councils instituted with the 1979 municipal elections. Autonomous Institutions were established in Galicia in 1982 and the Spanish State was converted into a "pseudo-federal" State. Under this new formation of the State, the historical regions progressively took over the responsibility of regulations which were previously directed from the Central Government (including Housing and Heritage). All of this created an atmosphere of great expectations with respect to the recuperation of our historic cities.

The reformed text of the *Act for Land Preservation of 1976* offered a means by it was possible, basically through planning at a municipal or local level, to ride the winds of radical change arising in the early seventies. These changes related to urban uses in a greater number of European countries whose previous chief objective in the creation of new cities had now been abandoned to focus on the maintenance and the regeneration of the existing cities. This was a change of purpose, without a doubt, consequent of the international economic crisis of 1973. However, it also resulted from painful establishment of disasters caused by indiscriminate and speculative urban development in the 1950´s and 1960´s. Such an intense urban growth had given way to degradation in urban planning and architecture not only in Spanish cities, and other European cities, in general, but also in Spanish urban life and Galician cities.

The same abandonment of the traditional nuclei and villages occurred together with the massive migration of the population along with people from the so-called historic nucleus to the outer limits of the cities. This resulted in a parallel process of deterioration both in the countryside and in historical cities with respect to the national heritage buildings, socio-economical depression and the aging of the population.
The analysis of the new conditions made many of the European theorists of critical thought, of sociology, and those involved in a more progressive urban ideology, set track on a far more austere philosophy and attitude relating to the city and the territory[1]. This was an austere and democratic concept of the worth of a city which acclaimed the maintenance, not only of the physical structures, but also of the social tissue and functions of historical cities, together with the rightful use of the fixed capital administered by each city. That is to say, the rightful administration of existing resources (i.e. empty buildings considered national heritage, public space, railway networks, services, transports, etc.) which allowed savings in public investment (i.e. costs for maintenance and urbanization of the city, larger amount of necessary equipment, etc.).

This process was intended to reduce indiscriminate expansion and also to lower social travelling expenses of home-work-leisure, thus taking in hand a means of control over the use of private transport. This also avoided the discrimination towards historical nuclei and outskirts and reduced the dangers of aggression caused to natural environments peripheral to the cities.

This situation also makes evident the definitive crisis shown in the thesis of indefinite growth of European cities. This was the end of a cycle which was initiated at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the industrial revolution provoked overcrowding in cities of medieval history as well as pre-existent modern cities. Finally, in the mid-seventies, favoured by the political atmosphere, the younger generations of Spanish town planners and local administrations themselves become aware, through European theoretical references and paradigmatic examples of the rest of the continent and particularly that of the Italian city of Bologna[2], that the problem of urban rehabilitation necessary for the re-equilibrium of a city needs to be taken in hand with the disciplinary field of Urbanism. It also needs to be taken in hand with the means disposable for that planning, confronting the recuperation of historic centres with a regional and municipal plan.

This situation gave interesting results in the Spanish experiences related to urban recuperation throughout the 1970´s and 1980´s (i.e. Gerona, Vitoria, Pamplona, Barcelona, etc.)[3], experiences which later influenced the projects in Galicia in a very determined way.

However, first let us try to understand the situation in Galicia with respect to the growth in urban life, population mobility and the territorial development from the moment in which the politics of recuperation of National Heritage buildings was set underway together with a control over the growth and expansion of cities. It is worth noting here that there was a great deal of delay in Galicia in urban restoration - practically 10 years in relation to the rest of Spain and 20 years in relation to the experiences of the rest of Europe.

Galicia has one of the lowest rates of population growth in Europe. Approximately 114,000 citizens, or 4.6% of the population, were lost between the years 1981 and 2001. At present, the population of Galicia is of 2,764,000 inhabitants (100,000 less than the city of Chicago) spread out in 315 municipal areas charged with public urban planning, where no less than 31,874 population nuclei are distributed around the Galician territory of 29,574 km2 (a fifth the size of the state of Illinois). Only two cities (Coruña and Vigo) have almost 300,000 inhabitants. Santiago, the capital of Galicia, has 95,000 inhabitants. Nearly 200 councils have less than 5,000 inhabitants[4].
In Galicia there are 315 municipalities of which: 94 belong to the province of La Coruña, 67 to the province of Lugo, 92 to that of Orense, and 62 in Pontevedra. Of these 315 municipalities, it is foreseen that almost 100 (mostly in inland Galicia) will lose half their population in about 10 years, in what has already become the greatest demographic crisis of Galician society in the whole of its history. This is a complete redistribution of the system of population settlement as a consequence of a new economic order. The

visible symptoms of this process have manifested themselves in the desertion of the interior, involving numerous villages and thousands of hamlets. This has brought about a marked territorial unbalancing, mostly due to the majority of people migrating to the Atlantic coast near the axis of the highway joining Ferrol with Tui. This area accounts for a margin of hardly 15% of the total surface of Galicia, but which gathers almost 70% of the population. 47% of the Galician population live in the 7 most important towns and cities in our weakened system of urban development, with the population coming from rural areas to crowd around the peripheral urban territories[5].

The start of this situation had been clearly evaluated within the *Territorial Director Plan of Coordination of 1976*, a document drafted by the regional administration, in itself the only attempt until the present moment to propose a territorial order in Galicia. However, this plan was not enough to cut back on the economic and demographic dynamics. An apparently contradictory factor related to these population movements was the construction of 240,000 individual family homes in the rural territory of Galicia. These were all built in the third part of the 20th century[6], a tough aggression on the land. Moreover, if we are to keep in mind the exodus of the population, this supposed abandonment was of an even larger number of houses situated in traditional population centers.

At the same time, within areas of strictly urban character, there was a new surging of the cities' central areas which lead to the loss of privileged positions for historic centres. The tertiary processes (i.e. a rapidly progressive growth of the service sector) were all being added, as well as an absence of a cultural attitude to maintenance, among other structural factors, resulting in a loss, and aging, of the population in the historic towns. Furthermore, this was looked upon officially as irrelevant, together with a progressive impairing of the living conditions in national heritage housing.

The situation in municipal Galicia was improved with the work of the first democratic city councils with a wide, generally permissive and evolutionary planning, in parallel with the scale of planning and territorial dynamics.

In effect, the uncontrolled growth of the cities have left the historic tissues and expansions of Galician cities socially degraded from an architectural and urban point of view. Rather, it has favoured a fragmentary expansion with areas suited exclusively to urban functionalism. In fact, the historical towns and centres of Galician cities continue to lose population (which specialises more and more in the service sector and then leave) while the peripheral areas continue to grow in a defused and fragmentary manner. Thus, facing grave inertias that continue to unbalance our urban and territorial system, we pose the following question related to the procedures we are to pursue for the recuperation of our historical cities:

> Can the initiatives undertaken for rehabilitation remain unaffected by the imbalances within the urban and territorial dynamics and achieve functionality for the complete recuperation of the historic cities?

The answer to this question should serve to consolidate the issues concerning the preservation of our historic cities and urban nuclei and will only be achieved with an adequate intervention of all the levels of planning and development, both with respect to territory and housing.

3. The *special plans* for the protection and interior reform of the historic parts of cities in urban planning. Two case studies (input) with two results (output).

In this section we will explain what this form of planning means, its relationship to the rest of the development planning and with the tools from the Galician urban planning legislation. (*Act 15 of 2004 and modification of Act 9 in 2002, the order for urban development and protection of the rural environment of Galicia*).

The figures for planning as stated in Galician legislation are divided into instruments of arrangement and development planning. The instruments of arrangement are bound to a hierarchical order of guidelines as well as to other instruments. The instrument for the fundamental arrangement is the *General Plan for Municipal Arrangement* -local development framework- *(Plan General de Ordenación Municipal –PGOM-)*, an urban instrument of integrated arrangement and authority of the Councils. In those municipalities that do not have a PGOM, the arrangements for urban areas are undertaken through *Subsidiary and Complementary Rules for Planning.*

The figures for development planning are basically the *Partial Plans* and *Special Plans.* These plans are able to modify the detailed planning established by the PGOM under specific conditions.

The partial plans follow the objective of regulating urbanization and construction on grounds for urbanising, developing the general plan through a detailed arrangement of a sector. In those municipalities without general planning, partial plans will also be approved for the developing of sectors of grounds for urbanising, limited by subsidiary and complementary planning norms.

The purposes of the special plans are: 1. The development of the estimated contents of the general plans for municipal arrangement, special plans will be approved and suggestions admitted with the aim of protecting singular environments, to undertake operations of interior reform, to coordinate the execution of urban facilities, to protect, rehabilitate and improve the countryside or other projects which are determined under regulations. 2. In the absence of a municipal general planning, or when a general planning does not entail adequate detailed stipulations, special planning will be approved exclusively with an aim of protecting singular environments, rehabilitate and improve the countryside and establish infrastructures and basic urban utilities, as long as these determinations require a previous definition of a territorial model.

We shall now analyse the quoted Special Plans, both within the scale of intermediary cities, which in our opinion represent emblematic examples of success and failure:

- Firstly we will deal with the *Special Plan for Conservation and Rehabilitation of the Historic City of Santiago de Compostela.* An exemplary plan when broaching the items to analyse, worthy of diagnosis and architectural proposals suited to a city which is a Heritage of Humanity.

- In the second place we have the *Special Plan for Protection and Interior Reform (PEPRI) of the Old Quarter and the Old Fishermen`s Area of Coruña.* The plan for a city which is head of a metropolitan area of a large population situated on the Atlantic Axis which, in our opinion, does not attain to the minimum requisites to a Planning document with such ambitious objectives.

3.1. Compostela

The most interesting and practical example of urban rehabilitation in Galicia was undertaken in Santiago de Compostela based on a Special Plan with rigorous documentation, keeping to the aforementioned stipulations. The exemplary character of the initial considerations and as a forerunner in Galicia, Santiago deserves an analysis of its successes and failures.

The creation of the Consortium of the City of Santiago in 1992, an inter-administrative entity legally covered by the *Act 7/1985*, which regulates the basis for the local regime, gathers economic resources for the City´s promotion. These are awarded through the central administration (65%), from the autonomous administration (30%) and from the municipal administration (5%).

We now have a political environment with more stability than the City Council and ample financial capacity. This change was requested by the Council itself in 1994 (two years prior to the definitive approval of the Special Plan and four years after the beginning of public debates entailing the first proposals). There are public technical offices with excellent facilities and there are financial resources which add to those from the State and Autonomous Planning. For the first time, Galicia witnessed a joint venture of political involvement, technical means and financial capacity.

This department is responsible for all public charges concerning the policies for rehabilitation proposed from the Plan. It is basically supported in three ways: Subsidies for personal refurbishment of homes, the restoration of monuments, and intervention for re-urbanisation in historic public spaces.

The historic city of Santiago (18,000 inhabitants and 6,700 homes in 2,800 buildings) is currently in a far better situation than other historic cities in Galicia and the rest of Spain. Even before the start of the said politics and in accordance with the Special Plan diagnosis there were streets exclusively for pedestrians and an average occupancy of homes of 86%. Only 10% of homes are in poor condition and 38% in an acceptable state, with a remarkable social and functional diversity[7]. This together with outstanding commercial activity has helped the maintenance of its central position to be favoured and, in time, this has led to the attraction of a sector of the population to live in the

historic part of the city, a movement which has become fashionable with certain cultural and liberal elites.

The head office of the Consortium works to create a joint awareness in the citizens, the technicians and the commercial companies. Throughout the initial years of the Project, no less than two hundred interventions take place annually, mostly of a light character, such as small repairs, maintenance operations, etc., with a very low rate of genuine refurbishment work. These figures gradually lowered and, to date, the economic contributions from the Consortium have disappeared. The refurbishment initiative is currently more or less managed by laws of the real estate market, i.e. private initiative without further assistance.

Over the years, it has been demonstrated that the steps taken in Compostela resulted in a wasted opportunity. The refurbishment policies in Santiago ran into the same errors as their main theoretical mentors of 25 years earlier – the same problems as had occurred in other Spanish cities whose process had begun 15 years prior to Santiago's revitalization program. Unfortunately, the Plan itself was based on experiences and theoretical cases in other European countries in the 1970´s, which were in no sense reviewed or updated.

The Plan´s schemes had been typical, formal and formed with excessive bylaws. This approach denied the stance suggested by one of its theorist fathers, Josef Paul Kleihues, with his proposal of a critical reconstruction. Kleihues himself, who criticised a historic reconstruction, maintained that "in comparison with the reductive theory of Rossi, which underlines the traditional component" critical reconstruction is "more open and also more given to experiment"[8].

Despite the methodological planning, the management of refurbishment through the office was, perhaps, too high-handed in decision making, focusing more on superficial determination than on practical conclusions and, ultimately, unheeding to more plural opinions. The interpretation formed was hyper-restrictive with respect to the norms, with a demeaning attitude towards the entrepreneurs of the sector. It rejected any collaboration from professionals in architecture, as they rejected the wishes of citizens and owners in deciding how they would prefer to live. All in all, this finally gave way to a loss of support from professional people and of the citizens' trust. In other words, there was no point of agreement with the private sector.

On the other hand, there was no public refurbishment to speak of which considered the social politics for housing in the historic part of the city. Under the pressures of speculation, the dynamics of growth could not be otherwise. Nor were there any control mechanisms for capital gains produced, which made rents and prices shoot up and the market imposed its laws. As there was no effective control over uses or activities of tourism, the historical city continued to be service oriented in an undesired way by as the traditional commerce gradually disappeared. Furthermore, within the scope organised by the Special Plan, the population continued to decrease in the rest of the city.

There was finally a clear connection between the physical recovery and refurbishment of buildings. This was the only issue in which the results were undeniable. However, the result renounced a comprehensive vision and turned the refurbishment of a country house into an end in itself and not into a means for obtaining higher goals.

The new situation disassociated in a definitive way the refurbishment from other social, cultural and economic factors with regard to the rest of the city and territory: An alarming contrast with the initial objectives of the Plan.

It is possible that this happened due to structural factors and because, from the department of urban development, a fragmentary functional specialisation was permitted. Finally, the department may have overlooked an exhaustive urban design which considered both the urban and territorial realities.

One particular urban and territorial reality plunged the planning for Santiago into a contradiction which had not been resolved by the General Plan. Santiago more than exceeded demographic expectations and competed with bordering municipalities. It proposed an immense amount of ground space suitable for urbanisation and the construction of thousands of homes. This followed a physically and functionally fragmentary extensive model of growth, and a Special Plan which required, and therefore demanded, the compact city and limited growth, as well as the final completion of the city.

3.2. Coruña

From the rigidity in application and management of a good Plan in Compostela we now turn to a laxity in application of a mediocre text in Coruña.

The *Special Plan for Protection and Interior Reform (PEPRI) of the Old Quarter and Old Fishermen`s Area of Coruña* was approved towards the end of 1998, coinciding with the definitive approbation of the General Plan for Municipal Arrangement (PGOM). The PEPRI was drafted by "PROINTEC consulting engineers", a consulting company for engineering projects set in Madrid and the same who drafted the PGOM. They appeared to lack the necessary qualifications to enter into a debate necessary for the development of a document of such importance for the future of the city. PROINTEC was an aseptic firm based too far away to be able to establish a program which can cover all the coarser local interests. But the most damaging part was the absence of political guidelines to give an idea of the atmosphere surrounding the development of the project.

The contents in the PEPRI at first sight could be seen as complete considering its length, but the document has turned out, as we will show, inefficient. After from the introduction and the historic insertion, the Plan becomes progressively weaker due to scarce urban information and this continues in the document until a decree for the construction, the management and the execution of the work. It follows with a fragmentary diagnosis of the urban problems in the area, and contains objectives and

suggestions such as follows: "The PGOM, suggests a triple strategy on urban soil: Finish, Improvement and Conservation… The Special Plan, besides developing this strategy from a prolonged study, now considers the actualization of the historic town"[9]. With this terminology, so related to the world of fashion, one could have deep concerns. The catalogue, which should in fact be the milestone of the document, is left to lie in a corner at the end, and in which only a tremendously poor relation of buildings, spaces and urban elements is taken into consideration. From the graphic documentation of the Plan, the drafts, we can specify that they cover catalogue, management and order floor plans at a scale of 1/2,000 and the elevations at a scale 1/500 where, in practice, a disastrous order of volume is established.

The field for the PEPRI covers the urban byways of the Old Quarter and Old Fishermen`s Area enlarged with the borders which are in need of a greater definition and urban aggregation as stipulated in the *Delimitation of the Historic Artistic Whole of Coruña (1984)*. An extension of almost 100 hectares with a set population with decreasing tendency (13,506 inhabitants in 1997, 12,958 in 2000 and 12,747 in 2003). There has been no significant public act related to the Plan, except for a few dispensable cosmetic interventions. It was left to ruin (private interests took advantage of the situation to "free themselves" from edifications). Eventually, an elite sector of the economic and political world purchased the buildings with a superior position. This was followed by the rehabilitation of many of them. The Plan allows for this and at present the circumstance of deterioration due to the "actualization" seems unstoppable.

In the Old Quarter and Old Fishermen`s Area of Coruña only two buildings designed by the architect Manuel Gallego remain as a paradigm of intervention. The Museum of the Arts situated in the old grounds of the convent of the Capuchinas Sisters and the small Museum of the Colegiata de Santa María, forming part of the beautiful medieval temple. Needless to say that both interventions, completed prior to the approval of the Plan, would not be possible today. These isolated examples are exceptions within the general mess of things.

The most significant conclusion we can gather from all the matters surveyed is that the PEPRI for the Old Quarter and Old Fishermen`s Area of Coruña is, in practice, after almost 10 years of application, a true instrument of destruction for that part of the city. This city within the city would have been in better conservation with the *General Plan of Urban Arrangement of 1985*. That is to say, its protection was more effective when there was no specific plan for its particular protection. This is very hard to take. And we can prove this fact by taking a look at the mess that resulted since its approval in 1998. Two singular spots in the Old Quarter which are (were) the squares Plaza de las Bárbaras and Plaza de San Nicolás, (urban spaces under protection by the PEPRI) have been seriously damaged, if not ruined, in the midst of the enforcement of the PEPRI.
We round off with the recent and awesome criticism on behalf of the prestigious architect Manuel Gallego, concerning the PEPRI for Coruña: "The Old Quarter ("city") is less and less a city and it is less and less old".

4. Public and private. Guidance and involvement

All public instruments for planning run the risk of being managed with an excessively rigid and orderly vision, which could destroy everything positive that could be contributed in aiding the future of a historic city by serious planning, private initiative and professionals of architecture. What characterises a Special Plan is the will to express a political standpoint on the soil, where a variety of departments are to go into debate on the future of the city. The lack of more complex urban proposals, of coordination in development and the necessary procedures on the part of the different public administration departments, as well as a lack of private initiative, can weaken and reduce the efficiency of the planning or even produce undesirable effects in the development of Historic Cities, progressively letting them fall into a state of deterioration which would affect the permeability with respect of the rest of the city.

We could recap from this point of view, that the process undertaken in Santiago was excessively weighted in a public sense, undermining the value of the contributions from the private sectors (architect, firms, property, owners). This is the opposite of what took place in Coruña, where there was an absence of public instruments for control and management. This unfortunate occurrence added to the conceptual weakness of the planning document which then gave way to an uncontrolled and aggressive action of private initiatives.

5. Conclusions

The gestation of a policy of intervention in a historic city starts with the conception of the 'city model' by its planners. In fact, political willingness is the first condition for a plan to be written with adequate criteria. However, this is not enough. The choice of the team members for the very composition of the document is to be studied in depth. The elected team will have an immense responsibility to ascertain a precise diagnosis and undergo proposals which may solve its process. This is all within an organism complex in its dialectic reality as a historic city.

But this would still not be sufficient. If we obtain approval of a plan, not easy by any means, we must then pass the definitive test: the management. In addition to this, the sources of public financing of the many political proposals from a plan can easily altered, cancelling its possibilities of management.

Considering all these aspects, we can understand the reasons for the success of the Compostela model and the failure of the one for La Coruña. In La Coruña, its mayor never had a city model. The destruction has been allowed as the inevitable cost of the neo liberalism in the urban exploitation of the city. Private initiative gains with a "socialist" mayor, backed by election results on six occasions, provided all the facilities necessary to turn the city into a perfect paradise for building speculation.

Thus, the recuperation of its historic city, as a part of a necessary sustained development of the city and as a cultural Project of conservation of its historic heritage

disappeared from political interest. The historic city becomes, as shown by the cornice line which determines the increase of volume allowed within the Plan, a tool for obtaining economic appreciations. A kind of "hen with golden eggs" which the irresponsible, but conscious, municipal permissiveness allows to be killed in an off-hand way. Furthermore, all values of heritage will have been destroyed, which supposes an unforgivable historic mistake which should be paid for by those politicians responsible. It is also grave to find a lack of civic culture from a citizen society which allows such deterioration of its cultural inheritance, its heritage and, naturally, on their quality of living and that of their children. This has occurred in a city which has a School of Architecture and the largest delegation of the Official Architects Association of Galicia – neither have made a difference in the process.

The example of Santiago de Compostela was very different. Its mayor, Xerardo Estévez, advised by an excellent multi-skilled team, initiated the resolution of the problems of the historic part of the city with a clear model of sustainability. It was clear from the beginning that the major problems could be resolved from the general planning approach.

The Plan generated an educated debate. In this public debate there were the architects who drafted the Plan as well as a long list of those who contributed to it, including Kleihues, Grassi, Hejduk, Lampugnani, Moneo, Siza, Gallego, Viaplana, and Isozaki. Almost all the architects named have made architectural contributions in Compostela, including the posthumous work of the genius North American architect John Hejduk. However, the public management of the rehabilitation did not obtain, as we have seen, the same positive results nor interest as in the original onset.

To conclude, we would like to underline two events of urban accomplishments currently underway in these two cities of great relevance, which will affect the development of their Historic Centres. In Santiago, the construction of the "City of Culture" (http://www.cidadedacultura.es), a project by Peter Eisenman. This is a considerable cultural infrastructure with no foreseeable use at present. And in Coruña, there is currently the construction of an exterior port which allows a clearing in the current uses of the present port area, which includes transporting of oil derivatives to the oil refinery, thus "recuperating it" for the city[10]. This circumstance has brought about the commission for a *Plan for the Port* which is being inserted into the revision of the General Plan for Municipal Arrangement (PGOM), both drafted by Joan Busquets (http://www.bau-barcelona.com). What we consider to be of more importance than the Plan for the Port and the revision of the PGOM, where the former is being inserted, is the abolition of the PEPRI and the commissioning of a new Special Plan with an atmosphere of a wider participation, open to qualified external opinions, treated in depth in a cultural debate. It is quite likely that we are seeking the impossible knowing the players as we do, but we just have to try.

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Urban segregation: a theoretical approach

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Introduction

Social-spatial segregation has been one of the most studied issues within the area of urban studies for nearly one century.

The word segregation itself has to do with the idea of the separation of certain social groups within the space of societies. It can be considered as a consequence or manifestation of social relations that are established and based on social structure, stratification, rules and conduct codes in place then. In fact, spatial segregation expresses a larger concentration of a social group in a certain city area.

As regards residential segregation, the possibility of having access to land in different places and at different prices also has to be considered.

At first, the term 'segregation' may seem to refer to a self-explanatory phenomenon that requires no definition, for the social division of territory has existed in all cities and villages since remote times in history. A more careful look, however, allows us to note that every social division of space expresses forms of segregation and that the use of this term as a concept depends on the theory adopted to explain the phenomenon.

This paper intends to present the main theoretical approaches regarding urban segregation. It also aims at highlighting the importance of studying the spatial segregation process in order to understand social-inequality manifestations in the city areas. Thus showing how intimately related both processes are.

This reflection has been led by some questions:

- What are the main theoretical contributions to segregation studies?
- Can residential segregation be regarded as a "proxy" of social structure?
- What are the consequences of residential segregation in city areas?
- Can segregation be measured?
- What are the main methods for studying segregation?

In the past hundred years, reflections about segregation have been influenced by different theoretical assumptions including those of:

- The sociology of the School of Chicago, in the first decades of the 20th century (Park & Burgess, 1925).

- Urban Marxist Sociology in the 1960's and 1970's (Castells, 1972; Lojkine, 1972 and Harvey,1973).

- The most recent approach anchored on the paradigm of Global Cities, whose major characteristic is social and spatial duality (Sassen, 1991; Marcuse, 1989; Sabatini, 2006 and Ribeiro, 2003).

I - The very first studies

In the early 20th century, the social analysis of space was developed by the so called "School of Chicago" and was based especially on the studies by Robert Park and Ernest Burgess who worked on the assumption of social ecology to explain the distribution of the population across cities.

The key idea was that there were "natural areas" where homogeneous communities emerged, with their own systems of values and specific symbolic relationships. According to Park (1926) these "natural areas" were found in every American city of a "certain size". This ecological model was supposed to reflect the major characteristic of cities, which were organized in concentric circles occupied by administrative, commercial, industrial and residential activities.

 In addition to that, the existence of an "urban way of life" (Wirth, 1928) was believed to be the result of this spatial morphology which allowed the identification of the communities that inhabited the city, making up neighborhood units with mutual help and social relationship networks based on reciprocity.

As regards the underlying theoretical paradigm, the idea of concentration of "natural areas" takes us to Durkheim's concepts of Community and Society, sociability forms and social division of work (Durkheim, 1960). Based on such concepts, segregation is understood as the specific location of a certain social group relative to others. Spatial distance is then regarded as an expression of social distance.

Individuals therefore are thought to group according to racial, ethnic affinities and social position as a means to protect themselves from the fragmenting effects of the individualization brought about by living in cities. In this sense, residential segregation is believed to be the product of individual logics, that is, the effect of individual choices (Park, 1926).

II - The Marxist debate and its influence on recent analyses

According to a different conception inspired by Marxist Sociology, segregation is the expression of social inequalities within the territory of cities, and reflects the unequal appropriation of land, goods and services by different social classes. (Lojkine,1979)

Residential segregation is therefore thought to have characteristics that are specific to capitalist societies. It is also thought to be the result of the social struggle, which in turn accounts for the unequal appropriation of the territory, consumer goods, and housing in its different forms.

Whereas neo-classical thinking considers the individual abilities and choices as the determining factors for the occupation of certain locations within city territories (Richardson, 1977), urban Marxist sociology emphasizes the role of the State as one of the social agents that contributes the most to urban structuring.

Marxist authors propose that the State should not be considered as a mere agent that acts on technical grounds, but one whose actions are guided by ideological imperatives.

Based on this current of thought, the State plays a key role in the social division of space in cities. At times the State is identified as a ruling-class interests representative, and analyses are also carried out where the State appears as an arena where the class struggles take place and where capitalist society contradictions are reproduced (Castells, 1977, Lojkine, 1979, Harvey 1989).

More recent analyses refer to the impact of globalization on cities and the increase in residential segregation. Three mechanisms are frequently regarded as the causes of the phenomenon (Sassen,1991;1994)

- *Dissemination of liberal ideas* throughout the planet caused by globalization which has prompted changes in urban policy regulatory model and contributed to the liberalization of the land market.

- *Real Estate prices* that have become one of the most important mechanisms to distribute and determine the residential venues within the city territory. Thus reinforcing the importance of income inequalities as concerns the appropriation of urban space (M. Smolka, 1992 & 2002).

- *Privatization of urban services* which increases inequality in access to public services and collective equipment, especially as regards the quality of such services.

All these factors are believed to contribute to social dualization, which is an effect of the production restructuring and transformations brought about in the urban space.

Moreover, recent studies on segregation and social-spatial inequality take into account the fact that spatial transformation in large cities has different origins, and varies according to the social and historical matrix of each country which implies the need to further reflect on the issue.

According to Sabatini (2006) "residential segregation consists of a spatial relation: territorial separation or proximity between persons and families that belong to the same social group, whatever its definition may be".Therefore, although residential segregation is related to income and social differences, and may influence them - increasing or reducing inequalities by enabling contact between different social groups - the concept refers to a phenomenon with an essentially spatial nature.

It is also worth noting the difference between geographic (spatial) segregation and sociological segregation. There are cases where there may be a greater level of sociological segregation and a lesser level of geographical segregation (White, 1983). In regard to this, two paradigmatic examples may be mentioned: the cast system in India and the coexistence of different social classes in the Brazilian coast cities, whose beaches are considered democratic leisure spaces. Besides that, the proximity between *favelas* (shanty towns) and high-income neighborhoods (such as luxury gated communities and condos) in many Latin American and Brazilian cities, are good examples of situations that combine physical proximity and social distance (Marcuse,1989; Ribeiro,2003 ;Pasternak & Bógus, 2003).

III -The residential segregation as a "proxy" of social structure

A very important aspect in analyses on segregation has to do with the formation of spaces with a high degree of social homogeneity both in rich and upscale areas and in run down areas with a large concentration of poor people. The formation of these areas fosters the emergence of subjective perception forms about highly segregated places of residency (Sabatini; Sierralta,2006)

These perceptions may be positive, in terms of the prestige that some exclusive areas attach to their inhabitants and/or usual frequenters, and negative, in the case of degraded urban areas which are marked by a certain "malignancy" that stigmatizes their inhabitants.

The run down neighborhoods are found in most contemporary capitalist cities, and, as is the case of many North American cities, may have characteristics of a de facto ghetto, with ethnic tones, as stated by Wilson (1978) in his studies about the issue.

In the case of low prestige segregated areas, social exclusion is also considered by many authors as a phenomenon that is closely linked with residential segregation. In those areas the occurrence of various processes related to urban poverty (e.g. unemployment, low income, illiteracy),feed each other creating a vicious cycle that is difficult to break.(Katzman,1999).

In the run down inner metropolitan Brazilian areas, as in their peripheral zones, unemployment rates as well as family disintegration, drug consumption and criminality have rocketed mainly among young people. Two sets of factors may be mentioned as accountable for this situation in the last thirty years:

- *Changes regarding production restructuring and increased competitiveness among markets as a result of the globalization mechanisms.* These changes caused the elimination of jobs, the dismantling of the social security protection system, the extinction of collective work contracts and the increase of informal labor (Sassen,1994)

- *Factors related with conditions of class.* In several Brazilian metropolises-mainly in the São Paulo Metropolitan Region - inner urban areas and peripheral zones which are strongly marked by the traits of exclusion, have overlapping needs. The

outcome of this is that only the low-income -class families tend to remain in the degraded inner city areas in a segregation process centered basically on poverty(Bógus and Pasternak,1999).

Segregation takes the form of spatial and social isolation due to the distance from territories that are well equipped in terms of urban services and cultural equipment. Higher levels of family disintegration and social disqualification were also pointed out by Castel (1995) and Paugam (1991) for European cities.

This attests to the reach of globalization harmful consequences as social exclusion is reproduced in a similar manner in different nations, thus bringing about new forms of segregation in the space of cities.

IV- Social-Spacial Segregation as an Operative Concept

It is vital to consider the need of improving efforts to fully understand the segregation scope concept and its explanatory power, as well as the reach and the limits of residential segregation as an operative concept. In this sense, time length, process nature and territorial dimension of the phenomena must be taken into account.

Whether in European, North American or Latin American contexts, unequal and/or polarized access to society's opportunity structure within cities reinforces and is in turn reinforced by the spatial segregation of different social groups.

Segregation then produces two types of consequences:

- Creates opportunities in city's elite areas;
- Blocks opportunities of access in areas that are more vulnerable to poverty and social exclusion.

According to Katzman (1999) the "neighborhood effect" (which grows stronger as spatial segregation grows) may increase or block opportunities of work, employment and access to formal education, thus fostering or blocking social mobility. Such effect is applicable both to elite and poor areas.

The studies on residential segregation help us understand the social-spatial processes that account for the structuring of cities and the mechanisms that produce interaction and sociability among different groups and social classes.

In such context, it is essential to consider the importance of territory-related urban policies. They allow cities to fight against the mechanisms that produce urban residential segregation and/or minimize its effects. The policies enhance social blending in cities increasing access to urban services, thus reducing socio-spatial inequalities (Torres e Marques, 2004).

V- Scales, measures and typologies to analyze spatial segregation:

Some remarks are to be made concerning the scales of spatial segregation and the ways used to its measurement. In Social Sciences the procedures to measure the unequal distribution of social groups across the space of cities have been discussed by geographers, urban planners, sociologists and economists.

As of the mid 20th century, many studies proposed a series of residential segregation quantitative indicators. Among these, we may highlight those on *dissimilarity indexes* (Duncan and Duncan,1955) and on *exposure indexes* (Massey, Denton,1988).

According to Sabatini (2006), the degree of concentration and territorial dispersion of different social groups and the greater or lesser social homogeneity of each city area (considered by him as the two "objective dimensions" of segregation), have been studied in its most by means of indexes that refer to the composition, per group, of city residents.

The primary statistical methods used to measure are the above mentioned indexes of dissimilarity (which reflects the spatial concentration of a group) and exposure (which measure the degree of social isolation of the group).

The limitations and the explanatory power of these two statistical methods are discussed in depth by Sabatini (2006:174-190). In addition to case studies of a qualitative nature that can allow the capture of segregation "subjective dimensions", the author highlights the importance of conducting empirical quantitative work that can contribute to improve measurement techniques.

Quantitative analyses with the employment of statistical techniques and methods were developed, at first, in the studies on factor ecology in the United States (Rhein, 1994). In France, the first of such papers was published in the early 1970's, and among the more recently studies N. Tabard (1993) and E. Preteceille (1992) are especially worthy to be mentioned.

Preteceille (2004:16) also made an important contribution when he pointed out a disadvantage of using these indexes: the fact that they can hardly be used to tell whether there is more segregation in one city than in another one, an issue that becomes even harder to be resolved when comparing cities in different countries.

A widely used approach nowadays is the typological approach. It allows the grouping of spatial units studied in "types", "classes" or "clusters" which are defined according to the similarity of distribution profiles of different social categories that are present in each of the social units considered (Sposati,2000; Preteceille,2004).

With the use of factor analyses, these typological studies can capture the social-spatial structure in its complexity, thus overcoming the consideration of binary oppositions between the categories of dissimilarity analyses.

Not only do these studies consider the social-spatial structures in their complexity as a proxy of the social structure, but also define types of spaces that can be analyzed according to several dimensions and in a longitudinal fashion. However, the major advantage of such studies is the possibility of analyzing changes in social-spatial segregation patterns in time and in the different contexts compared, considering the incidence of conjunctural phenomena, including the effects of public policies (Preteceille e Ribeiro,1999).

In the case of Brazil, the use of this methodology allowed the development of a networked research – led by Ribeiro since 1998- in order to compare the behavior of segregation and its patterns in the main metropolitan regions during the last 25 years (Ribeiro,2005). In this study, the variables selected to compose the typology were: income, schooling and occupation of residents of areas and cities studied. Once combined, these variables made up an index: *the social-occupational category.*

 The homogeneous areas were built based on factor analyses. The use of the same data source (the demographic censuses) and the same methodology guarantee the comparability of the studies among metropolises. Quantitative data are also supplemented by qualitative analyses allowing to capture the "subjective" dimension of spatial segregation by means of case studies (Ribeiro, 2005, Preteceille and Ribeiro, 1999).

Regarding São Paulo Metropolitan Region, the use of this methodology has inspired and enabled the work of Pasternak and Bógus (1999;2001;2007), that has followed the process of social spatial segregation up throughout the last 25 years. This study came to be added to other empirical studies led by Sposati, (2000),Sposati and Koga,(2003) linking the segregation processes to different forms of social exclusion observed in Brazilian cities since the 1980's, as a result of social economical changes.

The group of these recent studies using the geo-processing have enabled the mapping of variables referred to urban poverty, showing thus the areas where segregation occurs the most.

Final remarks

To conclude, it is worth highlighting that even when the studies on social-spatial segregation are based on different theoretical frameworks they invariably point out to the negative consequences of the social groups' involuntary isolation in certain spaces within cities whatever the cause of such type of isolation.

Even in the case of voluntary isolation of high-income groups in residential gated communities the disadvantages may be related to the restrictions imposed to forms of sociability frequently restricted to intramural areas (Caldeira, 2000) or to adjoining areas as a defense reaction against what has been gaining ground in third world cities: violent sociability

A deep knowledge of spatial segregation and its manifestations in cities is a crucial tool to enhance public policies designed to fight the expansion of spatial segregation and the related social-spatial processes.

The State, through its multiple forms of action, interferes in the mechanisms of space production, whether through the expansion of the public services network, private enterprises support, or specific legislation concerning land-use and occupation. This promotes the increased value of certain areas and/or the devaluation of others, bringing about consequences for the resident population, and interfering also on the segregation generator mechanisms.

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Canberra and the winds of change. Can the city remain a city not like any other?

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Part 1 Past Visions

Background: figures in the landscape

The year 1908 when the privately produced Burnham and Bennett plan for Chicago was produced was also momentous in Australian town planning history. It was in November of that year that the Australian federal government's Seat of Government Act saw the Yass-Canberra district finally designated as the location for the new federal capital of Australia. A New South Wales surveyor, Charles Scrivener, was given the task of recommending a specific site in November with the instruction that

> … the Federal Capital should be a beautiful city, occupying a commanding position, with extensive views and embracing distinctive features which will lend themselves to the evolution of a design worthy of the object, not only for the present but for all time; consequently the potentialities of the site will demand most careful consideration from an hygienic standpoint, with a view to securing picturesqueness, and also with the object of beautification and expansion.[1]

On 25 February, 1909, Charles Scrivener recommended, even though by no means ideal, that 'A city could be located at Canberra that would be visible on approach for many miles … The capital would probably lie in an amphitheatre of hills with an outlook towards the north and north-east, well sheltered from westerly winds … I regard the Canberra site as the best that can be obtained … being prominently situated and yet sheltered, while facilities are afforded for storing water for ornamental purposes at a reasonable cost.'[2]

Scrivener's recommendation was endorsed. His reference to an ornamental water body met one of the recommendations of the first conference on city planning held in Australia, the 1901 'Congress of Engineers, Architects, Surveyors, and Others Interested in the Building of the Federal Capital of Australia.'[3] This event was in the same year – 1901 – as the act of federation was passed (1 January, 1901) when the modern nation of Australia was formed. The congress coincided its meeting in Melbourne with the sitting of the first federal parliament.

The Congress posited that site selection of the capital was a matter for professional and aesthetic judgement through a commission. Harrison indicates that it also proposed that the commission, in its site selection, should take into account the need for 'abundant Water Supply ... For creation of artificial lakes, maintenance of public gardens, fountains etc.'[4] Looking out over the magnificent setting of modern Canberra, the far-sightedness and wisdom of this view are apparent (**Figures 1/2**).

From the outset therefore the concept of a federal capital, choice of site, and initial planning of Canberra from the 1911 international design competition were seen as a public undertaking. At the beginning of the process there were public finances for the competition to decide on a winning design and the intention of a federal public body to oversee development. The public were even invited to submit suggestions for naming the city.[5] Public planning has therefore been a cornerstone of Canberra's development from the start. Not least it established and maintained the fundamental priority of the concept of the setting of the city as a city in the landscape[6] through various successive federal agencies and visionary planning professionals following the initial Griffin plan. These include people like Charles Weston who came to Canberra in 1911 and worked there until 1926. John Sulman who assumed planning control of the city with the Federal Capital Advisory Committee (1921-1925) when Griffin resigned. John Butters and the Federal Capital Commission (1925-1930) then continued the early city development planning. After an interregnum of nearly twenty five years came the advisory work of William Holford followed by the National Capital Development Commission (NCDC). The Commission was responsible 1957-1988 for the remarkable thirty year period of development of the city when figures like John Overall, Tony Powell, Richard Clough guided the city's path.

The advent of self government for Canberra in 1988 saw the period of overall federal (Commonwealth) control of the city's development abolished with the exception of national areas and designated areas under a national agency (formerly the National Capital Planning Authority, now the National Capital Authority (NCA)) to formulate and administer the National Capital Plan. For the remainder of the city – that is the major extent – The ACT (Australian Capital Territory) government has been and remains responsible for land-use planning through its planning agency and the Territory Plan. Central to the planning aims of the federal and ACT plans has been the expression fundamentally of the landscape as the major foundation for the city's character. Most recently (2008) the NCA has had its federal budget cut (A$1.69 million out of a total of A$20), but more alarmingly has had to shed 33 of its 89 staff,[7] with planning staff decimated to just 4 staff and 500 applications now in a backlog.[8]

City in the landscape ethos

From its inception in the nineteenth century, and before the Walter Burley Griffin entry won the 1911 international competition for the city's design, the concept and ideal of an Australian federal capital envisaged a city in the landscape. This set in train the foundation for Canberra as a remarkable city. In the true sense of the word it is a unique city, for there is no other city like it in the world. Walter Burley Griffin declared in 1912 that he had planned a city not like any other city. These were prophetic words, for its development over the years has maintained its status of being unlike any other. Why is this? There are roads, houses, offices, schools, shops, parks – all the components we associate with urban development – as in any other city.

The underlying reason lies in the way landscape defines and articulates the city morphology starting with the Griffin plan. Changes over the years to the form of the city and hence to the Griffin ideal have taken place. Nevertheless the landscape basis which binds form and content remains vividly coherent in the city plan. The form of the physical landscape – natural and created – is a palpable, tangible presence defining the city; but equally so is its content or intangible, symbolic meaning. Places like Zurich or Kyoto are similar in the way landscape open space surrounds and penetrates the city, but not to the comprehensively planned extent or with the same founding visions as Canberra.

Underlying the city's spatial structure is the fundamental premise of Canberra as a city in the landscape. Its spatial structure has been progressively and incrementally planned from the beginning to maintain continuity with existing design elements, in particular the hills, ridges, and valleys.[9]

From the symbolic heart of the city and the nation in the National Triangle (**Figure 1**) with its serene symmetrical beauty, out through the tree-lined streets, neighbourhood and district parks and open spaces to the hills, ridges, and valleys – the National Capital Open Space System (NCOSS) – it is the landscape nature of the city that predominates physically. In turn this tangible physical presence has inextricable, intangible meanings and values, confirming that landscape is not just what we see, but as Cosgrove suggests, it is

… a way of seeing that has its own history, but a history that can be understood only as part of a wider history of economy and society; that has its own assumptions and consequences, but assumptions and consequences whose origins and implications extend well beyond the use and perception of land; that has its own techniques of expression, but techniques shared with other areas of cultural practice. [10]

When you look out over the magnificent prospect from Mount Ainslie or from Parliament House (**Figures 1 and 2**) across the city to the surrounding hills that form the embracing backdrop for the city, or enjoy the tree-lined streets, gardens, and parks of the suburbs (**Figure 3**) the landscape itself is more than physical elements. It has a meaning and significance that inform what Canberra is.

Consideration of these special aspects of the city is critical for Canberra as national capital and as home for 330,000 people. How will the city expand in the future and house a growing population whilst respecting its landscape image? What is the future for the national areas, for the parkland around Lake Burley Griffin, for the NCOSS without which Canberra would be like any other city and which gives it a special sense of place? What is the role for private enterprise and its increasingly heard voice and stress on market mechanisms?

Even before the site was chosen, landscape imagery and associated sense of Australianness drove the enthusiasm and resolution for the country to have a federal capital. It has formed a potent symbolic role in planning hitherto, but is now seemingly

of lesser significance within the mindset of private development where national standard planning guidelines are preferred. There has been a move to have a planning system that gives consistency across the eight planning jurisdictions (states and territories) across Australia in terms of development application tracks.[11] But there is also the planning orthodoxy that similar approaches across the board to residential design guidelines for urban areas are advisable. These in particular relate to increased densities, urban infill, urban consolidation and reduction in residential block sizes. One rationale for this is the ubiquitous reference to sustainable development, although what is meant by sustainable is left vague. Therefore, on the understanding that 'You can't have a future without a past'[12] it seems important to me that we have a firm perspective of where we have come from and what visions and decisions have brought us to where we are today.

City form

Driving into Canberra from Sydney, Melbourne or Cooma, or flying in over the paddocks and forested hills, is a strikingly different experience than the approach to any other Australian city. The boundary between the city and the bush is abrupt. Paddocks give way to houses, tree-lined roads, and open space with sweeping panoramas of forested hills forming an immense and magnificent landscape backdrop. In the centre around Lake Burley Griffin are the city's monumental national buildings majestically poised in a sylvan setting, again with the defining backdrop of hills. Lake Burley Griffin offers contact with nature in the heart of the city (**Figure 4**).

The reasons for these differences lie historically in the visions behind the idea of an Australian capital city. They explain why Canberra is unique internationally, different from any other city, and why in 1910 the Minister for Home Affairs, King O'Malley, proclaimed 'This must be the finest Capital City in the World – the Pride of Time.'[13] Underlying its inception at the beginning of this century lay two basic visions. The first was that a vigorous Australian national identity existed, that this was related to the ideal of the Australian landscape itself and that it could be symbolised in the layout of a capital city. The second was that city planning could create a better and healthier society.[14]

The utopian ideal of new cities and redevelopment of selected parts of existing cities as a way to social reform and realizing landscape idealism took firm root in Australia. In entering the winning design in the Federal Capital Competition in 1911 Walter Burley Griffin declared:

I have planned a city not like any other city in the world. I have planned it not in a way that I expected any government authorities in the world would accept. I have planned the ideal city – a city that meets my ideal of the future.[15]

That Griffin's city met the ideals current in Australia was no accident. The competition and the Griffin scheme were the culminating pinnacle of the utopian visions for a new Australian city that would lead the world. In short the Griffin plan – so exquisitely

illustrated by Marion Mahoney Griffin's water colour prospects – was beautiful in design conception and physical presentation. It was the City Beautiful with Garden City overtones *par excellence* and matched Australian visions of the ideal city. Here was inspiration for the creation of a grand capital that grasped the idea of landscape as the structure for a city where social reform through healthy living was integral to the structure and life of the city.

The Griffin design admirably suited the natural amphitheatre qualities of the site where, as Freestone observes, 'the setting [was used] as a theatrical whole' to give a design that 'was rich in symbolism'[16] by its use of radiating avenues with the hills as focal points and the use of dramatic views out of the city to the magnificent hill-landscape surrounds. Its geometrical major and minor axes created impressive vistas (**Figure 1 and 2**). Of equal significance was Charles Weston who, from 1913 to 1926, laid down the innovative and visionary landscape planning framework for the city with his tree planting schemes. He set up experimental nurseries to raise the necessary tree stock; some indication of Weston's achievement can be seen from the fact that between 1921 to 1924 1,162,942 trees were planted in what are now the inner city suburbs.

Notwithstanding John Sulman's support for the Griffin plan it was he as Chairman of the Federal Capital Advisory Committee 1921-24 (FCAC) who instituted changes when Griffin resigned in 1921. The FCAC reflected Sulman's influential ideas as a leading town planner and educator, in particular his advocacy of the garden city and garden suburb. The FCAC therefore declared that in the first stage Canberra was to be 'a garden town, with simple, pleasing, but unpretentious buildings'; it saw houses as single storey cottages standing in their own garden. Sulman in 1910 had suggested that Australians preferred the single storey house; evidence from various developments in Australian cities pointed to this phenomenon.[17] In 1909 before the competition for the Federal Capital design was announced Sulman wrote a series of articles in the *Daily Telegraph.*[18] In one article he stressed the need for parkways, playgrounds, vistas, and a hierarchy of streets going from wide to narrow. He advised incorporating into the plan a central area with Parliament at the hub surrounded by public buildings, shops, and hotels set within a diagrammatic radial-concentric plan with radiating avenues which he likened to a spiderweb pattern.[19]

Sulman as FCAC Director also conceived of major public buildings and national institutions as separate buildings standing in a park-like setting: an urban picturesque personified. This is the current pattern for Canberra's national buildings and institutions in the central National Triangle (**Figure 2**). The Federal Capital Commission (FCC) under John Butters continued the garden city concept in residential areas, domestic FCC style of architecture – unique to Canberra – (**Figure 5**) with its Arts and Crafts Movement genre and public buildings like Old Parliament House.

An enduring legacy

The 1920s and 1930s saw the central symbolic heart of the city and nation from the Griffin plan with its national triangle and exquisite axes and vistas established in outline. But buildings spaced in a park-like setting, not Griffin's more symmetrical urban spaces with paving, water and trees between buildings. Surrounding this were the early garden city residential suburbs of detached cottages in large gardens. Street planting had taken place and public parks initiated. The basis for the landscape city *par excellence* was in position. Even so the city grew slowly; by 1958 its population was a mere 36,000. It was at this stage that the decision was taken by the then Prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies that Canberra should expand and that Government Departments and workers would relocate from Melbourne and Sydney. Parliament was housed in Canberra (Old Parliament House built in 1927: **Figure 2**) but not the machinery of government.

Following a 1955 Senate Inquiry on the Development of Canberra and a 1957/58 report by the British planner, Sir William Holford, the National Capital Development Commission (NCDC) was set up by Menzies in 1958 to plan, develop and construct Canberra. The underlying landscape foci briefly reviewed above were grasped by the NCDC. They continued to suffuse planning ideas during the crucial years 1958 to 1988 (when the NCDC was disbanded) where land-use planning policy and implementation integrated civil engineering and landscape concerns in an holistic approach to planning. The garden city ideal flourished to create a city known affectionately as The Bush Capital.[20] Not least was the adoption of the Y Plan in the late 1960s as a linear model for city growth, with a series of new towns rather than the concentric pattern of other Australian cities. The Y Plan, formalised in the 1984 NCDC *Metropolitan Policy Plan*, articulated the form of urban growth on the basis of a series of new towns (Belconnen, Woden/Weston Creek, Tuggeranong, Gungahlin) separated from central Canberra and each other by landscape corridors (**Figure 6**). Landscape maintained its primal position as articulator of urban form. With over 14 million trees in the city and its immediate surrounds with associated public and private open space and wildlife, Canberra became and remains the epitome of nature in the city.

Essential to the Y Plan is the integrated open space system of hills, ridges and buffers: the National Capital Open Space System (NCOSS). The 1992 report *Our Bush Capital: Protecting and Managing the National Capital's Open Spaces* refers to the NCOSS covering 72 per cent of the Territory as 'a valuable legacy of visionary design and planning.'[21] In *Tomorrow's Canberra* the forerunner of NCOSS is referred to as 'the emerging metropolitan park system [which] encompasses a wide range of parks, recreation areas, reserves, and other open space.' By 1977 in a report by George Seddon[22] the term NCOSS – reflecting NCDC nomenclature – was used. It embraced the comprehensive network of inner and outer hills, ridges and buffers, Lake Burley Griffin, river corridors and mountains with associated bushlands. The primary significance to Canberra's post-1945 planning of the open space system may

be gauged from the view expressed in the 1970 NCDC publication *Tomorrow's Canberra*:

The fourth major component of land use, open space, will probably be the most enduring element of the urban structure. [23]

It is this comprehensive network which articulates the city plan. It was pivotal in guiding the physical layout and planning structure of the new towns inherent in the Y Plan concept.

Part 2 Post-1988

Maintaining the landscape setting ethos? The devil in the detail

The inception in 1988 of ACT self government heralded winds of change. Two planning authorities – a local and national – replaced one single agency. In addition to the two statutory planning agencies, Canberra International Airport and its extensive Brindabella Business Park development of fifteen commercial office blocks has effectively become a third quasi-planning authority no longer subject to the control of either the local or national body.[24]

Canberra's population is now around 330,000 people; not big by world city standards and predictions for growth by 2032 vary from a moderate figure of 389,000 to a high of 460,000 in *The Canberra Spatial Plan*[25] (**Figure 7**). Nevertheless the issue facing the city is how to expand without destroying the rich landscape heritage and open space system that defines the city's special character. The ACT in which Canberra sits is around 2000 sq kms entirely surrounded by the state of New South Wales as determined at the time of Federation in 1901. About 75 per cent of the land is in the form of forests and river valleys. These are unsuitable for building and also comprise valuable water gathering grounds and wildlife habitats.

Various options for expansion have been considered under the aegis of the Spatial Planning exercise by the ACT Planning and Land Authority (2004).[26] Central to the options has been the goal of conserving the Bush Capital image and the National Capital Open Space System whilst acknowledging decreases in household sizes and an ageing population. The change and consequent effects on housing needs have increased the attraction of town houses and apartments and the challenge is where these can be sited so as not to destroy the leafy character of traditional suburban housing areas which many people still value. Herein lies the dilemma of occupying a living, heritage city. How may it change without destroying its sense of place?

Ebenezer Howard asked this question over one hundred years ago: 'The People. Where will they go?'[27] This is critical now to Canberra's future and the protection of its heritage context with both tangible physical values and intangible values that Canberrans place on the very nurturing idea of nature in the city and living with it. John Ruskin, the nineteenth century art and architectural critic, referred to the way people see things and attach meaning to them as 'seeing with the soul of the eye.'[28]

At the heart of attachment to the Bush Capital image is this very way of seeing so that it is not just what is seen that is important to the Canberra community, but the way it is seen and the meanings and values attached to it.

In *The Canberra Spatial Plan*[29] **(Figure 7)** the ACT Government through its planning agency (ACTPLA) proposes increased densities along transport corridors (roads) and around shopping centres which are strategically placed in the new towns. Whilst theses zones have been delineated for increased density, planning and design guidelines to safeguard residential area character have not been promulgated. Loss of landscape space results from reduced front and side setback standards for houses (see below). One visually dominant effect is a move by many developers to flat roofed, grey rendered buildings (**Figure 8**), lacking harmony and balance with their setting of Canberra's traditional, leafy residential neighbourhoods (**Figure 3**). Even in what might be seen as acceptable building form, garden space is all too often replaced by hard surfaces thereby increasing stormwater run-off and reducing opportunity for tree planting (**Figure 9**).

The Canberra Spatial Plan also proposes 33,000 houses (73,000 people) and units at Molonglo **(Figure 7)** and continuing development at Gungahlin new town with an additional 28,500 dwellings. Molonglo occupies former pine forest destroyed by the January 2003 bushfires and adjacent rural areas/open grassy eucalypt woodland along the Molonglo valley. *The Spatial Plan* approach proposes continuation of a planning system whereby the external landscape framework of the city connects with its internal public and private open space components.

The vision of the landscape city is maintained in such local planning documents as The Spatial Plan and ACT Territory Plan, but it is at the detail planning, design, and implementation levels that things start to fail the grand intention. Molonglo, for example, fractures the integrity of the Y Plan and separation of new town areas. If it proceeds in total it will effectively join Belconnen to Weston Creek/Woden, eliminating a major open space component of the city's structure **(Figures 6 & 7)**. However, the ACT Government has announced (May 2008) a 20 year moratorium on development in the central section whilst a 3 year natural resource evaluation is undertaken.[30] This begs the question of why such a study was not a core part of the planning studies some three years ago. It ought to have been. Excision of Central Molonglo would also go some way to maintaining the open space buffer between Belconnen and Weston Creek and maintain the landscape link into the urban area from Canberra's broader landscape setting.

What we also see is the ignoring of community preference for design guidelines covering architectural form, materials and tree planting space in private development. This is now left virtually to the discretion of developers as long as they adhere to minimum space and setback dimensions for housing areas in the Territory Plan. With reduction in residential block sizes and propensity for McMansion style houses[31] crowding the smaller blocks there is real reduction in private landscape space, reluctance to plant species that will grow into large trees, reduction in privacy, and

increasingly less opportunity for ground water recharge. The latter is, I suspect, likely to become of increasing concern with climate change projected to induce warmer conditions and less rainfall for the southeast region of Australia. This will compound the effect of an already dry climate with evaporation annually exceeding precipitation. Monitoring and finding strategies to maintain ground water reserves ought to be a matter of concern in policy aspects of Canberra planning, but is a subject that is ignored.

Recognising national importance, the National Capital Plan within its overall goal of ensuring that Canberra and the ACT are 'planned and developed in accordance with their national significance' embodies specific objectives reflecting the unique importance of the city in the landscape.[32] These include the maintenance and enhancement of the landscape character of Canberra and the Territory as the setting for the National Capital and the protection of the undeveloped hill tops and the open spaces which divide and give form to Canberra's urban areas (ie NCOSS).

Overview: changes and dilemmas

Can change and private interests affecting public planning be accommodated? These are complicated matters, not least given the national role of a city like Canberra and the existence of two public planning agencies. Following is a list of the nature of changes that have potential to compromise the special nature of the city in the landscape. Behind them remains the question of whether planned cities such as Canberra with a dual role of national capital and a series of distinguished historic planning sequences deserve special attention with planning guidelines geared to recognising and protecting the special role and sequences that have created the city not like any other.

i   Land sales and profits.
Increasingly since self-government successive ACT governments have sought to maximise profitability by land sales. All land in the ACT is crown land subject to 99 year leases. Prior to 1988 developers took on land with its unimproved value as a tax base and paid accordingly; they were subject to strict guidelines on such things as densities and building heights. Now land with its development rights, commercial and residential, is auctioned to developers who are able to profit by it. The initial idea of crown leasehold for the federal capital was to prevent developers from land profiteering. Packaged with this change is the fact that anyone buying land at an auction can then return to the government with a revised density proposal. A betterment levy is payable, but this is likely to be less than the price would have originally been paid if the land had been bought with the higher density figure (see also ii below).

ii   Residential planning codes and reduction of layout standards
ACT Treasury has effectively encouraged reduction in planning standards so that 'inefficient planning' does not take place. This has followed private submissions to the ACT government since 1988 (date of self government) to the effect that

reductions to street verge widths, footpaths, building setbacks (see also iii below) and amount of public open space will increase the lot yields and also englobo land (parcel of land prior to its subdivision) prices accruing to the ACT government and reduce need for municipal services.[33] In residential development in places like Gungahlin this resulted some ten years ago in minimal public and private open space standards, overly narrow streets, overdevelopment of residential blocks accompanied by block size reduction, loss of tree planting potential (public and private), increase in hard surfaces and stormwater run-off with decreased ground water renewal. Parallel with this is the separation of the Land Development Agency (LDA) from ACTPLA which originally oversaw residential layouts, including new subdivision planning and layout. LDA now controls land release and sales and lets out contracts to its own agent surveyors/planners for layouts. ACTPLA in this regard is then reduced to a development control role, rather than a strategic planning role, and its development control guidelines are regularly set aside. This, for example, occurs when a successful bidder for an englobo residential site makes a subsequent submission to increase overall yield and thus profitability on payment of the betterment levy.[34]

iii   The orthodoxy of standardisation and reduction of residential layout standards
The process referred to above is parallel with lobbying of some groups, private and professional, for universal Australian model residential planning codes: standardisation is the orthodoxy. In Canberra it has been a co-contributor (with *iv* below) to reduction of front and rear setbacks to minimum standards and side setbacks virtually to nothing with a resultant loss of opportunity to plant trees. Historically views along Canberra streets of residential buildings have been filtered through a leafy screen In a revision of the ACT Territory Plan general residential plot ratios are now increased from 35 per cent to 50 per cent, with 80 per cent in specified areas with virtually no restriction in areas within 200 metres of a shopping centre, including local residential area centres (A10 areas). Front setbacks have been reduced from 8+ metres of pre-1988 to 6 metres for single story and 7.5 metres for two storey with 4 metres in some medium density developments. 'These have resulted in the spacious leafy character changing. Some residents view the change as a change for the worse. The character they value is usually expressed as that of the streetscape. It is a factor that has consistently been used in evidence and cross examination in the Administrative Appeals Tribunal (AAT) by objectors to urban infill development proposals.'[35] (**Figure 8**)

iv   Reasons for standards being reduced
There are two reasons cited for reduced residential standards. The first is the pressure by buyers for more house on a block: the McMansion factor. The second is the planning dogma that low density development has to be curtailed in favour of urban consolidation and infill on so-called sustainability grounds. This is argued on environmental grounds, that the preference for a detached house and garden is waning, that there are significant economies of urban infrastructure flowing from higher densities, and that social interaction is damaged in the traditional detached house and garden. This planning orthodoxy has been challenged by a variety of authors and research projects,[36] but still holds sway. It is interesting how the Territory

Plan provision now for development and redevelopment for the right only to 2 hours winter sunshine on the north face of a building neatly escapes the sustainability question. The problem for Canberra in these provisions is that the very scale and character that made it *the* landscape city are compromised with building form dominant over landscape form. A particularly concerning example is Gungahlin new town centre medium density development: this is so intense and without any open space provision of note within 2 kilometres that it is likely air conditioners will have to be used in Canberra's hot dry summers. Not exactly an environmentally sustainable solution.

v   Central Canberra

Within the central part of Canberra – Civic[37] – high rise office development has now substantively blocked views of the surrounding hills thereby creating a claustrophobic character that strikes at the very heart of the Griffin vision, a vision that was continued by Sulman and later by the NCDC. The NCA announced in 2007 that it would review further the building height restriction of 50 metres,[38] the height which symbolically limits buildings being no higher than the Australian War Memorial dome and the flagpole base at Parliament House. A significant location targeted by the NCA for tall buildings is City Hill, one of the pre-eminent landscape landmarks marking Griffin's national triangle and facing Parliament House along Commonwealth Avenue. An Amendment (59) to the National Capital Plan positions 18 storey 'landmark' buildings at four corners of the hill. Such action accords with lobbying by groups such as the ACT Property Council and developers. The question may be asked "Why do we need more vertical built intrusions on Canberra's skyline under the guise of 'landmark' dwarfing the landmark of City Hill in mute mockery and blocking views to the magnificent hills that act like a stage setting for this city, helping to make it unique and not like any other The dictionary definition of landmark is 'a conspicuous object in a district; object or change marking a stage in history or turning point in history'. If allowed to proceed, the vertical edifice complex will certainly be conspicuous and will change history. It be another nail in the coffin of this city being not like any other, because we will become like other cities, hemmed in by high buildings."[39] In support of the overall proposal for land around City Hill that was the subject of public submission objections to a Joint Parliamentary Committee hearing in 2007, the NCA posited that it hoped to have the opportunity to set the design standard around City Hill … and in connection with one block of 2.65 hectares (including 18 storey building) that sold for $93 million 'we will be looking for something really outstanding.' Pouring cold water on this in response, one representative of a national firm of valuers reflected that 'If the government expect too much from the site in terms of architectural significance that would add to the developer's costs … There may be a conflict in what the NCA wants and getting the best revenue for the ACT.'[40] What price good design when land sale priorities dominate planning?

vi   Canberra Airport

Outside this, but having considerable impact on Canberra, is the privately operated Canberra International Airport. Originally the National Capital Plan included the airport land and hence the NCA controlled planning decisions at the airport. This approach

was abandoned by the previous Howard federal government and the Airport operates as a private agency with no planning control except through the federal department of transport. In addition to building 15 office blocks which has created unprecedented traffic chaos, not least for travellers trying to get to/from the airport early morning or late afternoon, the airport authority has announced it proposes to have unrestricted 24 hour flights, including commercial flights and aspires to become Sydney's second airport. Such *laissez faire* growth is projected to bring with it, according to the think-tank, Australia Institute, an increase in aircraft emissions from 117,000 tonnes of carbon dioxide in 2005 to a staggering 3.6 million in 2050. It is estimated by the institute's director that this will undermine efforts to reduce the ACT's total emissions by more than 60 per cent by 2050.[41]

Conclusion

The new federal Labor government initiated a review of the NCA's powers and the relationship between the Territory planning authority and its powers. One outcome that seems likely is that the National Capital Plan and Territory Plan may merge into one document in some form, albeit there is strong professional support for retention of an NCA agency to oversee national planning imperatives. The review is timely and after 20 years of self government and the national capital plan it is appropriate to look at options for one plan, assuming that the matters referred to above are given due consideration. But the slashing of the NCA budget and loss of staff (see above) before the review hearings suggest a self-fulfilling prophecy. National capitals, not least planned national capitals are special places and require and deserve special merit.

Whether the politicisation of planning will be given due consideration is debatable. It is vital to the very meaning and being of Canberra as national capital that any transfer from national to local control through one planning document does not put the national capital ideal and idea at jeopardy. The increasing trend of local and national government withdrawal from public interest to allow private interest to dominate and belief that national market is the best to determine what is needed is a major concern and needs to be addressed in the review. Can a predominance of the private market be relied on intellectually, politically and morally to promote the best planning outcomes? History suggests this is not always the case.

[1] **Dept of Home Affairs, Information, Conditions, and Particulars for Guidance in the Preparation of Competitive Designs for the Federal Capital City of the Commonwealth of Australia, Melbourne, 30.4.1911, p26. See also NAA:110, FC1911/738 Part 1 Yass-Canberra Site for Federal Capital General (1908-1909).**
[2] **Quoted in Frederick Watson, (1927), *A Brief History of Canberra, the capital city of Australia*, Federal Capital Press, Canberra, p.129.**
[3] **Stephens J C, ed. (1901), Proceedings of the Congress of Engineers, Architects, Surveyors, and Others Interested in the Building of the Federal Capital, May 1901, J C Stephens Printer, Melbourne.**
[4] **Harrison P, (1995), *Walter Burley Griffin Landscape Architect*, ed Freestone R, National Library of Australia, Canberra; p. 4.**

[5] These included bizarre concoctions such as Cooeeoomoo, Kookemuroo, Kangaremu, Marsupiala, Boomerang City, Gonebroke, Federalia and even Syd-Mel-Ad-Per-Bris-Ho. See Wigmore L, (1963), *The Long View. Australia's National Capital*, F W Cheshire, Melbourne; pp.62-63.

[6] Taylor K, (2006), *Canberra: City in the Landscape*, Halstead Press, Ultimo, Sydney.

[7] *The Canberra Times*, 2 April 2008, p.1.

[8] *The Canberra Times*, 8 February 2008, pp.1/2.

[9] National Capital Development Commission, (1970), *Tomorrow's Canberra. Planning for Growth and Change*, Australian National University Press, Canberra.

[10] Denis Cosgrove, (1984), *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, Croom Helm, London & Sydney, p.1.

[11] I am grateful to Neil Savery, CEO of ACTPLA for explaining this system. Also See: *Leveraging the Long-Term. A Model for Leading practice Development Assessment Volume 1*. This report prepared by the Centre for Developing Cities, University of Canberra, Australia in 2003 reviewed best practice from the eight planning jurisdictions and developed the model for Australia wide application. The 2007 Planning Act for the ACT tries to apply these principles. A problem for the ACT is that all land is leasehold crown land and the guidelines are best suited to freehold.

[12] Aboriginal teenager, ABC TV, July 1993 quoted in David Carter, (1994), 'Future Pasts' in David Headon, Joy Hooton, Donald Horne, eds, *The Abundant Culture. Meaning and Significance in Everyday Australia*, Allen & Unwin, St Leonards, NSW, p.3.

[13] See Peter Harrison, (1995), *op cit,* p.6

[14] Taylor K, (1999), 'Picturesque Visions of a Nation. Capital City in the Garden', *The New Federalist* Number 3: June 1999, pp.74-80. See also Mark Henry Haefele, (1995), *Ideal Visions of Canberra. An exploration of the aspirations and assumptions behind the planning of Canberra during its two greatest   periods of growth*, thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Arts of the Australian National University,   June 1995.

[15] Walter Burley Griffin, (1912), *New York Times*, 2 June 1912. See also Donald Leslie Johnson, (1977), *The Architecture of Walter Burley Griffin*, , p.20, Macmillan, Melbourne.

[16] Freestone, R. (1986), 'Canberra as a Garden City 1901-1930', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 19; 3-20.

[17] Sulman, J, (1921), *An Introduction to the Study of Town Planning in Australia*, New South Wales Government Printer, Sydney.

[18] These were published later together as one monograph: John Sulman (1909), *The Federal Capital*, J Sands, Sydney. See also John Sulman, (1909), 'The Federal Capital', *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 28 August 1909.

[19] Sulman, (1909), p.682.

[20] Bush meaning in Australian open eucalypt woodland and grassy glades. It is also applied to grazing land and originates from early colonial days and when it referred to land outside the city.

[21] Joint Standing Committee on the National Capital (1992), Our Bush Capital: protecting and Managing the National Capital's Open Spaces: Report of the Joint Committee on the National Capital, (Parliamentary Paper No 1992/253, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

[22] Seddon G, (1977), An Open Space System for Canberra: A Policy Review Prepared for the National Capital Development Commission, Technical paper 23, October 1977, NCDC, Canberra.

[23] NCDC (1970), *op cit*, p. 69.

[24] The airport was placed under federal department of transport jurisdiction about four years ago.

[25] ACT Government , (2004), *The Canberra Spatial Plan*, ACTPLA, Canberra. See p. 6 which says: 'Prudent planning therefore requires that *The Spatial Plan* caters for both

moderate and high population projections – that is a population between 389,000 and 460,000 for the ACT and between 430,000 and 500,000 for Canberra-Queanbeyan.
[26] ibid.
[27] **Howard E**, (1902), *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, Son Sonnenschein, London.

[28] Ruskin J, (1843), *Modern Painters*. Reprint 1987 Knopf, New York. See also Ted Relph, (1979), 'To See with the Soul of the Eye', *Landscape,* 23:1; 28-34.
[29] ACT Government, (2004), *op cit.*
[30] *The Canberra Times*, 15 may, 2008, p. 10. Central Molonglo is substantially grassy open eucalypt woodland of high conservation value. It is a significant remnant of this type of system once extensive through the ACT and is home to several threatened bird species. It is reported that the study 'will help inform future planning for the valley and help inform things like how big a buffer zone we should have around nature reserves.'
[31] http://www.wordspy.com/words/McMansion.asp: A large, opulent house, especially a new house that has a size and style that doesn't fit in with the surrounding houses. See also: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/McMansion which describes the term, first used in 1988 in the USA, as pejorative to describe a particular type of housing that is constructed in an assembly line fashion reminiscent of food production at McDonald's fast food restaurants. In Australia it now denotes houses with large footprint out of scale with their block size and connotes the idea of being vulgar.
[32] National Capital Authority (2002), Consolidated National Capital Plan Incorporating Amendments, Updated February 2002, National Capital Authority, Canberra.
[33] Pers comm Tony Powell, former Commissioner NCDC. I am grateful for this background outline of the interplay between private and public sectors in Canberra.
[34] ibid
[35] Taylor K, (2006), p.152
[36] See for example (i) Troy P, 1997, 'Social Aspects of Urban Consolidation', *Historic Environment*, 13:1;18-26; (ii), Gleeson B, (2006), *Australian Heartlands: Making Space for Hope in the Suburbs*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, NSW and — 2000, *Australian Urban Planning: New Challenges, New Agendas*, Allen & Unwin; (iii) Bob Day, (2006), 'Sprawl the answer to home ownership crisis', *The Australian*, Opinion p.14, 17 February 2006.
[37] **The name 'Civic' (Civic Centre) originates from Walter Burley Griffin's name, Civic Centre, for central Canberra. It is connected with** the early twentieth century interest in town planning—as an art and a science—and the civic ideal where building better cities would assist in building a healthier society and foster civic pride. **It also connects with Patrick Geddes' 1915 classic text, *Cities in Evolution*: see Taylor** *(2006), op cit* **chapter 3.**
[38] *The Canberra Times*, 8 September 2007, p.1.
[39] Taylor K, (2007), 'Griffin Legacy amends his vision by design', *The Canberra Times*, March 29 2007, p.19.
[40] Todd Rohl, NCA Manager of planning and urban design quoted in *The Canberra Times*, August 29 2007 and response.
[41] *The Canberra Times*, January 19 2008, p.1.

Appendix

Figure 6 Y Plan
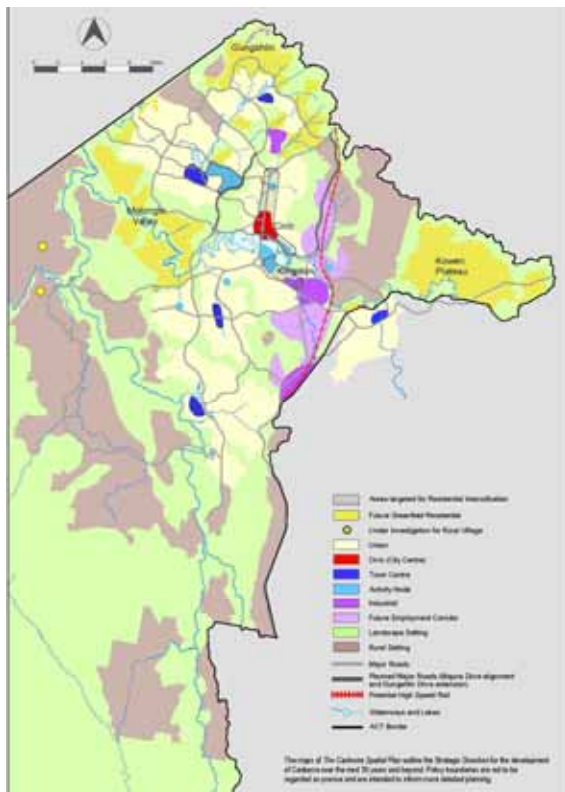
Figure 7 The Canberra Spatial Plan

Public illusions, private spaces: vicissitudes of the transformations on the urban coasts of the Argentinean Pampa

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The past as present: the recurrent controversy over coastal areas in urban planning

The prolonged, ever-recurring conflict between public walks and parks, and a harbor's infrastructure that takes place in coastal cities -especially along their waterfronts- often brings up clashes between city councils and harbor administrations. It is also a source of constant demands from citizens and thought-provoking material for city planners. The situation was quite apparent in Argentina throughout the twentieth century. Harbor areas were consistently used for specific harbor infrastructure and supporting commercial uses and activities, with complete disregard for social and urban necessities. By the turn of the century, however, harbor administrations started a process that has continued to date: vast, important harbor areas were abandoned as the result of changing needs in transportation activities, and for proposals were made to incorporate the areas into the urban fabric and put the old facilities to new use(1). Delving into the controversies that preceded this present-day restructuring process leads to a re-evaluation of the discussions, reflections, debates and proposals that ultimately led to it. Both the attainments - no matter how fragmented- as well as the failures constitute an important source of inspiration for anyone presently attempting to critically assess or implement urban transformations in harbor areas. These areas are brimful with history present not only in their visible constructions but also in the ideas put forward and the forces fighting for their control.

The challenge is, then, to put together the historical pieces that resulted in the use given to these lands. Once again, this digging into history will enhance the capacity for analysis that must precede any attempt at designing a link between port infrastructure and urban interests and demands. And at the heart of this activity lies the crucial issue of public vs. private appropriation, against an ever-present background of material profit. So, how did those old plans conceive the urban exploitation of the waterfront? What citizens' demands did they represent? How were these areas inserted into the urban fabric? What spatial forms and mechanisms were used? Was that similar to the way harbor areas are reorganized today? Or are today's interventions mere ghost images of those illusions of public urban areas around ports?

This is not about promoting exact replicas of old ideas; rather, it is about revising, re-examining them with a view to reopening the debate over the impact of present-day interventions. Previous projects aimed at inserting waterfront areas into the urban structure, providing links and intermediate areas where the man-made and natural worlds could overlap. Today's intervention plans, despite the way they are heralded, do not always contemplate strategies to devise harbor walks, circulation schemes and

neighborhood amenities as a way of reconstructing the relationship between city, old harbor facilities and the waterfront. That is exactly why delving into past practices will bring to light the merits and deficiencies of present-day propositions.

To this purpose, two cases will be analyzed: the old harbor areas in two Argentinean cities, Rosario and Santa Fe. Both cities are located on the Paraná River, in the heart of the Argentinean Pampas. This river constitutes the oldest and most important navigation way in the country and has historically been vital for its economy. As such, its ports vary greatly in size, significance and problems posed and have been subject to all kinds of historical vagaries and economic policies. The study is not intended as an exhaustive comparative analysis that would exceed the limits of this presentation, but it is hoped that it will help towards a better understanding of the processes involved in similar cases.

1. Rosario: the waterfront found

1.1 Conflicts and proposals over time

The urban coast as a social, political and cultural issue became an increasingly complex problem during the 1920's. The projected construction in 1923 of a new Railway Station on the City riverbank sparked a controversy that would reveal conflicting interests as a result of which all participators agreed upon the necessity to devise an urban plan(2). This was to become the cornerstone of what would later be the 1935 plan, which would revolve around a waterfront in perfect step with public urban areas and landscaped surroundings. The project to build the Ferrocarril Central Argentino met with immediate reject from various social and economic groups that eventually succeeded in 1924 in setting up a committee to review the project for the City Council.

The City had limited saying in these matters, as transportation companies were privately owned, if regulated by federal authorities. The erupting conflict laid bare two perfectly differentiated contending groups: on the one hand were the local residents, some seeking to bring up the value of their properties, others lobbying in favor of an increasing awareness of the need for green spaces in the city. On the other hand were the foreign companies that owned all railway and fluvial transportation lines and had complete control over the harbor infrastructure. Their respective interests were, naturally, at odds. The residents perceived the prospective railroad station as another major impediment for them to enjoy public-use walks and parks in one of the very few still unoccupied areas in central Rosario.

This confrontation was especially meaningful at a moment when the bearing and weight of "the public thing" constituted a heated debate in both the urban planning world and the finance one. In 1925 a bill is introduced proposing the nationalization of all harbor administrations(3), a clear sign of dissent with and rejection of the foreign administrations that constantly placed their own interests before the public's and as result of which no systematic planning or rational exploitation existed. This was the frame within which town planning was trying to develop.

Galvanized by the public show of widespread discontent, City Hall decides to carry out an in-depth study that would lead to a global regulatory plan that would hopefully end the dispute. Three professionals of note were entrusted with the task: Civil Engineers Adolfo Farengo and Carlos Della Paolera, and Angel Guido, a well-known Architect. All three were experienced professionals and academics who, among other important achievements, had started the teaching of Urbanism in Argentine Universities, at Universidad del Litoral – Rosario(4), and had organized Hegemann's lecture tour in Argentina, where he visited Buenos Aires, Mar del Plata and Rosario(5). In his analysis of the city, he focuses on four problems, two of which would be the railroad tracks layout and the green spaces by the river, namely the riverside avenue. He would consider these the most pressing ones and would elaborate on them in his lectures (6). The Plan Regulador, eventually drawn by Guido and ratified in 1935, pivoted around these two issues.

This Plan Regulador clearly stated that in the future, the foreign companies were to have no saying in the town planning of the city. The central coastal area would be cleared of railroad tracks to facilitate the construction of the riverside avenue, which would provide a link between the North and South areas of the city and, together with the islands on the opposite bank, would become the symbol of the city. Sadly, and despite the big success the was the banning of the construction of the Railroad Station, the Plan failed in restructuring the railroad system; it succumbed to the enormous power of the transportation companies, which continued to exercise their control of the situation in their own interests. Equally sadly, things did not change even in the 1940's, when both the Port Administration and the Railroad Companies were nationalized; decision-making government officials continued to place functional questions before recreational and esthetic ones.

Eventually the restructuring would come about, but not before changes in the production and transportation modes would render the port structures obsolete and a window of opportunity would open to give them fresh use.

[**Figure1**]: Picture of Hegemann´s Lecture in Rosario. View of railways on the city riverbank.
Source: Hegemann, Werner, *Problemas Urbanos de Rosario. Conferencias del urbanista Dr. W. Hegemann* (Rosario, Argentina: Publicación Oficial de la Municipalidad de Rosario, 1931)

1.2   Reclaiming the coast for the urban public space

Early in the 1980's, probably as a result of the country's return to Democracy, Rosario started a number of interventions in its harbor area that would continue over time. The dense tangle of railroad tracks and port infrastructure that shut the coastal area in and isolated it from the rest of the city is at present undergoing drastic transformations that have resulted in linking areas between the two and a vast webbed arrangement of parks and public areas. There was never a definitive Regulatory Plan; rather, a significant number of separate proposals that were properly channeled and debated.
All proposals pressed their claim for recognizing the public nature of the coastal area and the urgent need to find a way to reconcile the demands for recreational public use of the area with the existing port infrastructure, by now obsolete (7). Although all these interventions remained patchy and occurred erratically, they still gave the enterprise structural coherence.

The means to put these changes into practice guaranteed this coherence as they changed with the advent of each proposal and became innovative in an effort to achieve success. Eventually the long-awaited Regulatory Plan took form as a systematized compilation of all previous intervention efforts, relevant to date.

All considerations, worries and beliefs present in the original conflicts and divergences mentioned concerning public vs. private appropriation of port and waterfront areas, as well as strict building codes that would promote harmony between all contending parties, were also present in the proposals and gave origin to original and comprehensive strategies to achieve the desired aim. Participants in the mission were city planners in official positions, federal agencies owning potentially affected lands and installations, and private owners whose interests would be affected. All these concerned parts engaged in proposals, agreements, public debates and calls for residents to participate in them as well as changes in construction regulations, all of which made up a wide range of efficient tools to exercise town planning. More importantly, they went far beyond devising new strategies: they also used innovative instruments, pre-approved plans involving building and lay out practices, as well as agreements that favored to assemble between public and private interests.

One vital actor in this saga was the City Administration, who assertively and tirelessly claimed the use of the land for public use with strong, convincing argumentation that won over the cooperation of all participants.

The concern for the public use of coastal areas highlighted in the 1935 Plan reemerged quite revitalized in the events occurring at the beginning of the twenty-first century. And now it is not just about esthetics, it is about rescuing the social history of the coastal area and incorporating it once and for all into the urban scene of the City.

[**Figure 2**]: View of Rosario riverside nearly at the same place of figure 1, current parks on the city riverbank. *Source:* Municipalidad de Rosario, Argentina

2. Santa Fe: the waterfront lost

2.1 Conflicts and proposals over time

As the new Santa Fe harbor was under way, in the first decade of the twentieth century, City Hall promoted it as its would-be symbol. The idea was to integrate the new port infrastructure into the urban scene, and it would resurface in the 1927 urban plan.
In the first 1910 proposals(8), the port and railroad tracks were not perceived as an obstacle in achieving this aim; much to the contrary, the capacity of the City to intervene effectively on the newly-acquired lands taken from the river was taken for granted. This did not turn out to be so, however, and multiple difficulties evidenced the presence of a serious conflict of interests. The 1927 Plan acknowledged these difficulties and drafted substantial changes such as a change of venue and restructuring of the railroad facilities.

The year 1905 saw the construction of the new seaport in Santa Fe. The new port meant the appearance of new areas in the city, located in between the old and new port venues. City Hall had its own plans for these lands, part of a comprehensive plan to restructure the whole city. The plan, informally known as "the Rosas Mayor Plan", in allusion to the Mayor in office behind it, contemplated constructing a network of important avenues that would connect equally important green spaces in the city. El "Parque Central" -as it would be called- would connect with these avenues which would, in turn, provide a physical and visual frame for the port and become a waterfront drive. The idea was, clearly, to create intermediate areas or links between city and port that would also function as recreational and social meeting points adequately provided with tree-lined walks and drives.

Unfortunately, this was scantily achieved; the grand "Parque Central" was only realized

as disconnected small parks, and only one of the projected avenues came into being: the Avenida Alem. The Port Administration would take all decisions concerning the port and its vicinities, with its interests prevailing in all spatial definitions (9).

Years later, in 1927, the idea of the Parque Central would again resurface, this time with new recreational areas that would exploit the proximity of the river and would be located away from central Santa Fe, where access to the river was blocked by the port and its ever expanding facilities. But the City Administration was badly lacking in resources to implement the plan, mainly efficient technical support capable of carrying out such ambitious scheme. More wishful thinking than feasible exploit, the plan dwindled away to nothing and never put down roots in the local tradition.
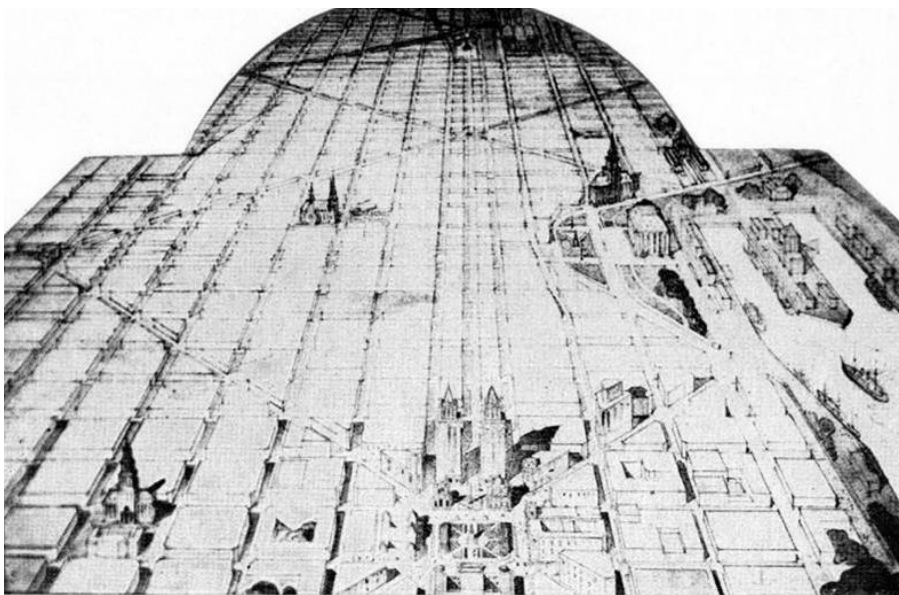
[**Figure 3**]: Santa Fe. The 1927 Plan idea was to create intermediate areas between city and port, and spatial links between port area (right) and monumental historic district (below), both the most important areas of the city. *Source:* Cabal, Julio César, "Proyecto de Urbanización". In *Arquitectura*, Revista de la Asociación de Arquitectos de Rosario, 11, sin fecha.

2.2 Disregarding the public nature of the coast

Technical advances and functional difficulties in the freight business were usual causes of obsolescence in port facilities, and Santa Fe was no exception. Studies were made to define relocation and new uses for the existing obsolete facilities. The moment had come to intervene to give these areas appropriate urban use. The Master Plan (10) for urban development that the Port Administration came up with fails to present feasible, concrete definitions for spaces to be incorporated into the urban fabric that would provide the much-needed link between port and town. All it does is provide a flexible, imprecise allotment of space for economic development in service, retail and tourist-related activities, all administered and regulated by the Port Administration with no decision making capacity on the part of City Hall. No attempts are made to create a

regulating body of a mixed nature that would act on consensus from all concerned parties, namely port and city administrations and harbor planning consultants and specialists, nor does it present a sustainable scheme of programmed stages. Moreover, the planning instruments presented –zoning, plot allotting, authorized uses (11) - have all been known to fail in the past. One cannot but wonder whether the city will ultimately recover the use of the coastal area for communal use, as it should.

One case in point is the above-mentioned Avenida Alem. This avenue was originally part of the urban development and reshaping of the city drawn in 1910 and constituted a veritable link between the two worlds, as it ran parallel to the port area for most of its extension and boasted fine elements of urban life. It was beautifully tree-lined and had been thought of a fine mix of recreational urban walk and harbor access way. In the year 2005 the avenue was widened, remodeled and turned into a highway. The "intermediate" nature was thus completely lost, as most central landscaped areas disappeared, as did most of its trees. A great opportunity was missed to capitalize on the beauty of the place and preserve it, while at the same time providing the port area with an efficient, yet esthetic access way.

The-re-urbanization operation was conceived from the start as an enclave, and all ensuing acts, steps and instruments have been consistent with this idea. All grandiloquent announcements promising urban integration, deliverance of the city's historical heritage, respect for and increased regard for the environment, as well as consensus among all parties concerned vanished, not into thin air, but into a program promoting segmentation and physical and visual alienation of port and town in such a way that the public nature of coastal areas continues to be nothing but a mirage.

[**Figure 4**]: 2007. View of Port of Santa Fe and the district center, without a veritable urban link between port and town. *Source:* Municipalidad de Santa Fe, Argentina.

3. Between old illusions and new interventions: the conflict gets updated

One major issue in this analysis is the paramount role that cultural values have played in validating these operations. The various executors made use of resounding symbolic announcements to achieve this aim. Among others, they resorted to lofty ideals like rescuing the architectural heritage, recovering new spaces for the city, gaining new accesses to the waterfront and revitalizing local characteristic activities. Thus, the "cultural factor" replaces "functional factor" when substantiating the urban operations, and recovering the coastal infrastructure of port and warehouse clusters for urban use was correlated with recovering collective memory and values (12). The significance of the operations was based on the public nature and use of the claimed areas, and all interventions acted accordingly.

Now, this public nature must necessarily be conceived in the present-day conditions of contemporary urban nature, and then must be measured against illusions and results, real and fake experiences, postulates and marketing, public use and commercial exploitation. Possibilities of success will be all the more robust by executing town planning mechanisms that will contemplate spatial and social private interventions in a far-reaching urban conception of the collective. In the same vein, segmented operations without a proper plan that will hinder public use of the space and favor private financial interests will continue to be a recipe for failure.

Such approach will unfailingly lead to a self-imposed failure made up of social exclusion enclaves with repetitive tedious architectural elements that will attempt to make up for the lack of art and spontaneity.

It is within this frame that a comparison of the two cases analyzed can be attempted: incorporating innovative ideas into the town planning mechanisms vs. promoting opportunistic interventions and repeating bland formulas void of proper planning. Such were the natures of the interventions over the urban waterfronts in the cities of Rosario and Santa Fe, respectively.

For a city to really benefit from the appropriation of its urban coastal areas and its accompanying building processes, there must exist a correlating plan that will contemplate feasibility conditions and effectively maximize communal use of public spaces with the corresponding articulation with the urban structure.

And here is where the two cases clearly differ, in the past as well as the present. The temporal repetitions of spatial conflict over the coast and the proposed solutions have fused the past and the present. To think the present-day city means to think the present, not as an independent, unconnected entity but rather a complex intricate web of past and future relations. This is how the collective memory is enhanced, but it often means merely conserving the physical architectural remains. On the other hand, opening it up to ideas, debates and proposals, and relating past conflicts with present ones expand the limits of reflection on the collective and puts up for debate the role of the public realm in urban construction, a crucial issue in today's vision of cities. The study of the

relationship between urban coast and public spaces will permit a reformulation of the discussion into a register of the present as well as the past – and probably of the future. It is in this arena that public and private will fight over the organization of areas, their use and their meaning.

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[1] See Bruttomesso, Rinio (ed), *Waterfronts. A new frontier for cities on water* (Venice, Italy: Cities on Water Edition, 1993); Bruttomesso, Rinio (ed), *Water and Industial Heritage* (Venice, Italy: Marsilio Editori, 1999); Bruttonesso, Rinio (ed), *The Maturity of Waterfront* (Venecie, Italy: Marsilio, 1999).

[2] See Martínez San Vicente, Isabel, *La formación de la estructura colectiva de la ciudad de Rosario* (Rosario, Argentina: Curdiur, 1985), p.65.

[3] Gancedo, Alejandro, *Fundamentos y antecedentes relativos al proyecto de ley de nacionalización portuaria* (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Cámara de Diputados de la Nación, 1925)

[4] Novick, Alicia, "Árbitros, pares, socios. Técnicas locales y extranjeras en la génesis del urbanismo porteño". Arquitectura Sur, Nº 4, Año 2, Mar del Plata, pp. 44-48 (46).

[5] See Crasemann Collins, Christiane. "Urban Interchange in the Southern Cone: Le Corbusier (1929) and Werner Hegemann (1931) in Argentina" Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, Vol. 54, No. 2 (Jun., 1995), pp.208-227

[6] Hegemann, Werner, *Problemas Urbanos de Rosario. Conferencias del urbanista Dr. W. Hegemann* (Rosario, Argentina: Publicación Oficial de la Municipalidad de Rosario, 1931), p.7

[7] Plan Director. Documento Integrado (Rosario, Argentina: Secretaría de Planeamiento, Municipalidad de Rosario, 1999), p.37

[8] View Collado, Adriana, *Santa Fe, Proyectos urbanísticos para la ciudad 1887-1927* (Santa Fe, Argentina: Universidad Nacional del Litoral, 1994). p.23

[9] Fedele, Javier, *Puerto de ultramar: esquirla moderna en la sociedad santafesina* (Santa Fe, Argentina: Universidad Nacional del Litoral, 1996). p.28

[10] Ente Administrador Puerto de Santa Fe. Master Plan de Reconversión Urbana Portuaria. 2003. Director: Roberto Converti. See Converti, Roberto, "Santa Fe, una estratégica ciudad-puerto", Revista Portus, 7, RETE-Marsilio, (2004. pp.42-49); Converti, Roberto. "Santa Fé, Argentina. Uma estratégica cidade-porto (port) / Santa Fe, Argentina. Una estratégica ciudad-puerto (esp)" Arquitextos, Portal Vitruvios, nº 054, novembro 2004.

[11] Municipalidad de Santa Fe, Ordenanza 11069, Creación del Distrito Ciudad-Puerto. 12 August 2004.

[12] See Meyer, Han, *City and Port. Transformation of Port Cities London, Barcelona, New York, Rotterdam* (Rotterdam, Netherlands: International Book, 1999) p.12

Urban planning in the dictatorship. The "Mesones" General Urban Plan of 1968 for Valladolid, Spain

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Introduction

Franco's dictatorship in Spain gradually evolved from the hard post-war years, in which national self-sufficiency was established, to the process of economic growth, the so-called "Desarrollismo", with which it ended in the 1970's. Immediately after the end of the Civil War, in 1939, an economic system based on political and commercial isolation and self-sufficiency was installed: Autarchy. The defeat of the Axis in the Second World War increased this isolation even further and, for almost twenty years, the lack of diplomatic relations (as well as market relations) with the outside world exacerbated this self absorption. In this first period of the Autarchy, the governments that came and went were dominated by the ideological families from the war. The change of cycle occurred with the Stabilization Plan of 1959, which modified the rules of the economic game, breaking the dominion of the political Falangists of the immediate post-war. The economic development was further boosted through the separation of the ministries that were most closely involved in the ideological system. Thus, the influence of the authoritarian (fascist) ideology was reduced and masked behind the strengthening of everything technical and disciplinary, through technocratic governments, apparently without an ideology, in such a way that all Franco's governments from then on shared that sole characteristic. Military uniforms and party uniforms disappeared almost completely in cabinet meetings, the blue shirts of the Falange and the belts and straps of the military uniforms were reduced to a bare minimum, to be substituted by ministers with Christian Democratic roots, whose curricula were centered on legal and economic studies. Around the beginning of the 1970's, by means of such formulas, the economic system had taken off spectacularly and had overcome the problems of the end of the Autarchy. Tourism on the coast, that attracted large numbers of European tourists; the transformation of rural Spain and the industrial renewal in the most important cities (Madrid, Barcelona, Bilbao, Valencia, and others) were the basic characteristics of this period. Nevertheless, at the end of the Dictatorship, the difficulty of reconciling a liberal economic model with a dictatorial political model was becoming evident.

At the same time, the economic growth began to bring about important urban transformations in the most industrialized cities that involved real-estate operations and big profits. The disorder and conflicts that these urban operations caused gave rise to the appearance of a movement, on the part of the Administration, to find a solution to all the problems and put the sector in order.

The instruments of city planning

The Spanish state had passed a city planning law in 1956 (Ley sobre Regimen del Suelo y Ordenación Urbana). This law was in line with European legislation from the

1940's concerning the reconstruction of the cities that had been destroyed. The ministerial teams that wrote the law had taken that legislation as their reference, as well as the laws from the U.S.A. In this case, the Spanish city planning legislation took advantage of the European experience, which it both quoted and used as cornerstone. Its similarity to, among others, the Town and Country Planning Act de 1947 has been pointed out. The law of 1956 contained a hierarchy of plans (national, provincial, general and partial plans); a planning regime whereby land could be classified as urban, urban reserve and rural. Added to this was a land valuation system and a hierarchy of administrative and territorial organs in charge of the control of the administrative process. In short, a true set of legal measures capable of establishing the network on which the city planning activity of an industrialized country can be based.

City planning was an instrument that fitted Dictatorship's ideology perfectly. To order civil society, plan administrative actions and control private actions, were the bases of good government. However, the Regime found itself subject to the opposing forces of city planning understood as the responsibility of the Ministry, while at the same time allowing economic growth, which involved greater freedom for capitals to act, to authorize the deals of those entrepreneurs close to the Regime, that is, to allow land speculation or, in short, to tolerate urbanistic disorder.

Evolution of the city of Valladolid

The evolution of the city of Valladolid was very slow immediately after the Civil War, something that lasted until the mid-1950's. In the 1960's, on the other hand, there was a spectacular rise in construction work that remained constant until the mid-1970's, when, first the oil crisis, and then the uncertainties of the political transition later, caused the growth to slow down bringing about the stagnation of economic activity.

The population of Valladolid was 98,531 inhabitants in 1935. Twenty years later, in 1955, it had reached the figure of 127,568. This period included the civil War and the post-war, in spite of which growth had been moderate, around 1%. However, in 1975, after twenty years of economic development, the population had reached 285,959. Growth rates around 1% in the first period were followed by rates of 6.2%, with peaks over 7% at the start of the 1970's.

As for building work, there was an increase in licenses in line with demographic growth, due to the demand for housing in accordance with economic growth.

Until the drawing up and approval of the "Mesones" Plan, the evolution of city planning had been determined by a group of alignment reform plans, which responded to a traditional form of urbanism, reforming and modernizing the central urban space, which included the Cort Plan, the Alignment Reform Plan and the Partial Alignment Reforms. They were all plans that modified the historic city by means of the regularization and widening of the old medieval streets. Some of them centered exclusively on the city center, forgetting about any regulation of the suburbs. The old narrow, winding streets of the historic center were replaced by wide streets with straight alignments and one

parallel to the next. An elementary hierarchy of urban streets was also established and building ordinances were applied which depended on the street width.

At the same time, what was happening in the suburbs was very different to what was happening in the center. The city was exploding in what Pedro Bidagor called the "oil stain growth", meaning illegal shanty towns which were springing up next to existing roads and prolonging the already consolidated urban spaces. During that period, a series of suburbs appear of which two types can be distinguished:

1. Marginal suburbs, some of which had been started in the Second Republic (Barrio España, Pajarillos, La Maruquesa, La Rubia, La Cañada, etc.). They are suburbs created by invasion or the division of farming land and which are precariously occupied with self-built houses.
2. Workers' suburbs created by public initiative, whose names refer to important figures or events connected to the political regime (Francisco Franco, José Antonio Girón, Jesús Aramburu, La Victoria, etc.). They are suburbs far from the city, designed as independent pieces with a building typology of a mixture between the minimal housing of rationalism and rural housing.

These planning instruments, however, were soon overwhelmed by the economic growth of the city. The creation of Valladolid as the Pole of Development brought with it unprecedented growth fueled by industrial growth.

The Dictatorship's control system

General Franco's dictatorship had evolved in the 1960's, from the hard, post-war years to 'Desarrollismo'[1]. Economic development had made society evolve by incorporating important numbers of workers and technicians from an initially agricultural society. Mass tourism, attracted by low prices and high temperatures, which flooded the Mediterranean coast especially, had changed many of the social norms (behavior, dress, the arts, etc.) that the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church had managed to impose on Spanish society in the hardest years of the Dictatorship. It is, in fact, the Minister for Information and Tourism, Manuel Fraga Iribarne, who modifies the regime's attitude, changing, slightly but substantially, the press law, making censorship more flexible for the press, cinema and television, and opening the country up to European tourism attracted by the sun and sand. However, political and labor conflicts continue to increase with the economic development of society. Countering this, there is also an increase in police controls, making the repression of all political activity yet more intense, especially in the workers' suburbs in the large cities, where labor strikes and political protest movements are becoming dangerously strong. Valladolid was precisely a city which had, on the one hand, an industrial pole with an important number of workers and, at the same time, the University, one of the most important and dangerous focal points for political agitation. These two factors together meant that there was constant persecution of political groupings by the political police. We need only remember, as an example of this tension, the events of the strike in FASA in 1969, with almost 15,000 workers on the street and acts of protest in the University, including

concerts of protest songs, assemblies and demonstrations on the streets, ending with the closure of the University in 1974 for the rest of the course. So, at that time, society in Valladolid finds itself in a situation in which it is impossible to carry out debates on urban matters without them being interpreted as acts of political opposition fostered by illegal parties. Especially dangerous for the Regime was the Communist Party of Spain, which was very active at that time, together with a host of similar, small political groups throughout the University (communists of diverse tendencies: trotskyists, maoists, socialists and others), as well as trade union groups in the factories, such as 'Comisiones Obreras' (Workers' Commissions) or the 'Unión General de Trabajadores' (General Workers' Union). Civil society did not have any means by which it could demonstrate its opposition to the Regime's urban policies and the normal reaction to any protest against the policies carried out by the City Council was to consider it a form of political opposition instigated by the clandestine parties. Such protests were, therefore, censored in the press. For example, some University lecturers from the Arts Faculty disagreed with city planning, especially the destruction of Renaissance palaces that was taking place in Valladolid at that time, to be replaced by blocks of flats. However, the political situation was not conducive to the start of a debate on the subject, as it could be used by radical groups against the Regime. For some of the said lecturers, the solution was to take part in the commissions that took the decisions to destroy the country's patrimony and thus try to save some parts of that heritage, such as doorways, columns of patios, coats of arms and other elements that were not an obstacle to the real estate business.

The role of a group of architects as ideologues of the city's production

Valladolid had a very small number of architects, closely related to the most important promoters of real estate, who were strategically placed in the City Hall and the Provincial Diputation, thus monopolizing construction work. The situation was so extreme that only three offices, that of the architects Isaías Paredes Sanz and Angel Ríos Gómez, that of José Luis Tuesta Caballero and that of Julio González Martín, through 1,145 projects for 39,479 houses, monopolized 41.8 % of the building schemes and houses and flats built in Valladolid between 1960 and 1992[2]. This can be explained by the lack of control within the City Hall and the Administration's favoritism with private interests, and also by the existence of a very liberal incompatibility regime. The most curious case is that of the offices created by the two architects Isaías Paredes and Angel Ríos, the former being an architect of the City Hall and the latter of the Diputation, so that, when one of them was declared incompatible because the project belonged to a particular administration, or was in the jurisdiction of that administration, the project was signed by the other.

Alongside this group of architects who effectively controlled the city, there was another much more numerous group, but with less social influence, who, from a more critical position, took part in various places. They also acted from the official organisms, but in particular from the College of Architects of Valladolid (then dependent on the Official College of Architects of Madrid). In the mid 1979's, they exercised a certain amount of pressure, by means of planning allegations, in favor of carrying out city planning legally,

protecting the city's patrimony and acting rationally, both in the capital and the villages of the province.

In any case, it should be pointed out how such a lack of definition in the alignment reform plans favored freedom of action in the application of city planning in the City Council of those years. The Council architects had the power to increase or decrease the profits of an operation, and even to stop it. The alignment reform plan left many elements undefined, so that in the preliminary projects and more detailed studies of the development of a particular area, the municipal architect could apply one depth of edification or another, one height or another with respect to very flexible criteria. In the same way, the municipal architect could promote or encourage such planning reforms as he felt necessary, making density changes and other similar acts that would directly affect the profitability of the operation. One well-known case is that of builders who contract the offices of the municipal architect to design their projects as a way to avoid problems of red tape.

The General Local Plan of 1969, known as the "Mesones" Plan

The fact that the Alignment Reform Plan of 1952 was not functioning properly, plus the existence of new city planning legislation that required provincial capitals to draw up general plans, as well as the conflicts caused by the impossibility of growth beyond the limits of the said plan of 1952, had all created numerous problems in the municipality. The Ministry's Directorate General of City Planning was pressurizing the City Council to draw up a new planning instrument. Finally, the City Council agreed, in 1962, on the drawing up of a General Plan, as required by the then current legislation. This was done by the architects Javier Mesones[3], Miguel Durán-Lóriga and Manuel Cortés.

The work of drawing up the Plan began with the compiling of the urbanistic information and its delivery to the City Hall. A new plan of Valladolid was made from the projection of 1962. Nevertheless, the drawing up of the plan was halted for reasons that remain unclear. It was six years later, on the instances of the new mayor, Martín Santos, that the writers were once more asked to finish their work. Meanwhile, the Ministry was drawing up the plan of the road network in Valladolid, a very ambitious plan involving a change in scale and budget. So, when the work began once more, in the next phase of drawing up the plan, the project was significantly modified. The range of the plan changes to take in several of the surrounding municipalities, thus bringing about a change of name as well: General Local Plan. The municipalities included are those that form a crown around the city. They are small villages in comparison with the provincial capital. Arroyo de la Encomienda, Boecillo, Cabezón de Pisuerga, La Cistérniga, Fuensaldaña, Laguna de Duero, Renedo de Esgueva, Santovenia de Pisuerga, Simancas, Tudela de Duero, Viana de Cega, Villanubla and Zaratán. Only Arroyo de la Encomienda, Laguna de Duero and Tudela de Duero stand out from the rest, the first with an incipient illegal construction, called La Flecha, the second with the first residential developments associated with the automobile factory, FASA, and the third, being sufficiently far from the city to have its own dynamics as a small capital. Except for these three, that have a greater dynamic than the others, the rest are clearly little

more than villages with a completely agricultural activity in spite of their proximity to the capital. Renedo de Esgueva, Villanubla and Zaratán were the smallest. Another question of interest is the plan's financing. The Directorate General of City Planning participated generously in the payment of expenses incurred while drawing up the plan, followed by Valladolid City Council and the municipalities of the surrounding area, which jumped on the band wagon at the last moment.

The Plan was provisionally approved in 1969 by the City Council, and definitively in1970 by the Ministry.

The contents of the Plan

The General Local Plan of Valladolid is clearly different from the previous urban plan for Valladolid. It is not an Alignment Reform Plan, as the previous plans were. It radically changes the method used for drawing plans. The new plan turns to a city planning of striped areas and checked areas, leaving behind that of new alignments. The Cort Plan was a plan of colored lines, with red lines for new constructions, black for building to be maintained, green for the parks and gardens and blue for the rivers. The Mesones Plan is in black and white. It uses the system of drawing areas, that some English and American firms at that time had put on the market.

The Plan clearly differentiated, in its method for depicting the city, the treatment of the historical quarter (a generic dark area) from that of the rest of the city (containing various areas, of bricks, circles and different kinds of dots). While the city outside the historic quarter is treated differently in each zone, the center is homogeneous, all the same area. The areas used make reference to the new concept of zoning. The zones are drawn in areas, so that each area is different according to the different uses, urban, residential or industrial. Each zone thus drawn corresponds to certain regulations that control the construction activity in that area. The different zones are connected by a powerful road structure. There is a contrast between the new structure of roads, with great widths, and the existing structure, much narrower, in which the city's traditional roads can be identified, such as, for instance, the Paseo de Zorrilla, three times narrower than the proposed new roads. An important exception is a new road following the river Esgueva, and thus of a necessarily reduced width, as it is in an already existing space between peripheral suburbs and the river.

It is a question of making a new kind of plan, more closely allied with the English "structure plan" than with the traditional alignment plans. In effect, there are similarities with some English plans, as we shall point out later.

The city model proposed in the Mesones Plan can be summarized as follows:

1. Growth to the South, over a flat space, with a large scale network
2. Growth to the West with an organic form, that adapts to the topography
3. Industrial growth to the East, continuing the industrial estates of Argales and San Cristóbal

4. Continuity with the regulatory systems of the existing city
5. Large size road system, designed to cope with extraordinary growth in the number of automobiles

The growth to the South is perhaps the most characteristic element of this proposal. It involves directional growth southwards of 24 superblocks organized in five great avenues in parallel in a southerly direction and another seven perpendicular to the others forming an enormous, rectangular network. The proposal for this area ignores the presence of pre-existing infrastructures, considering agricultural land with roads, railways, rural paths and irrigation channels, already in quite an advanced state of urbanization, as "tabula rasa". It also ignores the presence of "El Pinar", a tree-covered area belonging to the municipality since the 16th Century and serving as an area of leisure and as the city's lungs. The similarity with the English plans mentioned above is particularly noticeable in the case of the mega reticule of the southern extension of the Mesones Plan and its similarity to the proposals by Colin Buchanan and Associates for reticule growth in South Hampshire, published in England in1966[4]. It is a plan with a certain parallelism, taking into account the expected growth in both cities at the time.

The growth towards the West is organized according to the roads that adapt to the contour lines, avoiding Contiendas hill and developing along the flatter areas. The streets designed thus are curved, giving rise to blocks of differing sizes and, most of the time, trapezoidal in shape. The expansion area to the West starts from the ordering of Huerta del Rey, which had been opened to competition a couple of years before by the Housing Ministry, resulting in a suburb with a rational and functional layout. The connection between the existing suburb and the new one demonstrates the different ways of understanding the new city, even though a great part of the concepts of the new city planning are shared by both.

The industrial growth proposed by the Mesones Plan is part of the plan's continuity in policies with those proposed by the INUR, the National City Planning Institute, dependent on the Ministry, which had set in motion the two industrial estates of Argales and San Cristóbal. The Plan takes up the tendency to industrialize the eastern part of the city by situating there both publicly sponsored industrial estates and also takes advantage of the existence of the FASA factory in the area to consolidate the whole area covering the road out of Valladolid in the direction of Madrid as far as Laguna de Duero as industrial.

Undoubtedly, the most transcendental decision of the Plan is that of respecting the previous city planning regulation for the existing city. The area defined as the "casco actual" (or current city) was provisionally regulated according to the previous norms, so it was possible to build using the ordinances of the Cort Plan and the alignment reform plan of 1945. According to some authors, it was a decision "that is more the consequence of a lack of work on the part of its instigators than anything else" ("que es más bien fruto de un escaso trabajo por parte de los redactores")[5]. Whatever the real reason for the decision, the truth is that the said decision clearly shows that the local agents, businessmen, constructors, promoters, and even the municipal architects, were

highly satisfied with the existing planning, and that they had no intention of modifying it. Only pressure from the General Directorate makes the carrying out of a plan with criteria clearly dictated from above possible. On the other hand, the edificability authorized for the "current city" of 12m^3/m^2, allowed the group of agents acting in the center to do good business.

The road network of Valladolid had then been designed in the Ministry of Public Works, in its 1966 plan. The criteria were those of a new network of infrastructures to serve the automobile. As though Valladolid were a large metropolis, the size of the road system was that of a city which did not yet exist and which would, supposedly, undergo extraordinary growth. The Mesones Plan only took on board this plan for infrastructures and set it down in the city plan. In any case, the truth is that the growth in the number of automobiles was not as large as expected, especially if we take into account the fact that the petrol crisis began on an international level in 1973, only a few years after approving the plan, and ruining developmentism's continuous growth idea. At the same time, there was no public investment in infrastructures, so the road network envisaged by the Ministry was begun twenty years later, with a different political regime and a very different economic situation.

The results of the Plan

The interesting thing about the Mesones Plan resides in the urbanistic operation it proposed, halfway between the orthodox urbanism of that historical moment, as defined by the techniques of the Ministry, which proposed a growth model for the city of large packages, supported by grand infrastructures; and the urbanism catering to the local powers that be, an urbanism that adjusted to the size of local firms and the city's market, but which, at the same time, does not value the city's patrimony. The Mesones Plan basically established two types of intervention. On the one hand, the idea of the General Directorate of City Planning, to encourage urban development in large packages, creating new urban land beyond the existing city. This would require investment in urban infrastructures that the Ministry expected to carry out in an undetermined period of time, and which the private agents were neither financially capable of taking on and nor were they willing to do so. On the other hand, the Mesones Plan made it possible to continue the kind of intervention that up until then had been taking place in the historic quarter. A kind of intervention that could be summarized in: the densification of the urban space by means of the purchase of several old buildings next to each other, joining them together in a single, large plot, constructing one building tripling the previous heights and building ten times as many houses as existed prior to the new construction.

Of these two formulas, the clear winner was the local option, the local plot, supported by a reduced firm size that fitted better with small or medium-sized operations, as was the norm in the real estate operations that had been taking place in the historic quarter. The purchase of large areas of land and its subsequent urbanization to develop partial plans needed financial conditions that were beyond the reach of the local promoters.

All the time the Mesones Plan was in force (1969-1984), only the public agents transform new land for new growth, because the cost of infrastructures. The option of new land for growth was only developed by the public sector, whether for social housing or the creation of new industrial land.

In spite of the local option's clear victory, certain agents, large landowners, promoters and constructors took up positions with respect to the development of grand partial plans. Some large landowners, hesitantly began to commission development plans, as was the case of the Parque Alameda Partial Plan, entrusted to the architect Longoria by the landowner. This initiative failed in its attempt to develop it because of delays and the lack of a determined management. A group of constructors and promoters gradually bought up the land in the southern zone, but its urban development took place twenty years later, with a different urban plan. The most successful initiative was, without a doubt, the Parquesol Partial Plan. In spite of its success, the bulldozers did not move in until the new General Plan had already begun to be drawn up.

Conclusions

City planning during Franco's dictatorship in the city of Valladolid clearly shows the distance that existed between the desire to rationalize building activity on the part of the Ministry, the technical aspects of city planning, and the reality of the facts, characterized by the continuation of the old ways of going about things. It shows the complete supremacy of the local architects' and businessmen's plot.

1. The Mesones plan was initially, a positive instrument, with a clear idea of the new city. However, it ended up as a tool of little use, rhetorical and ineffective with regard to the regulation and control of the building activity in the city.
2. All the time the Mesones Plan was in force (a plan characterized by its extraordinary proposal for directional growth supported by grandiose road networks), only public agents transform new land for new growth, because the cost of infrastructures. The option of new land for growth was only developed by the public sector, whether for social housing or the creation of new industrial land.
3. The private agents continued to intervene in the historic quarter, with no control whatsoever, using 19th century planning techniques of street widening, increasing heights and densification. In the end, this was the death knell for many of the historically valuable buildings and resulted in a radical transformation of the historical landscape.
4. This behavior was founded on an agreement between local businessmen and some municipal architects with private offices. The latter acted as 'intermediaries' for the businessmen, ideologically nurturing the modification of city planning from their privileged posts in the City Council and drawing up the projects in their own private offices.
5. As a continuation of the above, they also intervened on the outskirts of the city and its interstices, the peripheral suburbs, where less important promoters, businessmen and landowners took part.

6. Despite the Mesones Plan's lack of efficiency, with respect to the modification of the model of the city (with the proposal to create large new areas that would depend on a powerful, new road network), the truth is that the plan was of use in carrying out operations to buy up agricultural land in the areas that the plan proposed for the development of the new city. These purchases were carried out by external operators, but the local operators also came together in associations in order to buy up large areas of land, which were developed in the next decade, with the General Plan.

7. Spain's transition to democracy from 1975 onwards, the new democratic town councils in 1979, and the criticism aimed at the rampant speculation in the previous period all contributed to inverting the situation, reducing the possibility of intervention in the historic quarter, forcing real estate agents to act in the new areas of growth from the 1980's onwards.

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[1] This Spanish term is a new and a specific term during the Franco's dictatorship and could be translated perhaps as 'Developmentalism', or a desire for economic development above and beyond all else. (translator's note).

[2] García Cuesta, 2000, p. 188.

[3] That is the reason way it is called "Plan Mesones"

[4] A summary of the study was published in Spain: Buchanan, Colin y Asociados: "Estudio de Hampshire Sur", in D. Lewis (ed.): La ciudad: problemas de diseño y estructura. (Barcelona, Spain: GG. 1971). The English version of this book was published under the title of 'Urban Structure' in 1968.

[5] Gigosos, Saravia, 1997, p. 417.

Urban design controls and city development in a New Zealand context: reflections on recent experiences in Auckland's urban core

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Introduction: a brief history of the legislative context of planning in New Zealand

Like a number of other countries, New Zealand is experiencing a greater focus on the quality of its urban environment. This 'urban renaissance' [1] has turned attention to the interface between processes of city planning and urban design and the need for planning processes that will promote strong urban design outcomes.

As a small country New Zealand has relied on national legislation to direct the physical development of both urban and rural areas. The Town and Country Act (TCPA), established in 1953, had its origins in an amalgam of British and American legislation of the 1950's [2] and was significantly revised in 1977. Williams notes that over a thirty five year period the provisions of the Act progressively evolved through the influence of Planning Tribunal case law and by the experience and expertise of the professions involved in planning practice.[3] While it is speculative to suggest that the TCPA would have coped more effectively with the 'urban renaissance' than does our current planning legislation, some planning professionals with experience of both regimes suggest that this is so.[4]

In 1987 the Government commissioned a review of the TCPA [5], prompted by an increasingly deregulated national economy, greater government responsiveness to 'market forces', and an associated concern for individual property development rights.[6] Williams records two opposing trends during the 1980's: pressures for less delay in the development approval process, and the right to object to planning decisions. He points out that these trends are mutually exclusive and that all that can be hoped for is a balance between them. [7] In his view the TCPA achieved this balance. Interestingly, Hearn in his 1987 review of the TCPA, while suggesting a number of amendments, notes that "if my recommendations were adopted, much of the Town and Country Planning Act would remain the same".[8]

In 1991 the TCPA was replaced by the Resource Management Act (RMA). Much wider in scope than the TCPA, the RMA amalgamated existing town and country planning, water and soil, mining and coastal legislation. In respect of urban planning, experience during the sixteen years since its introduction suggests that the above noted balance between speedy development processes and rights of objection has not been achieved, and that a 'market forces' emphasis remains at odds with processes that deliver high quality urban design outcomes.

The resource management act

The fundamental intent of the RMA is to promote the sustainable management of natural and physical resources. [9] Sustainable management is defined by the Act as "managing the use, development and protection of natural and physical resources in a way, or at a rate, which enables people and community to provide for their social, economic and cultural well being". The Act identifies three key objectives of this management regime: sustaining the potential of natural and physical resources to meet the reasonably foreseeable needs of future generations; safeguarding the life-supporting capacity of air, water, soil and ecosystem; and avoiding, remedying or mitigating any adverse effects of activities on the environment. Despite reference in the definition to social, economic and cultural wellbeing, the bio-physical focus of this statement of purpose will be evident, and has been commented on in the international planning literature.[10]

At the time of its introduction the RMA was lauded by some as world leading legislation.[11] In practice the Act has proved to work well in some situations but not others. In 2007 a national conference was held which focused on the effectiveness of the Act in a number of contexts. Organized by the Environmental Defence Society (a leading New Zealand non-governmental agency), the title of the conference - "Beyond the RMA"- invited consideration that it might be time to consider replacing the Act. Speakers argued that in most areas of environmental management the Act merely needed fine tuning and more rigorous application. However, a number of speakers suggested that in respect of urban development all may not be well. In a scene setting paper, Oram [12]suggested that in urban areas the RMA works well for minor works but was inadequate for dealing with wide-area, long-term and strategic issues of urban development. Peart [13] noted that the ecological focus of the Act provides little guidance or support for the management of the built environment. She argues that "a better tailored regime for urban planning could be developed, more alive to social and economic as well as environmental issues". Hill identified metropolitan planning as in need of more effective institutional decision making arrangements, and he offered the opinion that "that urban design and transport planning are increasingly 'edgey' in terms of core RMA activities". [14] In the context of infrastructure delivery, Selwood [15] identified a number of shortcomings with the Act and its application. Relevant issues in respect of urban planning include the lack of recognition of the national significance of essential infrastructure related to community needs; an emphasis on adverse environmental effects and the need for these to be better balanced with the positive wider economic, social and environmental effects of improved infrastructure provision; the lack of national guidance or standards; conflicts between regional and local consenting processes; inconsistencies in approach and interpretation between different local authorities; and the use by public interest groups of the Act's provisions for objecting to developments, in which environmental concerns become a proxy for self interest.

The RMA and development approval processes

The RMA is given effect in the context of urban development by way of District Plans, and the responsibility for preparing and implementing these plans lies with local authorities (district or city councils). The RMA focuses on the effects and impacts of development rather than on the nature and scale of development. Section 3 1(a) of the Act requires that District Plans focus on the "integrated management of the effects of the use, development or protection of land and associated natural and physical resources". Peart [16] records that RMA plans have been effects based rather than strategic, and mitigation-oriented rather than goal-oriented. The RMA replaced the zoning based legislation that previously governed both urban and rural planning, and as Jay [17] notes, under this new legislation zones in District Plans are related to the types of effects generated by activities, rather than types of uses.

Section 75 of the RMA requires that District Plans identify significant resource management issues and in response develop an integrated package of objectives, policies, and rules (if any) to implement these policies. Local Authorities are also able (although not required) to indicate the anticipated environmental outcomes of the policies and where this is done it provides a basis for understanding the rules. The RMA allows alternative methods of implementation of policies, although as Miller [18] has noted, an examination of District Plans reveals a consistent reliance on rules and regulatory mechanisms.

Those seeking development approval (or to use RMA terminology, a resource consent) must demonstrate that their proposals meet the provisions of the District Plan, and in particular that the effects of the development (including the effects of the uses or activities that the development will make possible) are no more than minor. In evaluating development applications the local council must decide the extent to which there are directly affected parties, and whether the applicant has already gained the approval of such parties. Resource consent applications may be processed on a non-notified basis (where there are considered to be no affected parties or where such parties have signed their approval), on the basis of limited notification to affected parties, or on the basis of full (public) notification. Traditionally, analysis of effects has focused on biophysical effects, and issues of design quality have not been considered. However, a recent landmark judicial decision has significantly changed this approach to development assessment. Key features of this case are outlined below.

The changing context and status of urban design in Auckland City

There are a number of pressing reasons why it has become necessary for Auckland City Council (ACC) to move quickly to promote quality urban development and urban design. Auckland city and its surrounding region are experiencing extreme growth pressures. On the basis of present forecasts the region could have a population of approximately two million people by 2050, representing a 65 % increase in current levels.[19] During the next 20 years it has been estimated that the residential population of

the city will grow by approximately 140,000 people, with the urban core designated as an area of population intensification.

An early response to these pressures has been significant development of apartment buildings within the central city area, and the poor quality of many of these developments has resulted in extensive public criticism. This public pressure constitutes a second reason for improved urban design processes and outcomes. In one instance public pressure forced the withdrawal of an already granted development approval. The outcome of the judicial hearing regarding the St James apartment tower in the central city has the potential to redefine the way in which the assessment of effects, and in particular who is affected by a development, are treated. Salient features of this case are now outlined.

Resource consent was granted for this 29 level tower block on a 7 level podium that incorporates a heritage protected theatre, on the basis that neighbouring property owners and the heritage protection agency (the New Zealand Historic Placed Trust) had agreed to the development. This decision was challenged by a group of concerned citizens (incorporated as The Society for the Protection of Auckland City and Waterfront), who argued that a development of this scale and prominence called for public notification, since it created adverse visual effects for the public at large and that these effects were more than minor. In reply, the City Council argued that aesthetics are subjective and that the Council could not be prescriptive on matters of taste, and furthermore that the citizen group could not claim to be representative of wider public views. In their submissions the Council noted that the citizen group was not challenging either the size or location of the design and therefore that the visual effects that were being objected to were due only to the building's design. The fact that this position could be advanced by the Council as a defense highlights the limited basis on which visual effects have typically been assessed under the RMA. Predictably, both the Council and the developer argued that in any event the visual effects were no more than minor. In his landmark decision, the judge determined that "these issues are not to be disposed of by saying that design is a matter of aesthetics, that aesthetics is taste by another name, and that taste is irretrievably subjective and individual. That proposition is at odds with the ordinary principles of architecture and design, and of planning".[20] This decision has provided case law that is certain to change the way in which visual effects will in future be considered, and has highlighted for all local authorities the need to have urban design matters included in resource consent assessments. This particular legal challenge was also a factor in the establishment of an independent urban design panel (in May 2003) to review all central city development applications, and the introduction of urban design assessments as part of the resource consent process.

A third key factor in the changing context and status of urban design has been the establishment in 2005 of a national Urban Design Protocol, aimed at raising awareness of urban design and seeking commitment to a number of key actions by protocol signatories. Auckland City Council become an early signatory to the Protocol and has consistently sought to implement the Protocol's action plan.[21]

The ACC Central Area District Plan and urban design initiatives

The views of a number of commentators regarding shortcomings of the RMA in relation to the management of urban development have been outlined above. A key issue facing New Zealand is whether District Plans and the procedures that they require, are able to accommodate measures that will proactively promote and guide sound urban development. In this regard the measures that have been and are being adopted by Auckland City Council for the central city (referred to as the Central Area in the District Plan), warrant discussion. Following sections of this paper outline these measures and comment on their actual and/or potential effectiveness.

Auckland City's District Plan currently divides the central city area into five "strategic management areas", reflecting the RMA focus on management rather than design. The Plan also identifies fifteen precincts and defines these as "areas that have distinct environmental characteristics which require special management". [22] The idea of a 'precinct' invites urban design consideration, and two of the early precincts to be identified (the Viaduct Harbour precinct and the heritage based Britomart Precinct) have precinct-specific urban design guidelines. Both precincts have a clear identity and clear boundaries, but not all of the central city can be classified in this way. A number of contentious developments, located outside of precinct areas, have been approved on the basis of District Plan provisions that were not design based. As a result of public pressure, the City Council has introduced new provisions, applicable to the whole of the central city and addressing urban design quality and residential amenity. As such they have provided both the urban design panel and City Council staff assessing development applications with a basis on which to engage with such matters. However, it should be noted that these additions were a reaction to deficiencies in the Plan that derive from the focus of the RMA, and took more than two years to develop and be steered through the process of public submissions and hearings. Several matters remain to be resolved through judicial mediation processes.

A second way in which a more comprehensive set of design-led provisions is being grafted onto the existing Plan is by incorporating each part of the central city into a 'Quarter' and developing urban design frameworks for each Quarter. Some eighteen quarters have been proposed, and are currently being reviewed with the intent of amalgamation. In respect of this geographic comprehensiveness, the Quarters may be compared with the five strategic management areas noted above, but as more fine grained and hence potentially responsive to differences in character within the central city.

To date, urban design frameworks have been completed for three Quarters. Development projects prepared within the context of the first of these Quarter Plans are achieving higher quality design outcomes than has been the case for recent developments on nearby sites. But perhaps the real significance of the move to Quarters is that in due course each part of the central city will come under close urban design scrutiny and that design-led objectives, policies, rules and assessment criteria will be incorporated into the District Plan by way of 'Plan modifications'. Whether each

Quarter is developed in a way that becomes distinctively different from neighboring Quarters is perhaps less important, given the large number of Quarters in a relatively compact central city area.

The place of Quarter-based urban design frameworks

As noted above, the future planning provisions for each Quarter will be derived from a design-led exercise that culminates in an urban design framework. As the term implies, a framework is more generic than the traditional masterplan. Nevertheless, it is a plan in the sense that it is primarily graphic. (In the context of the RMA the term "plan" is used to describe documents that are largely or entirely written, and for many built environment design professionals this remains problematic.) The most recently completed framework is significantly more sophisticated than its two predecessors, suggesting that future such frameworks may become good examples of their type. However, whatever the strengths of these frameworks, they will remain non statutory, and be given effect largely by the careful drafting of objectives, policies and rules. There is some scope for including rudimentary drawings within a Plan modification, but typically these are for the purpose of describing how the various rule-based development controls apply to the area in question. More significantly, once a framework has been so translated and gains statutory status, it may be varied only by further Plan modifications, to which affected parties may object at hearings. Opportunities for discretionary, design-based, assessments in applying a Quarter Plan are limited, in contrast to the relative freedoms that design professionals associate with drawn plans and the capacity to revise these.

A recent development that seeks to introduce greater local authority discretion into the process of implementing a Quarter Plan is the requirement for the owner or developer of large sites, where development entails a number of buildings and open spaces, to prepare a Comprehensive Site Structure Plan (CSSP) for design review and approval. The development of such structure plans that carry statutory weight, and which must conform to a larger urban design framework, represents a significant advance in assuring high quality urban design outcomes.

However, even with a comprehensive set of urban design frameworks for each Quarter there remains a need for an integrating framework that addresses urban design issues at the level of the whole of the central city area. At this larger scale such a framework must relate to other aspects of metropolitan development such as transportation strategies and other infrastructure provisions. To date Auckland City Council has completed a city wide urban design framework and is currently preparing a framework for the CBD. However, both documents are neither part of the District Plan nor do they include physical plans. As such, they can be expected to offer little direct guidance for development on the ground. The challenge remains to develop spatial and built form plans at the scale of the central city area and to give these statutory authority.

Other Auckland City Council urban design initiatives

The fact that national legislation (rather than city by laws, for example) governs urban development at all levels means that without the statutory authority afforded by the RMA, urban planning and urban design initiatives that sit outside a District Plan potentially remain unenforceable. Despite this limitation, ACC have implemented a number of such non statutory measures, aimed at improving the urban environment of the central city. While the two frameworks noted above operate at a broad level, urban design guidelines have also been prepared for several parts of the central city. In addition, a city waterfront masterplan has also been recently completed, to demonstrate how a previously established vision (the "Waterfront 2040" exercise), based on extensive public consultation, might be interpreted on the ground. Producing a physically explicit plan (rather than a more abstract urban design framework) was possible because of the high specificity of the existing waterfront environment and the fact that all the land and over-water structures are in public ownership.

A third non-statutory initiative is the establishment of an urban design panel, and a panel process modeled on that introduced some years ago in Vancouver. The panel comprises representatives of the architecture, landscape architecture and planning professions, together with members of the Property Council (a national body that represents urban development interests). Recommendations of the urban design panel are incorporated into the reports prepared as part of the resource consent granting process. In addition, the city council's own urban design staff prepare separate evaluations that also inform these reports. But there have been instances where the commissioners determining the outcome of a resource consent hearing have not followed the panel's recommendations.

An evaluation of the effectiveness of the RMA in regard to urban planning and design

The initiatives outlined above do not exhaust the possible ways in which statutory or non statutory measures may be developed within the context of the RMA. Although the effectiveness of the RMA has been debated in legal, environmental and planning literatures, little consideration has been given to this question in the context of urban planning and urban design. To begin to answer this question requires a consideration of aspects of the Act and of the processes by which it is implemented. The first three subheadings below address the broad thrust of the Act, followed by a consideration of the processes by which development approvals are gained.

2. Biophysical emphasis

The biophysical emphasis of the RMA has been previously noted. Section 6 of the Act identifies seven matters of "national importance" of which only one, concerning the protection of historic heritage, has any direct bearing on the built environment. Section 7 of the Act identifies eleven "other matters", of which only two have a direct bearing on the built environment. These concern the maintenance and enhancement of amenity

values, and of the quality of the environment. It has to be said that the RMA attaches little importance to the urban environment.

2. Management rather than development

As previously noted, the focus of the RMA is on processes of sustainable management rather than sustainable development. Coupled with the focus on biophysical issues, this places the Act at a significant distance from issues of urban planning and development, and Gleeson and Grundy have observed that this "threatens to result in the replacement of planning by environmental management, a liberalized and de-socialized regulation of bio-physical processes".[23] Commenting on the distinction between sustainable management and sustainable development, Morgan Williams (a former Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment) has suggested that what New Zealand needs and wants from the RMA is the latter, and that the RMA needs to be integrated with a wider suite of sustainable development policies and initiatives.[24]

3. Procedures rather than environmental outcomes

Given a focus on management rather than development, it is nevertheless possible to distinguish between procedures and outcomes. Barton records that "there is a widespread feeling amongst commentators and professionals that the Act is bogged down by legal formalism", and that there is "too much emphasis on procedures, not outcomes".[25] A cursory study of the Act reveals that most sections are procedure-focused. A greater focus on outcomes would lead to a focus on strategies and tactics needed to achieve these, a point that has been emphasized by Williams.[26]

4. Focus on development effects rather than development outcomes

The RMA requires a focus on the effects and impacts of development rather than the nature and scale of development. Murray and Swaffield have observed that the prediction of environmental effects presents a number of technical problems that have been widely explored in the literature on environmental assessment.[27] The focus on effects as the basis for development evaluations raises a number of issues.

4.1 Emphasis on quantifiable effects

Effects that can be quantified are easier to assess than those that cannot be so measured, and significant energy is devoted to arguing the latter, particularly in hearings proceedings. The recent decision of the Environment Court in respect of an appeal against a resource consent granted for the construction of a hotel on one of Wellington's historic waterfront wharves, vividly illustrates this issue. In respect of the effects (both beneficial and adverse) of the proposed development, the presiding judge and two commissioners saw fit to record that "whether or not many of the benefits identified….were real or illusory, and the extent of those benefits were the subject of much of the debate before us". [28] The Court's Decision traverses the debate on effects at length, noting that not even the judge and commissioners could agree amongst

themselves on whether certain adverse effects were more than minor.[29] In addition to being unable to agree amongst themselves, they also observe that "in a number of matters we have reached different conclusions to the *(Resource Consent)* Hearings Commissioners".[30] These remarks highlight the potential subjectivity of assessments that many assume are made within a framework of instrumental rationality.

Urban design matters typically have to be argued for in hearings, with no guarantee that quality design outcomes will be recognized and endorsed. One of the few concepts advanced by the Act that gives focus to the assessment of the qualitative dimensions of effects is that of "amenity value", defined as "those natural or physical qualities and characteristics of an area which contribute to people's appreciation of its pleasantness, aesthetic coherence, and cultural and recreational attributes". Putting aside that the focus of this definition is on existing amenity (reflecting the management rather than development focus of the Act), the concept of "amenity value" is of itself not particularly discriminating, and some big leaps are required to link the specific urban design qualities of any development proposal to its amenity value. Design proposals that contain serious shortcomings may be argued in terms of the specific amenity that they offer, with the aim of convincing resource consent commissioners that the proposal is nevertheless a good one and that any adverse effects are no more than minor.

4.2   Level of impact of any effect

Section 104D of the Act requires that before a resource consent may be granted the consenting authority has to be satisfied that the effects of an activity on the environment are no more than minor. Any effect considered to be more than minor triggers public notification of the development proposal. What constitutes a minor effect is a matter of judgment and hence a source of debate. For example, when altering a building with heritage value, at what point would that value be diminished to an extent that is more than minor? The inherent subjectivity of such an assessment means that individual hearing commissioners can have a significant personal influence on whether a resource consent is granted.

4.3   Cumulative effects

Section 3 of the Act outlines the meaning of "effects", and includes "any cumulative effect which arises over time or in combination with other effects……." This aspect of the definition compounds the problem of subjectivity noted in section 4.2 above. For example, while a number of individual effects may each be no more than minor, at what point do they add up to an overall effect that is more than minor? A further complication is how to relate the effects of existing buildings to be retained on a development site with the additional effects of proposed development. The difficulty in reliably assessing cumulative effects within a single development proposal encourages those responsible for making a resource consent decision to avoid considering this possibility. One of the few references to cumulative effects in the literature on the RMA can be found in a report on the management of suburban amenity values prepared by the Office of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment.[31] However, examples given are

confined to situations where the granting of a resource consent for infill housing on a single lot was declined on the grounds that subsequent infill development on other nearby lots would have cumulative adverse effects deemed to be more than minor. This is an example of cumulative effects arising over time, as distinct from cumulative effects arising in combination at any point in time. However, the Commissioner's report makes no comment on this latter type of cumulative effect.

A further issue in the assessment of cumulative effects relates to the need for larger frames of reference. Commenting on development at a regional scale, Elliot observes that in the absence of such strategic frames of reference "the 'effects' of individual decisions may appear to be innocuous at the time that they are made, but over a period piecemeal decision making could result in commitment to a direction or form of growth which has major costs that could have been avoided". [32] A similar point can be made in respect of individual urban development projects that proceed in the absence of larger scale urban design plans, frameworks and such like.

4.4 Mitigation of adverse effects

Section 17 of the Act calls for the mitigation of any and all adverse effects in those situations where they cannot be avoided altogether. However, given the multiple effects of any urban development, and the fact that some individual effects are likely to be adverse to an extent that is more than minor, there is a risk that a development with strong overall benefits may be halted because of one or more such individual adverse effects. For example, a high rise development offering a number of benefits might also incur adverse effects with respect to traffic generation that cannot be addressed within the scope of that development. This situation highlights the holistic nature of good design as a process of making tradeoffs amongst a number of factors, in order to optimize an overall outcome. Notwithstanding the need to meet certain thresholds of acceptability in respect of individual impacts, design evaluation needs to also ask "has the overall outcome been optimized?" Williams has stated this in a broader way, when he suggests that "our sustainability focus needs to extend from mitigating effects to include much more focus on efficiencies of resource use".[33]

4.5 Effects assessment rather than design review

Sound development approval processes need to incorporate some element of design review. In an Auckland City context, until the formation of the urban design panel this typically did not happen. However, resource consent hearings are required to focus on effects assessments, with the outcomes of design review having little role. A fundamental issue here is that one can consider effects only in respect of a specific design proposal, whereas design review has the potential to consider or suggest alternative or modified designs that would represent better outcomes. Such deliberations are necessarily excluded from resource consent hearings, and City Council planning and urban design staff have no power to require a development applicant to consider such alternatives.

The assessment of design proposals in terms of recognized principles and practices of sound urban design, rather than in terms of their environmental effects, would be a more effective process, and one which all of the built environment design professions would respect.

5. Implicit reductionism in the resource consent decision making process

It follows from the above observations on effects assessments that several levels of reductive thinking are invoked by the RMA. At the level of resource consent decision making, there is a risk of focusing on individual effects in turn and so treating the whole as no more than the sum of its parts. At the level of sustainable management, an approach based on the avoidance or mitigation of adverse effects, rather than a consideration of efficiencies of resource use, represents a further reductionism. And it can be argued that to treat the environment as a set of discrete resources is also a reductionism. For as Murray and Swaffield have noted, "an ecosystems view emphasizes that human activity is part of a complex and indivisible web of relationships…."[34]

6. A "market forces" planning model

At the time of the introduction of the RMA the Minister for the Environment declared that "for the most part, decision makers operating under the Act's provisions will be controlling the adverse effects, especially in relation to the use of private land".[35] That planning functions could be curtailed to this extent reflects the preferences of the government of the day in favour of the operation of unfettered market forces. The inherent contradiction between this neo-liberal New Right position and the notion of sustainability has been noted by a number of writers. As Daly and Cobb have pointed out, the free market has no means of ensuring an optimal scale of the macro economy relative to the ecosystems in which it operates, yet achieving such a scale is fundamental to ecological sustainability.[36]

Given the freedoms offered by the RMA, where such freedoms result in poor urban development proposals then the only redress is by way of objections to notified resource consent applications, and the presentation of one's case at a resource consent hearing. Unsuccessful objectors may also challenge a resource consent decision in the Environment Court. The cost of such processes is high, and for this reason Gleeson and Grundy note that many community groups will no longer consider this route.[37] Despite this, the wait period for an Environment Court hearing has recently been in the order of several years. The success of alternatives such as mediation and other non statutory processes is dependent on the willingness of development promoters to engage in such processes. Conversely, where a development proposal (or a proposed modification to an existing District Plan) represents a possible loss of commercial opportunity, the larger developers or commercial organizations are likely to threaten costly legal proceedings.

If objecting to development proposals is a reactive form of public involvement, then proactive involvement via consultative processes is also promoted by the Act. While public consultation is usual at the inception of a major project (and local authorities are required to consult in regard to their own projects, including District Plan reviews and modifications), the absence of more traditional "blueprint planning" processes in the RMA means that this consultation is typically conducted without physically explicit design proposals, leaving these to be debated in the adversarial context of the resource consent hearing.

The RMA and urban design outcomes: two examples

Two current examples of urban redevelopment highlight the potential and the challenges presented by RMA processes in achieving high quality urban design outcomes. These are briefly outlined.

The Britomart redevelopment project, Auckland

The Britomart project involves the comprehensive redevelopment of three city blocks in downtown Auckland [38], and is an example of design led processes at each stage of the project. The outcome of a two stage international design competition formed the basis on which a development masterplan was prepared by the winning design team. This was subsequently incorporated into a modification to the District Plan, giving the proposal statutory status. Non statutory design guidelines were also prepared by the design consultants. Each of the individual projects (some sixteen heritage building refurbishments and four major new buildings) and the associated streetscape and public open space projects, is presented to the urban design panel prior to granting individual resource consents. All work on existing buildings is carried out with reference to heritage conservation plans for each building.

This strongly design-led redevelopment process has to a large extent been possible because the City Council owns the land and is able to control the terms of the development leases. In addition, the heritage-responsive development that has been strongly advocated by Auckland citizens has required a reduced investment return, given that new buildings within the precinct will be significantly smaller than that allowed under the District Plan prior to the Britomart plan modification. It has been estimated that the City Council has carried a $50 million reduction in the development return that would otherwise have been possible. However, the political as well as the urban design benefits of so doing are widely recognized.

Notwithstanding these positive project conditions, the developers are seeking to construct a tower that significantly exceeds building height controls, alongside a number of three and four storey heritage buildings. A 'private plan change' process (as allowed for by the RMA) has been launched by the developers to achieve this end. Given that the plan change is very likely to be rejected by the City Council, not least because of the risk of a public outcry, the developers can be expected to pursue their plan change by way of a public hearing. This hearing will be presided over by commissioners who will

be required to consider arguments based on assessment of effects (including visual effects.) Given that the proposed tower has been sized and designed to attract an international five star hotel chain, it can be expected that the economic benefits of such a hotel for the city will be strongly argued by the developer. There is the possibility that a plan change might be granted, despite the fact that the proposal would represent a significant divergence from the urban design principles previously established for the Britomart project. This situation highlights the vulnerability of design led planning controls in the face of the effects-based assessment regime of the RMA.

The "Bowen Integrated Campus" development, Wellington

The so called "Bowen Integrated Campus" project involves a major commercial office development at the edge of the central business district and alongside the site of New Zealand's Parliament complex in the national capital of Wellington. The proposal has been granted a resource consent following a hearing, and the Government has reluctantly decided to challenge this decision in the Environment Court. The Government, by virtue of their status as adjoining property owners, were the only party given the opportunity to make submissions on the development consent application, and had they not opposed the application a resource consent could have been granted without a hearing.

Existing buildings on the development site, both individually and as an ensemble, are widely considered to possess heritage value as an example of modernist government buildings from the 1960's. Although the Wellington City Council, the NZ Historic Places Trust, and independent heritage consultants all agree that they would become 'listed' and therefore protected heritage buildings in due course, they do not currently have this status.

The property was originally developed and owned by the Government, but economic reforms in the 1980's saw all such office properties sold to private development interests, and the new owners are seeking to maximize the amount of accommodation on the site. The proposal involves demolishing one building and incorporating the other two into a single continuous floor plate that extends to the site boundaries and to the maximum permitted new building height, leaving a number of floor levels of the existing buildings protruding above the roof of the new complex. No public open spaces are proposed within the development to replace existing open spaces. In justifying building up to the site boundaries the developers have cited a general design guideline in favor of active edges, contained in the Wellington City Council District Plan. However, an appendix to the design guidelines also analyses the special character of the Parliamentary Precinct and adjacent areas (including the development site) and identifies a pattern of freestanding buildings set back from street edges in an open space setting. No design guidelines have been developed which recognize and seek to protect this aspect of the urban form and character of this area, and given this omission the developers have seized the opportunity to build to the site boundaries. In this they have been supported by the City Council's urban design staff, but not by the heritage advisory staff. In addition to these issues the proposal obscures several significant but

unprotected view-shafts, and treats its boundary with the Parliamentary Precinct as a public frontage by borrowing light, sun and outlook for the new office interiors along this edge.

In reaching their decision to approve the development [39], the hearing commissioners have placed great emphasis on the arguments advanced regarding the various effects assessments, and their decision and its supporting rationale reveal many of the vexatious matters noted above with respect to the assessment of environmental effects. Significantly, no consideration was given to a City Council prepared strategic plan for the future development of the Parliamentary Precinct and neighbouring properties (including the development site) because the Council had not incorporated it within their own District Plan.

Lessons from Vancouver

Like Vancouver, Auckland is a city that aspires to position itself globally in part by the quality of its urban environment. There are a number of other similarities between these two cities which suggest that Auckland might learn from the kinds of urban planning and design policies and practices that Vancouver has developed. These policies and practices have been comprehensively reviewed by Punter [40], and it is evident that they differ in significant respects from those instigated by the RMA. Four aspects of these differences are worthy of comment.

1. A design-led approach

Most significantly, Vancouver's urban planning and development control processes are design-led in the sense that securing the best possible design outcome is a fundamental objective of each step of the process. This feature typically results in documents (notably a suite of 'Official Development Plans') that include physical plans and other kinds of graphic representations of desired outcomes. While such design-led documents are typically based on what Punter refers to as "community visions", he also records that they "can build consensus within the city bureaucracy and enthuse the development industry and community at large".[41] By contrast, the New Zealand process typically sees design proposals revealed at a later point in the consultation process, if at all.

2. Statutory versus non-statutory measures

Vancouver's urban planning and urban design measures are not subject to the provisions of national legislation, and where community participation expectations have been met then such design-explicit measures become incorporated within city bylaws. As such they are also easier to amend, as is demonstrated for example by numerous amendments to the Official Development Plans that are documented on the City of Vancouver website. This contrasts with an urban development process in New Zealand that often revolves around the prospect of litigation and the understandable conservatism of local authorities in order to avoid this wherever possible.

3. Regulatory and discretionary elements

A distinctive feature of Vancouver's urban planning and design strategy is the balance between regulatory and discretionary measures. Punter notes that "in the official development plan process, as elsewhere, the Vancouver approach has been to parallel the regulatory element – the zoning bylaw – with a discretionary element – design guidelines" [42], and he notes that the design guidelines "carry a wealth of advice about all matters to do with building forms and the public realm". In contrast, the RMA focus is on activities and their effects, with limited discretion beyond rules that typically apply to any development proposal. The idea that the discretionary powers of the local authority should be increased in respect to matters of design quality cuts across the permissive intent of the RMA. Despite this, some of the urban design initiatives that have been adopted by Auckland City Council, including the recommendations of the urban design panel and the growing use of assessment criteria rather than rules, represent an increase in discretionary measures.

4. Certainty of urban design outcomes

Despite significant discretionary powers embedded within Vancouver's development approval processes, the design-led approach noted above also provides a high level of certainty, both for the development applicant and in regard to ensuring high quality urban design outcomes. By contrast, urban developments in New Zealand are typically assessed on a site by site basis, in the absence of broader statutory urban design and planning proposals. The issue of whether a particular development positively contributes to a larger urban design or urban planning vision is difficult to assess when such visions have not been defined, or have been defined in a way that provides no clear design direction.

Conclusion

Debate amongst urban design and urban planning practitioners in New Zealand suggests that opinion is divided regarding the potential for RMA processes to promote measures that will ensure consistently high quality urban planning and urban design outcomes. On the one hand the suite of measures recently developed by Auckland City Council could be taken as evidence of an intrinsic adaptability of the RMA and the District Plan process. On the other hand, an emphasis on sustainable management and effects-based assessments, and an underlying permissiveness towards development options, continues to impede progress towards consistently high quality urban development.

While there is no doubt further adaptive capacity within the Act in relation to urban planning and urban design imperatives, at some point this adaptive approach will no longer accord with the underlying purposes of the Act. Some might argue that this point has already been reached. In this regard the remarks made ten years ago by a former

Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, are worth revisiting. What was needed, in his view, was a shift in focus from the mitigation of effects to a focus on the efficiencies of resource use. To achieve this Morgan Williams argued for the integration of the RMA with a wider suite of sustainable development policies and initiatives.[43] In respect of urban development, a visit to the websites of leading cities such as New Zealand's near neighbors – Melbourne and Sydney – suggests that he was right.

Endnotes

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[6] The fact that the review was commissioned by the Minister of Trade and Industry is perhaps significant

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[19] Oram, 2007, p. 11

[20] Keane, J, High Court judgement CIV 407/04, 2004, para 70

[21] Further information on the Urban Design Protocol can be found at www.mfe.govt.nz/isues/urban

[22] Auckland City District Plan: Central Area, section 2.6.4

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Alvalade Neighbourhood (1945-1970): a paradigm on Portuguese urban planning

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1. Introduction

Being a city of quite diverse formation, one of the forms of Lisbon's urban growth during the 20th century was the accomplishment of great housing expansions of public promotion.

The Alvalade Neighbourhood corresponds, in the *Estado Novo Regime* (1926-1974) to the first big housing expansion of public promotion in Lisbon, in which typologies of collective housing were adopted, ensuing the common practice of the 30's decade of promotion of neighbourhoods of villas, inspired in city-garden references that prolonged in the city the rural tradition with the land.

Focusing on approximately 230 hectares, Alvalade had as source the Urbanisation *Plan of the Area South of the Alferes Malheiro Avenue* (1945) that predicted a spatial organization commencing on 8 housing cells centred in school equipment. Carried out until the 70's, through the accomplishment of several detail studies and conjunct projects, the Alvalade Neighbourhood developed a groundbreaking urban design solution in the existing Portuguese urban practise, reusing aspects of several concepts, models and contemporary urban experiences, namely (1) the «pre-industrial» city of blocks and streets, (2) the garden-city, (3) the modern movement, (4) the south and west expansions of Amsterdam, (5) some Berliner Siedlungs and (6) the neighbourhood unity.

Of the Alvalade experience, remains the lecture of the application of the models, not only for their idealism but also the withdrawal of techniques, forms and particular concepts – its capacity to the resolution of specific situations of urban design, constituting instruments of lexis in the hands of urbanists.

Associated to urban design, the Alvalade Neighbourhood also marks the Portuguese reality in consideration with the study of the housing unit, having corresponded to the first great experimentation of the left-right typology rationalization – e.g., minimum areas for residential functions, reduction of the circulation areas, optimization of infrastructures – and the standardization of its constructive elements, to the extent where the urbanisation plan was accompanied by projects of low rent building-types.

Used as basis for the several subsequent housing projects, the housing unit study that took place in Alvalade was also a support for the creation of the first modern ruling on Portuguese edification – the RGEU, published in 1951.

The paper is intended to publish, towards the international scientific community, one of the most relevant accomplishments of 20th century Lisbon, which should have a bigger acknowledgement outside of Portugal. It is supported on a research that took place between 1995 and 1998, from which resulted a master's thesis (1998) and a book (2002, 2005 and 2006).

2. The Alvalade Neighbourhood in the context Of 20th Century Portuguese urbanism and architecture

The 20th century housing in Lisbon, through large initiatives of public promotion, is characterised by the existence of 3 main periods, each corresponding to a specific political context.

In the first 25 years, corresponding to the last years of the Monarchy (until 1910), to the Republic (1910-1920) and to the transition to the *Estado Novo* (New Regime, 1926-1974), the political instability had as consequence large investment on public housing programmes weren't a priority. A reference must be done to the first plans prepared to the *Arco do Cego Neighbourhood* during the Republic, even if its main implementation did only occur until latter.

During the *Estado Novo* first period focus was on the economic and constitutional stabilization and housing programmes weren't also the priority.
Identified as the *Modernist Lisbon* [França, 1980], the period between 1910/20 and half of the 1930's is characterised by the reduced attention from the administration to the municipal problems, which verified a current management of the problems reveled since the Republic.

It was, therefore, a period when «*Lisbon extended without a unified plan. It developed throughout neighbourhoods, nucleus, rural areas urbanized one by one in a rather anarchist way, and little or nothing related with the units, still rural, or already urban, contiguous to them. Also, in the need to accomplish conjoined projects that could guide the development of the city, although some studies[1] were in fact elaborated, nothing permanent was finalized in this field*» [Marques, 1967, p.4].

This moment of less interest on behalf of the central government and of less glamour from the municipal authority, constituted itself as a paradox – or maybe not – as a period that, on an architectural level, some visions of the modern European movement would be continuously approached on an experimental point of view.
The 30's corresponded, even though weighting the inexistence of a regulator plan, to a moment in which the city started to accelerate its rhythm of development, caused essentially by two major factors: the private housing outbreak, generated by the Decree nº 15289, of 1928[2], and a partial reappearance of a public construction policy, complementary to the referred decree, focusing specially in the construction of equipments of various types.

The year of 1933, date of the approval of the Constitution and formation of the National Propaganda Secretariat (SPN), would reveal itself as a hinge point in the evolution of this conjecture, marking its turn. It corresponded to a moment where the country was more stabilized and started looking at its internal accomplishments.

The corporative nationalism, the strong Government, the social-economical interventionism and the colonial imperialism were defined in the «*constitutional commitment of 1933*» as the «*fundamental principals of the political revolution*» that is intended to be put into practise [Rosas, 1990].

A new urban policy of interventionist characteristics was launched, supported in three factors: the elimination of the private monopoly of the urban soil, the subsidy for work and the implementation of great public work enterprises.

«*In the case of Lisbon, this intervention resulted on the definition and construction of the fundamental roadway network for the city and its connections to the Centre, North and South of the Country…, as well as the expansion of the port and the construction of the airport. In a word, the new urban policy consisted in the creation of the basic infrastructures that allowed the expansion of the internal market*» [Silva, 1994, p.13].

The attempt to elaborate a Master Plan for the city was once again stimulated. In that same year, in relation with the presence of Agache in Portugal, the Government Decree nº 24802, of 12/21/1934, was promulgated, the first regulation concerning the elaboration and approval of City Hall Urbanisation Plans, substituting the anterior figure of the General Improvement Plans.

At this phase, the *Regime* felled the necessity to create a unique architecture, to express the values that it sustained: authority, discipline and order on one side and the cult of nationalism, of family and the rural world on another[3].

Salazar affirmed then: «*We are all against all the internationalisms, against communism, against socialism, against the libertine socialism, against all that diminishes which divide and desegregate the family*» [Salazar, 1937, p.92].
In this context, it should be considered the action of the Directorate General of Buildings and National Monuments – responsible entity, from 1932, for the recovery of several monuments throughout the Country –, aiming the preservation, depuration and purification of the national values; «*When one is old and has besides some centuries, a history, one feels that other values exist and these are at the same time patrimony and imperatives of the national life. Reason complies to the conservation of one and faithfulness with the others…*» [Henriques, Melo, 1989, p.58].

The harsh criticism made by the more conservative sectors to the internationalism of modern architecture, founded herewith arguments in the vanguard work that emerged in the country and adhering to the problems of the Casa Portuguesa, enflamed the clamour, affirming: «*make Portuguese houses in Portugal*»[4]. The doctrinal bases that justified, in the ideologist plan, the appearance of the so called *Estado Novo*

architecture, emerged therefore from opposite horizons, conferring some theoretical support to the architecture that the *Regime* needed – and marked the context of the urban and architectural culture, in which the proposals for the Alvalade Neighbourhood would start beginning in 1938.

In effect, 1938 sated the beginning of a new period in the City Hall of Lisbon, (CML), with the entrance of Engineer Duarte Pacheco for its presidency, in accumulation with the functions of Minister of Public Works (MOP). His actions regarding the city policy were characterized by a dynamic, modern posture and authoritarianism «that were articulated in a same aesthetic and political attitude» [Ferreira, 1983b, p.30].
A vast program of land expropriation was then launched, that would last for several years, despite the strong protests from the owners which only the consolidated position of the *Regime* could overcome – land that constituted the territorial basis, not only of the Alvalade Neighbourhood, but as of many of the city's main public accomplishments until present day.

Also connected to his actions in the City Hall of Lisbon, was the achievement of the General Urbanisation and Expansion Plan of Lisbon (PGUEL), started in 1938 with the participation of Etiènne De Gröer that «*defined the major development lines for the city (partly resuming Agache's orientations of 1933)*» and «*writing the program for the analytical base study towards the establishment of the Main Plan*» [Silva, 1994, p.15]. During the development of PGUEL several studies were made in parallel, of which resulted, for example, the *Encarnação*, *Campolide*, *Madre Deus* or *Caselas* neighbourhoods. The promotion of these neighbourhoods fitted in the «Economic Houses» program, launched in 1933[5]; by establishing several incentives, this programme promoted the typology of isolated houses for single families obeying to a clear directive:

«*We will start the construction of the economic house, the house of the poorer, (…) arranged as a nest - home of the working family, modest home, secluded, Portuguese*»[6].

The transition to the 1940's was marked by the realization of the Portuguese World Exposition, important display of the *Regime* that fulfilled the role of ideological propaganda, its virtues and growing nationalism, being the architecture the means to enhance it. The direct intervention of Salazar, his nationalist and historicist speech, conservator and filled with unanimity, coexisted with the rationalism and internationalism of Duarte Pacheco and the architects by him mobilized.

«*It was mainly from this event and as the vast public work program advanced with "constructions type" throughout the country, that the "Portuguese architecture" or the "soft Portuguese" style was typified, a mist of nationalism and internationalism, similar to what happened in Italy, Spain and Germany. Monumentality, regularity, architectural references of mannerist and baroque evocation, materials and modern constructive solutions but of formal traditional inspiration, were some of the ingredients of this new*

language that developed in the 40's and 50's and to which convincingly or ironically, many of the architects of that time joined» [Calado, 1994, p.13].

«*In 1943, The Urbanisation and Work Direction Services considered concluded the study of the great lines of PGUEL and established the bases in which would be settled the "detail studies to elaborate in parallel with the necessities of expansion of the city"*» [Silva, 1994, p.16]; however, this Plan would never be officially approved.

The modern movement architecture in Portugal was then substituted by a new cultural vision of architecture, connected to certain European nationalist movements, having in Portugal particular characteristics.

Paulo Varela Gomes identifies also the 40's with the formation of a «*third via of the Portuguese architecture*», a modern architecture non internationalist, organized, aware of the lost values of the vernacular and erudite tradition, which will later on, result in the realization of the «*Inquiry to the Portuguese Regional Architecture*»[7] [Gomes, 1991]. Therefore, the architecture of the Estado Novo, developed predominantly during the 40's, can be characterized in general terms in the following way:

- In terms of public buildings, the search for monumentality as expression of grandiosity of the Government, demonstrating a sense of authority and order, with frequent use of a classic vocabulary, either in terms of architecture expression, or in terms of its urban insertion (creating street threading, excelled squares to the public buildings, etc.).
- On a housing level, a traditionalism while representation of national values, recurring to elements of regionalist architecture and classicism, raised to a national category

.
These two lines of expression appear frequently overlapped, especially in the buildings that, by their function or dimension, are part of the two categories – buildings of urban housing, public buildings in small agglomerates, etc.

This characterization corresponded effectively to the ideal of edification of the *Regime*, expressed in Salazar's own words: «*This work, varied and multiform, of majestic buildings or small gracious houses, of large roads and rustic paths, of factories and churches, of ports and dams, of schools and of hospitals, of castles and military barracks, wasn't born by chance, but by our own concept of Government and of the Portuguese society, this is, a hierarchic society without privileges, worker without servitude, modest without misery, progressive without detaching from the past of which is proud of…*» [Salazar, November 7th, 1948, in: Henriques, Melo, 1989, pp. 180/181]. The profit housing-building of Lisbon also played a main part in the urban dynamics of that time, adhering to the "official" model of taste and contributing for its divulgence. With the death of Duarte Pacheco in 1943, victim of an automobile accident, this interventionist project for the city of Lisbon, suffered a harsh setback, situation worsen with the publication of Law nº 2018, of 07/24/1946, and of Law nº 2030 of 06/02/1948, which reintroduced the judicial phase in the process of land expropriation. However, as

for many other public initiatives, the basic lands for the Alvalade urbanization were guaranteed.

It was necessary to get to 1945, époque in which the housing needs increased, for a first concession of Salazar to the model of the Casa Portuguesa. The «Low Rent Houses»[8], aimed towards the urban medium classes, allowed for the first time multifamily buildings, settling a maximum of 4 floors. It was in this frame that was initially developed the Alvalade Neighbourhood, in sequence to PGUEL, built by the City Hall of Lisbon.

«A total renovation, in 1938, of the principal guiders of the Municipality, allowed that, in 1944, the City Hall of Lisbon, having already a large direct experience of solution of Lisbon's problems, opened way to large urbanisations, totally integrated in the modern rules, accepted as guidelines of a better resolution of the city development, benefiting the general population. Until 1938, little or nothing had been advanced in terms of evolution of the concept of urbanism, as it started to be accepted and practised in the large European agglomerates, to quote the ones that were closer to the door». [Lobato, 1951].

The year of 1948 marked the realization of the 1st National Congress of Architecture, which was a turn point in the posture of many professionals and the beginning of the condemnation without subterfuges, of the *Regime*'s architecture. This moment of hinge in the aesthetic party of the new generations of architects, would reveal itself determinant from hereon, marking a return attempt to the modern movement, but this time, against the will of the Government.

It was from this date on that numerous projects of modernistic character were developed, including several detail units in the Alvalade Neighbourhood, e.g., the *Estacas Neighbourhood*[9], the *Brazil Avenue*[10] or the *United States of America Avenue*[11].

«In 1948 the Government initiated a period of economical conditionings, which took the CML to concentrate their financial means and technical capacities in the conclusion of works already initiated or predicted in the 1947 Plan» [Silva, 1994, p.17], reducing substantially its operability in terms of territory intervention.

In Alvalade, the main consequence was the incapacity of urbanisation through the program of «Low Rent Houses», totally dependent of the Government, and its substitution for the program "Houses with Limited Rent", permitting from then on, a variety of urban detail studies and the participation, even if conditioned, of private initiative.

Arriving to the decades of the 50's and 60's, the Government priority was orientated toward invests in infrastructures, transportations and communications, in an effort to give the Portuguese economical activities an oriented global framing.

In what concerns the planning issues, in February of 1954, the CML created the Cabinet of Urbanisation Studies, which main function consisted in the revision and actualization of the *Master Plan of the City of Lisbon* of 1948, from which will result the *Master Urbanisation Plan of Lisbon* of 1959.

By this time, the Alvalade Neighbourhood was in great part built or projected, even if several areas were accomplished in subsequent dates.

3. Alvalade Neighbourhood, a synthesis of the Urbanisation Plan (1945) and its implementation until the 1970's

At the time located on the north exit of the city, the urbanisation of the Alvalade Neighbourhood had as basis the *Urbanisation Plan of the Area South of the Alferes Malheiro Avenue*, approved by the Government in October of 1945. This base plan was elaborated, as observed, in a period of full consolidation of the Estado Novo *Regime*, when more attention was given to the cultural issues, after an initial phase of priority investment in the economical and constitutional stabilization of the country.

However, the first urbanisation rehearsals for Alvalade had its origins in the studies of the *Master Plan of the City of Lisbon*, initiated in 1938 in the municipal services, under the direction of Etiènne De Gröer, defining the main development lines for the city. In its first references, (1938-39), the studies comprehended the area of the future urbanisation plan in a wider area foe the expansion of the city: from the actual *Chile Square* to the *Alferes Malheiro Avenue* (actual *Brazil Avenue*). In these first rehearsals the tracings of the *United States of America Avenue* (the new circumvallation via of the city proposed by the *Master Plan of the City of Lisbon*) and the *Rome Avenue* were considered, as well as the limits by the *Alferes Malheiro Avenue*, the *28th of May Camp* and the railway belt.

The first rehearsals of urban design had continuity in 1941, with the accomplishment of the *Joint Study of the Area South of the Alferes Malheiro Avenue*, concluded in 1942, which suffered, in 1944, deep changes. It is important to note that, from this phase on, the design of Alvalade knew already the participation of the architect-urbanist Faria da Costa, author of the urbanisation plan approved in October of 1945.

As mentioned, and also in the ambit of the *Master Plan of the City of Lisbon*, took place, in parallel, a general process of land expropriation, focusing particularly in the surrounding areas of the city (*Monsanto*, *Airport*, *Alvalade*, *Caselas*, *Restelo*, etc.) This process, that took place until 1946, was legitimated by legislation of 1938, reinforced in 1944, in order to allow its applicability towards the execution of new urbanisation plans, after previous approval by the Government. This legislative context allowed, in 1946, the City Hall of Lisbon to become proprietor of the main part of the land in the approximately 230 hectares correspondent to the area of the *Urbanisation Plan of the Area South of the Alferes Malheiro Avenue*.

The Plan area was divided in eight cells, defined by the main road structure, forming distinct urbanisation units, separated between themselves by the surrounding traffic lines. Each of these cells[12] was organized around school equipment, constituting the simple street layouts access areas to the houses.

To overcome the initial inertia and create a strong construction dynamic in the area of the plan, the municipality provided the projects for low rent houses[13] and the infra-structured terrains, also taking responsibility for the construction of the first units. It was the municipality that started the construction program, in a large enough scale so that its accomplishment could become a clear example and stimulation to private activities, creating through this a growth dynamic that would become autonomous of its intervention[14].

With this initiative, by assuming the responsibility for the construction, the municipality could also motivate the civil construction sector, allowing the introduction of new technologies and perfecting the construction processes.

Even though this strong intention in fomenting the construction of low rent housing, the urbanisation plan also predicted the coexistence of different social category houses, continuing the city's tradition and rejecting some contemporary housing theories. The solution was to attribute distinct areas for houses of families with different incomes, following the intention of integration and social complementation.

The plan also predicted the existence of housing with non controlled costs, through the reservation of land for the free market, including the most valuable areas, correspondent to the structural avenues.

The «*elements of general interest*» of the neighbourhood – main free spaces, equipments, public services and commercial areas[15] – were disposed aiming a rationalization of the accessibilities within the plan area, in a way they could be reached by the residents of the eight cells through convenient and not extensive routes, crossing the principal traffic intersections only when it was indispensable.

The total proposed population was 45.000 inhabitants, corresponding to a density of approximately 200 inhabitants per hectare[16] – a density superior to the one until then practised in Lisbon in public housing promotion.

Concerning the urbanisation and edification of Alvalade, the priority of the City Hall of Lisbon was the infra structuring of the area of the plan, which allowed, still in 1946, some street paths were built and, in 1947, almost all the streets were concluded – fulfilling the plan's intentions and making available infra structured land for the housing construction.

Accomplished this priority, the municipality assumed itself as an entrepreneur agent, through the construction of low rent houses, between 1947 and 1956[17], generating, as

the plan intended, construction dynamics that guaranteed the adherence of private agents.

Making a review of the low rent houses programme in the Alvalade Neighbourhood, approximately 2.900 housing-units were built, corresponding to a population of 12.000 inhabitants, when, in its initial program, the *Urbanisation Plan of the Area South of the Alferes Malheiro Avenue*, predicted the construction of about 7.470 housing-units in collective housing of low rent, to host around 31.374 inhabitants – corresponding to an implementation tax of 38%.

As mentioned, this fact was due to the alteration of the economic conditions in the City Hall since 1948, associated to the appearance, still in 1947, of the new legal figure of the «houses with limited rent».

This new legal figure presented a wider range, allowing the construction by privates through the fixation of a limited rent, as well as a subsequent alienation of the construction in public lands, following specific forms and terms[18].

Comparatively the houses of economic rent, this legal figure also allowed the affectation of the ground floor for commercial usage.

From 1947, the figure of the «Limited Rent Houses» progressively gained importance in Alvalade's urbanisation, in the proportional inverted sense of the «Low Rent Houses», affirming itself as a legal figure of impact in the housing construction of controlled costs. In the execution of its detailed studies, the action of the municipal services consisted in the coordination of the urbanisation, organising the plot division process and promoting the construction according to project-types (in an initial phase), or the alienating of land with projects and afterwards overseeing the works.

In some situations, e.g. the single-house area of the *Airport Avenue*, after its division in lots was complete, the terrains were simply transferred, without project.

Initiated in 1949, the Alvalade urbanisation through the figure of the «Limited Rent Houses» dominated the decade of the 50's, having also allowed the realization of several housing detail-studies and project-types by different architects, which respected more or less the initial proposals of the plan.

The urbanisation of the Alvalade Neighbourhood was concluded in the 70's. Detailed information concerning the Alvalade Neighbourhood can be consulted in specialized research, mainly regarding its planning, urbanisation and edification process [Costa, 2002], and the sociologic perspective of the location of the social classes [Janarra, 1994].

4. Alvalade Neighbourhood, synthesis of international influences: a paradigm urban design solution in the Portuguese urban practice

As demonstrated on previous research on the Neighbourhood, Alvalade is an example of eclectic[19] urban design and a paradigm on Portuguese urban planning [Costa, 2002]. Illustrated bellow, one can identify in the Alvalade Neighbourhood urban concepts used in different models of city and in several previous experiences, some constituting paradigms in the urbanism theory.

Its urban design didn't simply reinterpreted one of those models; it wasn't inspired exclusively in a determined previous experience. On the contrary, in the Alvalade Neighbourhood it was achieved a synthesis of variable influences, some token initially as totally antagonists; and the new synthesis constitutes a paradigm, at least in the context of the urbanism in Portugal – therefore the eclectism.

Observed in the primary fonts[20], in the Alvalade Neighbourhood were identified morphological elements proceeding from:

1) The «pre-industrial» city of blocks and streets, e.g.:
- The definition of urban spaces based on a rectilinear street canal, limited by marginal façade plans;
- The application of the concept of avenues and squares as structuring elements of the urban tissues, even if building those urban spaces and the marginal plan of façades with modern architecture;
- The definition of urban perspectives in its main and local structures, marking the longitudinal spaces of street–canal with urban art, in the crossing between axles, or by threading over public equipments, in its end.

2) The Garden City, e.g.:
- The typological proposal for cell 4, with its occupation with single and double family houses, disposed through an organic curve street system;
- The application of the urban model of the housing impasse, proposed by R. Unwin in Town Planning in Practice, and its systematical use in different cells – detailed by different detail studies and built with different architectures;
- The use of other typologies of urban form proposed by Unwin in Town Planning in Practice, specially the retreat of the edification in the interception of the secondary streets, when one finishes;
- The application of a network of interior pedestrian paths to access the school equipment, separated from car traffic;
- The concept of a central public space in each cell, dominated by an intense green mass – the local centrality as a green area;
- The multiplication of green spaces along the plan area, with strong presence of nature in the interior of the cells, including in the backyards and in the street corridors.

3) The Modern Movement, e.g.:

- The application of forms of functional zoning – segregation of the urban functions –, particularly in the plan initial proposals, with the distribution of monofunctional houses of low rent and the concentration of jobs and commerce in located areas;
- The use of the typology of the block perpendicular to the roads, in particular in the main crossing axles, creating new public areas and protecting the building façade from the main road traffic;
- The systemized study of the housing unit in the houses of economic rent – also a base for the following detail studies – and the building of the city through the repetition of the housing plot;
- The rationalist form how the block corners are treated in houses of economic rent: the housing unit generates the building-type and its repetition generates the urban form; the situations that the building-type doesn't solve stay intentionally signaled, in an attitude of extreme rationalism, by opposition to the great richness of corners as an exceptional situation, for example, in the expansion of South Amsterdam;
- Located application of the building over «pilotís» and of the housing block in height, although this «housing unit» almost always corresponds to two /three buildings of left-right side grouped together.

4) Amsterdam Expansions, 1910's (Berlage) and 1930's (Van Eesteren), e.g.:
- The process of opening of the block, being a paradigm the evolution of the commercial block – predicted in the plan as closed, built on cell 3 as a block with na "U" shape, and developed in the Estacas Neighbourhood as a open block, suppressing the two top sides;
- The intermediate stage in the opening process of the block, elected as the dominant urban form, as we can see in the block-type;
- The interior block equipment – the potential that remained to be fully developed in the Alvalade neighbourhood;
- The references made to the treatment of the blocks interior in these 20th century paradigm housing expansions.

5) Some Berliner Siedlungs, e.g.:
- Morphological references in the economical housing buildings to several Siedlungs, being the most significant the proposal of semi opened block integrating an impasse developed at the Siedlung Diesdorferstrasse, J. Goderitz, Berlim 1925;
- The study of the housing unit, with adoption of the methodologies used in the studies of Alexander Klein to the left-right typology;
- The volume scale and the image of the adopted architecture, in particular the first accomplishments of the "Regime Architecture" until 1945.

6) The application of the «Neighbourhood Unit» concept, proposing housing cells with 5.000 inhabitants, centred on the school equipment, and developing a neighbourhood community lifestyle.

In the Alvalade Neighbourhood it can be identified references to morphological elements of models or enounced urban experiences, which have the value of instruments in urban design. With particular characteristics, these elements can be

withdrawn of its original context and again applied in the design towards determined objectives: they are typological elements of urban composition.

The street-corridor valuating the perspective was not applied intending to remake the baroque city; the block with «pilotís» was not applied intending the recreation of the CIAM; the concept of «neighbourhood unit» was framed into the dimension of the national school districts and its application did not create sub-neighbourhoods, isolated and separated between themselves; the application of the impasse and the investment in the green structure did not meant a variant to the garden-city was being looked for. Each of these elements was not valuable by the model or origin experience in which they were developed and to which are referenced. On the contrary, each morphological element was understood as a typological element in urban design, separated from its original context – to which it is associated –, having a determined potential for combination in design. It constitutes a unit within a vast lexis that are basic elements of urban design.

Attending to the obtained synthesis, the Alvalade Neighbourhood constitutes a paradigm in the Portuguese urbanism and a reference that is important to make known internationally in the theory and history of urbanism, in the decades of the 40's and 50's.

5. Alvalade Neighbourhood and the Rgeu, an experimentation laboratory on the Portuguese regulation of the housing unit

An important reference of the housing program in the Alvalade Neighbourhood concerns the development of a profound study for the housing units of the low rent. This unit was also the basis for several posterior proposals, developed by different architects under the figure of the houses with limited rent.

In a large part of the adopted solutions – starting with the initial ones –, the edified urban structure was generated by the repetition of the building-type, which resulted from the study of the housing-unit for the left-right typology.

Therefore, the low rent houses urban areas of the Alvalade Neighbourhood (Cells I, II, V and VI) verified, simultaneously: (1) a road system based on the street-corridor, defined by the front-façades plan, and; (2) an edified urban structure generated by a detailed study of the housing-unit, which was the base for its urban form.

The housing-unit constituted, in the houses of low rent (and further detail plans), the first element of urban design, starting from the particular towards the general in the definition of edified structure.

It is important, therefore, to register the fact that these projects, predicting its construction in large quantities, resulted from an intense research of the housing-unit in terms of: (1) the optimization of the minimum habitability areas; (2) the disposition of the several housing functions; (3) the reduction of its lost areas, and; (4) the systematization of its constructive process.

Not regarding its architectural image, the nature of this research, generating several housing-unit types, is clearly identified with the housing studies of the modern movement, e.g., looking for the minimum areas of the housing-unit based on man's ergonomics, the systematization of typologies and the rationalization of the housing space.

Alexander Klein studies found expression in these projects, mainly through the use of the author's methods for the right-left typology housing-unit [Costa, 2002, p.162]. The research for the houses of low rent fitted in the modern movement, and was considerably marked by the scientific depth that Alexander Klein added to the composition of the unit during the 20's.

Respecting the housing-unit intensive research in Alvalade, a non proved hypothesis suggest this detailed study could have been the technical support for some housing definitions in the *General Ruling of the Urban Edifications* (RGEU), published in Portugal in 1951 and still in exercise nowadays.

Corresponding to a high moment of the modern movement in Portugal, the profound typological and constructive study of the housing-unit in Alvalade determined: (1) the establishment of minimum areas by housing function; (2) optimum spatial dispositions, and; (3) minimum dimensioning of constructive elements.

These definitions are very similar close to the ones published 6 years latter in the RGEU, e.g., the definition of minimum areas and of ideal dispositions concerning the different compartments.

Still needing more investigation, this hypothesis finds a support in the analysis of the first indicators: not very divulged, the modernist research of the housing-unit achieved in Alvalade and promoted by the administration did not had a parallel at the time and coincides in the conclusions with several of the parameters disposed in the RGEU in 1951.

6. Conclusion: the Alvalade Neighbourhood as a reference case in the European housing and planning history

Considering the different characteristics enumerated, the planning and edification of the Alvalade Neighbourhood constitutes one of the highest moments in the 20th century Portuguese history of urbanism and housing.

As observed, in the Portuguese context Alvalade was innovator in several aspects and represented a steep ahead in the modernist housing programme, even though having a nationalist image in its first buildings. It represents a moment when the modernist research on housing lived together with the nationalist image of buildings in one of the dictatorial European countries.

Allowed to developed modernist architecture also in its image since 1947, the Alvalade Neighbourhood reveals the adoption of an eclectic and contemporary solution of urban design, developing a new synthesis starting from diverse and apparently contradictory elements of the urbanistic culture.

Its experimental character knew diverse innovative aspects – e.g., the new scale of public urbanisation in Portugal, the study of the housing-unit and its possible relation with the ruling of 1951, or the laboratory of urban and architectonic quality solutions and its integration in a coherent group –, being a social based neighbourhood who, 60 years latter, is a quality area in the consolidated city, very competitive in the used real state market.

The present article fulfils the objective of disseminate the Alvalade urban planning, urbanization and edification towards the international scientific community. Further specific aspects of the neighbourhood, here superficially mentioned, area available in specific bibliography, and might be developed in future specifically orientated papers.

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[1] E.g.: (1) the presence in 1928 of J.C. Foster in Lisbon, leaving a group of indications, inclusively guidelines for the development of the city, or; (2) the presence of Agache in 1953, in the attempt to give his opinion in another "failed attempt" to elaborate a plan for the city.

[2] An emergency decree, aimed to incentive the private sector to participate in the housing construction of the city, due to the fact Lisbon showed great needs on this level.

[3] Cult of austerity, of nationality, of accuracy, etc, were common characteristics of the several nationalisms all over Europe in the 30's, namely in Germany, Italy, Vienna, Soviet Union, etc, corresponding to a setback of the modernism evolution.

[4] Oliveira Salazar, quoted by Nuno Portas, in: ZEVI, Bruno (1970). História da Arquitectura Moderna. Lisbon. Arcádia.

[5] Concerns a program that aimed to fight the need of housing in Lisbon, constituting itself as the first mportant Government intervention on this issue, trying to evolve in the sense of the materialization of Corporate State (Decree 23052).

[6] Oliveira Salazar, quoted by Nuno Teótonio Pereira [Pereira, 1988].

[7] Inquiry to the Regional Portuguese Architecture accomplished between 1955 and 1960 by several architects, distributed by areas, after published by the then National Syndicate of Architects under the title of «Arquitectura Popular em Portugal». Republished in 1988 in its 3rd edition.

[8] Program of «Low Rent Houses», regulated by the Decree nº 35611, of 04/25/1946, under the Law nº 2007, of 05/07/1945. Considered "houses of low rent" by «*being edified by corporate or anonymous societies, specially constituted for the purpose of this diploma or in it integrated by corporative organisms…*» - quotation of the deferred Decree.

[9] *Estacas Neighbourhood* by Formosinho Sanches and Rui D'Authogia, developed between 1949 and 1952.

[10] Project of Jorge Segurado developed in 1958.

[11] *United States of America Avenue* developed through the project of several authors during the 50's, e.g., Segurado, Filipe Figueiredo, Manuel Laginha, Pedro Cid or Croft de Moura.

[12] The medium dimensioning of each cell took into consideration the maximum limit distance of 500 meters from the houses to the school, located in its centre, which translated in a population between 4.000 and 5.000 inhabitants for cell, values adjusted to the data of the school planning at the time.

[13] Nine type-projects accomplished simultaneously with the Urbanisation Plan by Miguel Jacobetty.

[14] This logic supported the option to initiate the urbanisation by cells 1 and 2, located north, valuing the terrains of the remaining cells, located south and meanwhile involved by urban areas.

[15] Are examples of these main spaces, among others, the *S. João de Brito Church*, the social centre and the civic centre (not built), the two markets (built only one), the school of higher level, the sports area (today the INATEL sports park), or the *Alvalade Wood*.

[16] The proposed population would be distributed by collective housing of economic rents (31.000 inhabitants), collective housing of noon limited rents (9.500 inhabitants), single family villas of non economic rent (2.500 inhabitants) and single family villas of economical rent (2.000 inhabitants)

[17] The housing construction of the Alvalade Neighbourhood began with the realization of the first four construction contracts of the houses of economic rent, located in cell 1 and 2, promoted by the City Hall of Lisbon.

The housing program of the «Economic Rent Houses» had continuity in cell 5, in the area south of the Church Avenue and north of the Maria Amália Vaz de Carvalho Street, between Rome Avenue and Rio de Janeiro Avenue.

The second phase of construction of the «Economic Rent Houses» of cell 5 occurred together with the start of this program in cell 6, in which was predicted an occupation of 62 houses, located on the east of the cell. This process was never completed, being only accomplished a contract for its construction, of which resulted the edification of 42 houses of economical rent of type 2, 3 and 6. The accomplishment of this construction contract was signed in 1952, being the works done between 1954 and 1956.

[18] The city was asked to supervise the construction and to inspect the houses, after which issued a certificate as a house of limited rent.

In return, these constructions had significant fiscal benefits, namely the exemption of taxes in the first land transmissions and in the first transmission of the house, the exemption of the building contribution for a period of 12 years and the absence of expenses in the building regime.

[19] Eclectic, in the method sense: «*Reunion of conciliated thesis withdrawn from different philosophy systems and that are juxtaposed, neglecting pure and simply the parts that aren't conciliated of those systems*» or «*Conciliation through the discovery of a superior point of view of philosophical thesis, presented in the beginning as opponent*».[Lalande, 1968].

[20] In the referred research, constituted as primary fonts the territory, the plans, group studies, projects-type, architecture projects, public space projects, including the several versions of written and drawn pieces, complemented by interviews with several architects and other responsible.

More than a space race: post-war American influences on public and private spaces and buildings in Woomera Village, South Australia

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This paper is concerned with various aspects of US influence on the existence of a 'secret' Cold War settlement within Australia. As an example of public planning within the Cold War context, the settlement known as Woomera Village was an integral part of the development of the largest land based rocket range in the world a process comprehensively described by Morton, in 'Fire across the Desert'[1]. (Figure 1) In its earliest years, the Village was the creation of the Joint Project between Britain and Australia, but its design and ultimate survival as a purpose built remote settlement up to the beginning of the twenty first century derives more from US than British influences. While US influences upon the design and adaptation of public and private spaces and buildings can be seen in aspects of its layout and community assets, they are also evident in the wider international context of the Cold War within which the Joint Project was conceived.

US influence on the establishment of Woomera-the international context

America's dominance in the process of scientific weaponry research and the development of the Cold War internationally, particularly its relations with its ally Britain, has been well documented by various historians.[2] In 1944-1945, Hitler's V2 rocket bombardment had destroyed large areas within London and it was realised in 1945 that England could no longer rely upon conventional weapons in any future defence of the island. The British were determined to develop and better the V2 rocket for defence purposes, despite pressing needs for reconstruction of the country after the end of the war in 1945. After the US nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, post-war collaboration over the development of nuclear research between England and the US changed. When the US McMahon Act (The Atomic Energy Act) was passed by Congress in 1947, it formally marked the end of war time collaboration between Britain and the US in the development of nuclear weaponry. No longer was America to share nuclear secrets with its Allies, including Britain. [3]

After prior discussions, Britain and Australia established a UK/Australian Joint Project in 1947, involving a collaborative scientific and weapon research program based in Australia. From Australia's point of view, the establishment of the joint project was attractive for a number of reasons. Apart from ties of history, some Australians felt Britain's lack of defence of Singapore against the Japanese was a consequence of Allied concentration on the conflict in Europe.[4] Without the attack on Pearl Harbour, precipitating America's entry into the war, Australia would have been hard-pressed to defend its territory against a Japanese invasion.

The period of nuclear information shutdown between Britain and America between 1947 and 1958 saw the rapid development of the UK-Australian joint project, encompassing a massive industrial complex at Salisbury in metropolitan Adelaide[5], an air force base at Mallala and the establishment and use of the Woomera Rocket Range, declared as the Woomera Prohibited Area (WPA) in South Australia.[6] Situated 500 kilometres north of Adelaide, the WPA extended across to the coast of Western Australia, covering a remote area of 270,000 square kilometres[7] and provided ideal conditions for the testing of rockets and weaponry, both nuclear and non-nuclear.[8]

In 1947-1948, over 2,000 construction workers began building airfields, roads, pipelines and establishing the layout of the Village to house a resident population on the edge of Arcoona Sheep Station in what was to become the south-eastern corner of the massive range.

The progress of the weapons testing on the Range during the 1950s appears to have been influential in persuading the US to review their relationship with Britain. Secret discussions between the Australian Cabinet and the British Minister of Supply during the latter's visit to Australia in 1958 acknowledged the role of the Joint Project in influencing an amendment to the McMahon Act in the same year. The amendment effectively reinstated a limited exchange of scientific nuclear dealings between the United States and Britain. The Minister advised the Australian Cabinet in Canberra that the amendment 'could not have been achieved had not the United Kingdom already made advances in the nuclear field. Similarly, co-operation with the United States in the missile field can only result from Britain developing her own knowledge'. The Minister continued: 'the United Kingdom's missile programme would be impossible of achievement without the Woomera Range. Similarly, without Maralinga, the testing of kilo-ton nuclear devices would be more difficult'.[9]

While Reynolds[10] persuasively outlines the role of the Joint Project in Britain's nuclear ambitions, the Woomera Rocket Range distinctively separated the UK/Australian Joint Project and associated facilities including the Woomera Village to the east, and nuclear testing at Emu Field and Maralinga approximately 500 miles to the west of the Village. US policy in the global play during the early years of the Cold War decisively determined the path taken by the UK and Australia in the establishment of the WPA. It continued to influence the Range's ongoing activities, and the fortunes of Woomera Village, over the succeeding years during disarmament, technological advances and the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Early US involvement

Potential US involvement in the WPA was mused over in the press during the 1950s[11], with one editorial observing in 1958 that 'Australia is entitled to urge that the greater the US involvement in Australian defence projects the better Australian national interests are served and that close cooperation with other members of the Commonwealth should never prove an obstacle to the close cooperation with the United States.[12] In Australia, initial US activity on the Woomera Rocket Range was neither officially

publicised nor confirmed. The Australian press ran a series of articles on possible US involvement,[13] while the British Minister of Defence denied any arrangement. [14]It appears that as early as 1953 the US expressed interest in Woomera, with tests commencing in 1957 where it was 'impossible or impractical to perform elsewhere'[15].

In fact, the US National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) completed its first space tracking station at Woomera in 1958, with other stations built as the local NASA mission grew to include such space projects such as Gemini, Mercury, Mariner and Apollo.[16] This represented the first stage of American involvement in the Village, culminating in NASA's departure in 1973, 'leaving its houses and flats to another group of Americans'. The latter group were associated with the Joint Defense Space Communications Station (JDSCS) activated in mid-1970 near Woomera at a place named Nurrungar, with the First US Air Force personnel arriving in January 1971. The JDSCS was renamed the Joint Defence Facility Nurrungar (JDFN) in the early 1990s and was run with Australia along similar lines as the UK-Australian Joint Project, with Australian personnel taking an increasing role in activities.[17] While the number of US people living in the Village was initially not significant, and certainly not publicised, the last decades of the twentieth century saw the Village surviving because of the US presence when other projects faded and closed. This presence manifested itself in the social life, the use of public spaces, housing development and facilities within the Village. In view of Woomera Village's history, the involvement of the US in Woomera Village from the 1960s onwards during a period of British withdrawal could be considered to be equal to, if not greater, than that of the UK in its design, planning and ongoing development and de-development history.

The Woomera Village Design – US planning influences

US town planning examples and housing were officially and popularly promoted within post-war Australia, [18] in a process where public expectations of peace time reconstruction and recovery were well informed by progressive theories of overseas town planning.[19]. For example a 1944 exhibition entitled US Housing: Past, Present and Future in Victoria's capital, Melbourne, drew over 20,000 people, and the Australian Women's Weekly, a magazine of national importance, ran a competition for 'Victory Homes'.[20] The popularity of future planning was good for war-time morale, shared by professional architects, social planners and citizens alike. As part of this national interest in community planning, the wider planning theory and development trends within the USA exerted a considerable influence on the design of Woomera Village through the experience of the architects and town planners involved.

In the planning stages, the site of the Village was decided on 'an undulating area which would give natural help for drainage purposes, and on a slightly lower level than the tableland, a feature which would be desirable for the pressure of the water table to be laid on to the settlement from storage tanks'[21] . (Figure 2)

With the location chosen, the task of designing the Village was given to the Commonwealth Department of Works and Housing (CDWH), a new government

department formed in 1946 headed by an engineer, Louis Francis Loder. His assistant, Lionel James Price, chaired the Main Works Committee (MWC) and several subcommittees overseeing the development of the Village design. Within a complex departmental structure, a team of architects responded to the instructions of a Board of Administration Long Range Weapons Organisation Australia (BLRWOA) in a collaborative and consultative manner throughout 1947. Earlier, in 1945, the Director General of the Commonwealth Department of Works and Housing had sent Charles Vincent Howard, William (Bill) Reilly and Clyde McGrouther, all architects involved in designing projects required by various government agencies, on a study tour to Canada, the US and South America to 'bring back information about the latest developments in tropical architecture and town planning'.[22] Places on their itinerary included new housing estates designed in response to the topography and setting of the surrounding environment and exhibiting the latest in neighbourhood unit planning and community housing methods. Notably they visited Sunnydale, San Francisco, private garden park developments at Lakeside, San Francisco, and Syvern Woods, Los Angeles. The three also travelled to the 'secret' city of Oak Ridge, Tennessee, a nuclear research town designed by Skidmore, Owings and Merrill and established as part of the Manhattan Project during 1942 -1947. Oak Ridge had many characteristics relevant to the planning for Woomera Village. As outlined by Jackson and Johnson,[23] the original design for Oak Ridge called for 10 dormitories in which to house single persons, the heart of the design was a limited number of single family dwellings based on plans provided by the Pierce Foundation. Houses were to be 'arranged on curving streets and roads in such a way as to dot the ridge behind what was to be the town centre.' Further, 'at the town centre there would be a cluster of stores and supermarkets with adjoining parking lots laid out in what would be the fashion of post war shopping centres'.[24] Despite the enormous differences between Oak Ridge and Woomera in size and topography, there are similarities in intention. A design intention to separate accommodation types in distinct areas around centralised services is also a feature of the Woomera layout. Both Oak Ridge and Woomera were hybrid military and civilian settlements, not unlike a traditional company town, with government analogous to private management.

Both were fully planned, and owned by the government. In the case of Woomera, the locality of the Village was Crown land on 42 year pastoral leasehold and while pastoralists and Aboriginal people remained, the government restricted access and controlled who lived and worked in the Village and on the Range.

There was also a frontier mentality about both settlements as roads, housing and facilities were established as a corollary to the main project. In Woomera's case the establishment of the rocket range was a priority. In the early stages of planning for the Village, provision was made for a large central space for a shopping centre, three sites for churches, worship, hospital, fire and police stations, court house, recreational and open space areas and the early establishment of trees and shrubs to provide a model village. Many of the intended Village buildings were postponed as more urgent Joint Project buildings and infrastructure took precedence over such projects as the local hospital and housing.

Both settlements experienced housing shortages as population increased. Unlike Oak Ridge, Woomera accommodated a peak population of about 6,800 in the 1960s within the original design. Oak Ridge rapidly reached 75,000 by June 1945 in ad hoc housing development; the initial housing being planned to accommodate 2,500 people.[25]Woomera Village has contracted to a vestigial Defence base/township, while Oak Ridge has continued to service a privatised scientific research industry on a much larger scale.

In contrast to Oak Ridge, the details of the Village design were worked through in a highly consultative manner. In July 1947, Price wrote to Evetts that Village planning was in train and enclosed a copy of the proposed layout.[26] A questionnaire from the Assistant Director of CDWH covering a range of issues about village design was circularised and comments received back assisted refinement of the detail of the Village design.[27] In June 1948, an inter-departmental committee noted that it was 'mindful of the fact that Woomera is an isolated locality, and the Prime Minister has expressed the view that that maximum possible amenities should be provided for the staff required to reside at this locality.'[28]

The Radburn plan

Also, of major influence on the overall design of Woomera Village is the neighbourhood unit developed by Clarence Perry, Clarence Stein and Henry Wright in the US prior during the 1920s. (Figure 3)Woomera features elements of the Radburn plan and precedes a number of similar examples of planning in Australia.[29] Freestone, Johnson and Garnaut in their close analysis of the Village layout have identified post-war planning trends influencing the Village morphology: namely, the emphasis on building a new social and physical order, the role of community planning as an integral part of new towns, with desired outcomes of health, safety, economy, order, convenience and beauty. Ideal communities were accommodated physically by compact towns featuring variously green belts, land use zoning, car friendly shopping centres and centrally located civic services within accessible walking distances. [30]

The Radburn estate at Fair Lawn, New Jersey, designed by Clarence Stein and Henry Wright and commenced in 1928 incorporated a response to the rising levels of car ownership through the segregation of people and vehicles. In a hierarchical road system, major collector roads defined and divided a superblock, with through main roads linking sections within the block and local streets in the shape of culs de sac. In addition, internal parks formed the backbone of the neighbourhood. Positioned in the centre of the super block and faced by the living and bedrooms of adjacent dwellings, the parks created continuous wedges of green that not only connected residential areas with a centrally sited school, shops and community facilities but also offered convenient and attractive recreation areas. This approach was suited to the requirements for Woomera Village, including the accommodation of a limited population size and every day facilities in pedestrian accessible locations.

Woomera's layout reflected the Radburn model in a number of aspects. (Figure 4) The Village was on a roughly rectangular site about 1 square mile in area, and divided into 6 sectors determined by the position of cross roads. Within a harsh environment, the Village setting is softened and defined by an encircling perimeter road that followed the loop of a creek bed around eastern and southern edges of the Village – with an Arboretum, water towers and eventually an oval immediately north of perimeter of the Village Within the Village, distributor roads carried through vehicles on each of the north, south and east-west axes. U-shaped roads provided a variation of the Radburn culs-de-sac for local access to residential areas. The separation of pedestrian and motorist was achieved through the provision of pedestrian paths at the closed end of the loop, permeating open space areas behind the houses and providing a road free link to other dwellings and community facilities. Separate areas were defined for residential, community and recreational functions. As previously mentioned, the focal point of the Village was the centrally located community centre, providing all services required for a neighbourhood unit. The shopping centre within the 'core' of the Village was modelled on US examples and centred around an off street car parking area for ease of access. This reflected the increasing dominance of the motor car on urban form within America at a time when there was minimal car ownership in Australia. Nearby facilities such as the school, post office, temporary hospital, original theatre, swimming pool, court room, police and fire stations were within walking distance of all residential enclaves. Married and single persons' sectors were designated in the residential parts. Within these, the various ranks of service personnel – officers, non-commissioned officers (NCOs') other ranks – were allotted specific sites, with civilians being 'ranked' according to salary.[31] Military aspects of the Village, such as the messes for various levels of military hierarchy, were integrated into the Radburn plan in a non-dominant manner; they were situated in the eastern and western areas of the Village, away from the centre. The philosophy was to create an ideal community based upon a neighbourhood unit, even though the overlay of military life was unavoidable, for both traditional and security reasons. A construction camp established west of the Village and known as Woomera West initially accommodated contractors and workers; it also had a Works Mess. In time, Woomera West developed as a de facto industrial zone servicing the development and management of the Village.

US influences – fact and fantasy

In a climate where everything to do with the Woomera Rocket Range was top secret, the design of the Village was hazily attributed to US exemplars early after its establishment. After the Village was established, censors allowed an Adelaide journalist to write a series of articles on Woomera Village. He enthused the Village was 'to an US plan ... you can almost imagine you are in America when you look in the telephone book and see an address like 560 Ninety First Street, Village"[32]. Other accounts of Woomera Village allude to an international contest, with survey charts of the town site given worldwide distribution and plans called for submission, with the winning entry coming from an US, and based on a similar town plan in southern central California[33] Certainly the example of Inyokern, a defence town in California provided a management structure for the Village[34]. Given the secrecy of the Joint Project, and the assiduous role of

censorship in all matters related to Village organisation and life, an international competition was unlikely and is not substantiated by research. In South Australia, as probably elsewhere, new town surveys resorted to numbering streets initially until naming occurred later. Woomera was no exception, and later the Village streets were given euphonious Aboriginal names ordered in alphabetic and geographic proximity for ease of discovery.[35]

Changing Fortunes of Woomera Village

The 1960s was a decade of significant development in satellite communication and surveillance, and increasing US activity at Woomera, and elsewhere in Australia. Apart from the construction of NASA's Deep space Instrumentation Facility (DSIF) at Island Lagoon near Woomera Village in 1960, increased Australian co-operation with America saw the subsequent establishment of Pine Gap near Alice Springs in 1966, and Exmouth in WA in 1967.[36] All these facilities were for space and defence surveillance purposes, a major Cold War activity.

Initially the number of US personnel in Woomera was not high. In 1961 there were 81 actual and expected NASA staff working on three projects at Woomera; DSIF, Satellite tracking and Project Mercury.[37] NASA was offered accommodation at Woomera for personnel on NASA projects 'commensurate with the NASA contribution to housing",[38] which equated to NASA's funding 53 married and 50 single accommodations within the Village in 1962, at an estimated cost of US $1,536,000. This was also the decade of the first of a number of transitions for the Village. In 1960 it was announced that the British Blue Streak project would be cancelled. However the following year the UK announced the European Launcher Development Organisation (ELDO), involving up to 300 British, French, West German, Belgian, Netherlanders and Australian personnel. The ELDO project injected new life into the Woomera community, and the population peaked at around 6,800 by the mid 1960s. It was a time of increased construction of a wide range of accommodation[39] and public buildings. (Figure 5) A special mess and accommodation blocks were built for the Eldo project in the Village, and Americans and Australians lived and worked with a strong emphasis on leisure activities to offset the geographical isolation and restricted nature of the work. No less than 82 sporting and leisure clubs were serviced by four ovals (playing fields), swimming pools and various tennis, bowling and squash courts. American influences on the Village during this period appeared to have been participatory, with shared social activities, certain areas devoted to US accommodation namely along the western edge of the town plan, and extra housing provided for a time east of the loop perimeter road.

With the conclusion of British projects on the Woomera Range during the 1970s, the Village population declined to about 4000, reducing further to 2,700 people by 1979. Consequently the Village's role changed to that of a residential and support base for the USAF Joint Defense Space Communications Station at Nurrungar (JDSCS), later Joint Defense Facility Nurrungar (JDFN). This heralded a much more important role by the USAF in the survival of the Village.

Social impacts

Both US and Australian authorities were committed to a complete integration of Australian and Americans as part of Village life. In 1971 a report by the US administrators of Nurrungar advocated improved leisure facilities, including a bowling alley, a gym, a day room, an auto repair shop and a hobby shop of woodwork and ceramics. The Nurrungar commander regarded a Woomera posting as a 'hardship posting' for his staff, stating that despite the private clubs the only two places of public entertainment in Woomera were the pool and the theatre. The closest town was over 180 kilometres away, over 'a treacherous dirt road' and there was no television. 'The radio station is a five watt subsidiary of the ABC. The programs are stodgy and dry with very little popular music'[40]. However the situation improved over the next two decades. Officially, Congress funds were paid into the Reserve Bank of Australia, and the interest earned on reinvestments at a time when interest rates were high underwrote maintenance of Village buildings and infrastructure.

By all accounts the Village adapted into a mini US/Australian community where one in every three students at the public school was American.[41] The Gibber Gabber, a regular weekly paper produced by the Woomera Board, featured regular articles regarding social events for Independence Day celebrations on 4 July, Halloween, Thanksgiving and St Valentine's Day. USAF staff socialised with townspeople at the many clubs within the Village, on the playing fields, and in the recreational facilities, with comings and goings of all personnel, both Australian and US duly reported in the paper. Sport played a major part in the Woomera posting, with baseball, softball, squash, and volleyball played as well as cricket matches between Americans and Australians. The sporting emphasis was reflected in the attention given to the ovals and other sporting facilities, and the prioritisation of the maintenance of outdoor and indoor leisure amenities.

US contribution to village spaces and places

A large gymnasium was built at the state school and later extensively refurbished for use by all villagers. The Oasis, a large purpose built building complete with bowling facilities and café, catered for US staff and was designed to US specifications. (Figure 6)The ovals were rationalised, with the O'Donoghue Oval lit to stadium standards for night games, including baseball. The Youth Club was established with a full time Youth Officer, and the school underwent refurbishment. Housing improved with a number of prefabricated and ATCO buildings allocated to accommodate Nurrungar staff during the 1970s-1980s. When the Joint Project with Britain formally closed in the mid-1980s, a process of town 'normalisation' commenced. The eastern area of the Woomera Rocket Range around the Village was excised from the Range and the Village was de-restricted and opened to the general public in 1982. Newer housing was provided as original housing stock was demolished or sold off. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990 and scientific advances in satellite communications, a process of adjustment leading to the shutdown of Nurrungar by the end of the decade led to a re-examination of US requirements and the future of the Village. At this stage, accommodation

standards for USAF personnel were 'satisfactory' and it was considered 'the substantial improvement in the morale of personnel and families living in Woomera Village since the opening of the Oasis Community Centre … would only improve with more facilities'. With regard to Woomera West, the report commented that the facilities were 'inadequate for the current use as they were intended for different purposes, are in poor condition and were not well maintained'. Woomera West was therefore closed and the Village was to provide all support facilities for the USAF including transport storage, furniture warehouse, family housing, chaplain, commander and administration.

The report suggested that the Village needed a more 'enhanced architecture' and that 'temporary buildings remaining are old, of a poor standard, are costly to maintain and have passed their economic life.' Temporary housing should be progressively replaced with 'new, well designed houses for the area, set on compact land blocks with reduced requirements for maintenance' and 'denser landscaping which would improve the amenities of USAF staff in this harsh environment'[42]. The realignment of selected sites within the Village saw the creation of three allotments from two, with USAF housing originally allocated to the redesigned sites. The report identified the progressive contraction of the Village to the community centre and residential enclaves west of the centre. A programmed implementation detailed changes to the Village, including refurbishment to specific housing, replacement of storage sheds and housing, extensive refurbishment of dormitory blocks, (Figure 7) the construction of 41 military housing units, extensions to the community centre, the construction of a health and fitness centre, and a consolidated art and craft/auto hobby shop.

These recommendations were promptly followed through –in an end of year report in the local newspaper, Lockett reported that during 1992 USAF had provided funds for a major upgrade of the Youth Centre, the oval upgrade, the oval pavilion (Figure 8), major refurbishment and renovations in Butement Square adjacent the shopping centre, enabling USAF and contractor staff to transfer offices from Woomera West.[43]

The closure of Woomera West involved renovating the former Jazza (Junior Officers) Mess in the Village. During the 1960s the Jazza had been the main club for the town, boasting impressive facilities including an outdoor atrium, timber bar and large areas for entertainment. The USAF planned to accommodate the Woomera Public Works and USAF Housing Maintenance functions within the vacant building, with the USAF having all the housing maintenance supplies, furniture storage and issue provided in the Jazza.

The program of maintenance and improvements continued resourced by US funds continued until the final shut down of Nurrungar in 1999, and by March of 2000, all USAF personnel had left Woomera. The US decision to invest in the Village infrastructure was a deliberate one. Money in the US budget had to be spent through collaboration between the Area Administrator of Woomera and the Commander of Nurrungar. Both worked to ensure that projects to progressively shut down large sections of the vacant residential sectors continued while improving infrastructure and facilities for the remaining Village. (Figure 9)

Today, changes to the Village during US involvement are evident in the buildings such as the Oasis, now renovated to provide an interpretation museum, café, tourist office/shop as well as the 10 pin bowling alley, the swimming pool complex, school facilities, oval improvements and newer housing, including the remaining ATCO transportable houses along the main north-south road, Dewrang Avenue. (Figure 10)

Unlike Exmouth in Western Australia, where the US Navy removed everything brought to the town, including even the church bell, at the conclusion of the naval communications station in 1993, the USAF ensured Woomera Village benefited substantially from its financial investment during the period between 1970 and 2000. This approach protected the major design features of the centre and residential template within the Village, while removal of obsolete sectors was being undertaken during the 1990s shutdown process.

Conclusion

In its modernist design, functional housing and current amenities, Woomera Village today reflects the significant US contribution to its history and built environment. The Village originated as part of British/Australian efforts to keep up with the arms race that characterised the Cold War period, between 1947 and 1958 when the McMahon Act prevented full cooperation on nuclear research. With regard to its design, the Village is the earliest Australian post-war example of a town designed and built upon the Radburn approach to town planning. Principles of the neighbourhood unit and variations on the Radburn plan were advocated and implemented internationally prior to World War 2, but not prominently in the UK until after the war.[44] Influenced by US examples, including Oak Ridge and the Radburn model, the original intention to design a Village providing every possible amenity of a modern settlement in a desert setting was realised. Subsequent investments within the Village by NASA and USAF, both socially and in the physical improvements to public spaces and facilities, sustained this original intention.

Images

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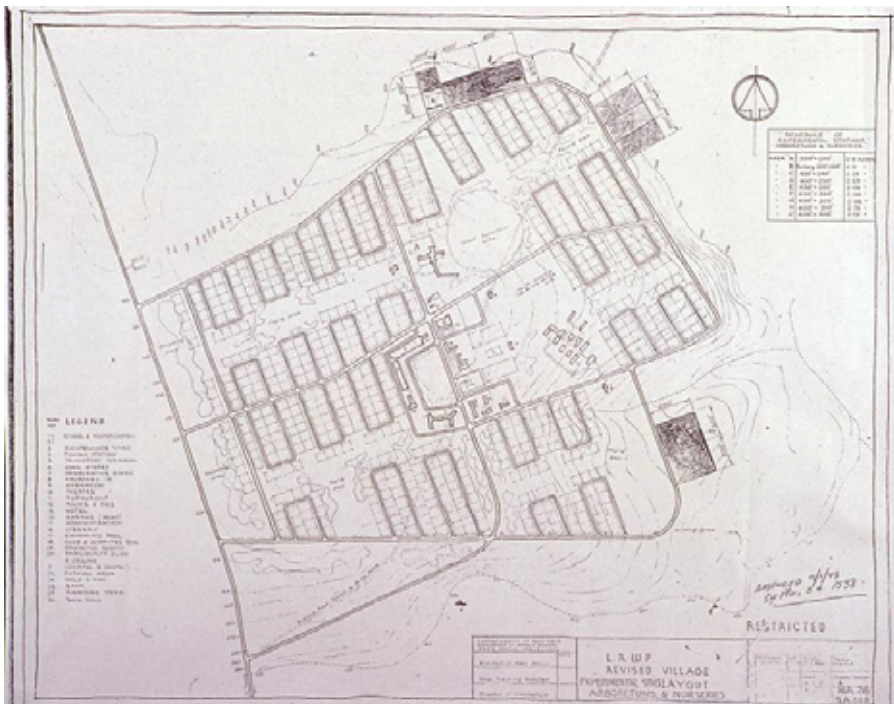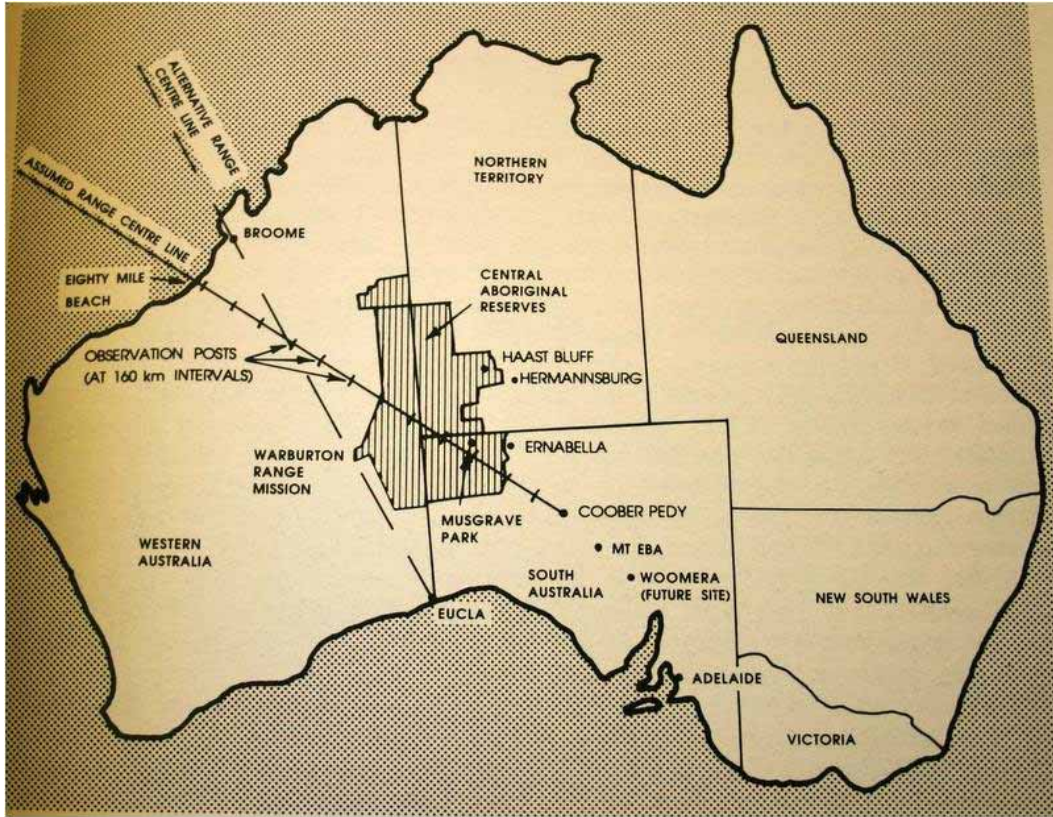
Figure 1 –Woomera Rocket Range, Australia.
Figure 2- Plan of Woomera Village.
Figure 3 – Radburn Neighbourhood Unit.
Figure 4- Aerial view of Woomera.
Figure 5- 1960s development, Woomera.
Figure 6- Bowling Alley, Oasis Centre, Dewrang Avenue Woomera.
Figure 7 – Typical refurbished accommodation block, 2008.
Figure 8 – School Oval, showing 2 storey Alan Lockett pavilion extensively refurbished during the 1990s with USAF funding.
Figure 9 – Shopping Centre-tenancies used during the 1990s to accommodate USAF offices.
Figure 10 – USAF Housing, Dewrang Street, Woomera.

[1] Morton, P, *Fire Across the Desert: Woomera and the Anglo-Australian Joint Project, 1946-1980* (Department of Defence, AGPS, 1989.)

[2] See Cathcart, B , Test of Greatness : *Britain's struggle for the Atomic Bomb* (London, UK John Murray Press, 1994); Bayliss, John *Ambiguity and Deterrence: British Nuclear Strategy, 1945-1964*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); Clark, Ian *Nuclear diplomacy and the Special Relationship: Britain's Deterrent and America, 1957-1962*, (Oxford, Clarendon Press: 1994); Goldschmidt, Bertrand: *The Atomic Complex: A Worldwide Political History of Nuclear energy*, Illinois: American Nuclear Society, 1982); Navias, M : *Nuclear Weapons and British Strategic Planning, 1955-1958*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

[3] Goldschmidt, 1982, Chapters 1 and 2.

[4] Reynolds, W: 'Rethinking the Joint Project: Australia's bid for nuclear weapons, 1945-1960' (*The Historical Journal*, Vol.41, No.3, September,1998, pp 853-854)

[5] The Weapons Research Establishment at Salisbury was a conversion of Australia's largest munitions factory built during the war years.

[6] In 1946, an Australian Committee on Guided Projectiles (the first of a number of organising bodies) was formed to liaise with a British delegation to Australia led by Lt. Gen John Evetts to determine the location of the range and facilities. Evetts stipulated at the outset that planning a village at the rocket range for personnel and their families was to provide 'every amenity and excellent living conditions'. A Board of Administration Long Range Weapons Organisation Australia (BLRWOA) was formed within the Department of Munitions to oversee the establishment. The Rangehead site chosen was on a tableland about 500 kilometres north of Adelaide in the vicinity of Pimba/Phillip Ponds with survey undertaken to establish an airfield, village, technical area and launch site in 1947.

[7] The WPA was later reduced to an area of 127,000 square km. and is still the largest land locked range in the world.

[8] The first missile and bomb tests on the range occurred in 1949, followed by detonation of UK totem 1 and totem 2 atomic bombs at Emu and the commencement of UK atomic trials at Maralinga in 1956-7. In all 7 major nuclear tests occurred as well as testing of components for thermo-nuclear weapons and minor tests at emu and Maralinga between 1953-1961. Woomera Village differed from other facilities on the range; namely the Koolymilka, Phillip Ponds, Woomera West, Maralinga settlements and other smaller installations of supplies and labour which were laid out as military camps with mainly tented accommodation.

[9] *NAA: A4940/C1148,* Record of discussions with Aubrey Jones, British Minister for Defence and Australian Cabinet*, 13 August, 1958.*

[10] *Reynolds, 1998, pp 855, 865-870.*

[11] *The News*, Adelaide February 16th , 1957, 'US Welcome at Woomera' article reports the Australian Prime Minister Menzies saying Australia was glad to talk about US involvement in the rocket range', also Melbourne *Sun*, March 29th 1957 – 'We'll Test fire those US missiles', referring to England being provided with American missiles for test firing at Woomera.

[12] NAA: A1838/369,694/7/1/Pt 1, Dept. of External Affairs, Canberra, Press Cutting *Sydney Morning Herald* Editorial 'Sharing our Missile Range' 28/9/1959.

[13] Sun, 22/1/57 p 4, 23/9/1959;Herald 22/1/57, p 4.

[14] NAA,A1209/23,1957/4471.

[15] USAF Booklet, *Change of Command Air Station Program, 4th July 1993* –brief history, n.p.

[16] USAF Booklet, 1993, n.p.

[17] USAF Booklet, 1993, n.p.

[18] For example, W Bunning, *Homes in the Sun: the past present and future of Australian Housing*, (Sydney: W.J. Nesbit, 1945); Benko, A & R. Lloyd, *Replanning our towns and countryside*, (Adelaide: WEA of SA, 1949); Commonwealth Housing Commission – *Final Report* (Canberra: Commonwealth Directorate of Housing, 1944); Australian Housing.1947).

[19] Darian Smith, K and Willis, J, 'A Civic Heart: empowered citizenship and Post-war Modernism' (*Proceedings of the XXIVth International Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia & New Zealand*, Adelaide 21-24 September 2007).

[20] *Argus*, 17 October 1944, p 9; 28 October 1944, p 6; *Australian Women's Weekly*, 27 March 1943, p 18.

[21] Beadell, L, *Still in the Bush,* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1962, p 99).

[22] Garnaut, C, Johnson, P-A, Freestone, R the Early Planning and Development of Woomera Village: (*Woomera Symposium Papers 2007*, p 89, citing O'Loughlin, n.d. p 3).

[23] Jackson, Charles O and Johnson, Charles, 'The Urbane Frontier: The Army and the Community of Oak Ridge, Tennessee, 1942-1947' (Military Affairs, Volume 41, No 1, Feb 1977, pp 8-15).

[24] Jackson, C O and Johnson, 1977, p 10.

[25] Jackson and Johnson, 1977, p 11. The estimate of 2,500 in the 1977 citation does not correspond to the initial 12,500 cited on the Oak Ridge Conference and Visitor Bureau site on the Web (htpp://oakridgevisitor.com). Probably, numbers were uncertain in the early stages of planning and varied as the project developed. Similarly, estimates for the Woomera Village population were uncertain.

[26] NAA, B2390 Drawings HA5B and LR4 were titled Woomera – detailed design layout.

[27] NAA 773/1 re Woomera Village- Design and Operation.

[28] NAA A876/1, GL811 – *Report to the Minister on the Long Range Weapons Experimental Establishment – Operation of the Village, 23 June 1948.* The inter-department committee comprised representatives from Departments of Supply & Development, Works and Housing, Treasury, Superintendent of the Long Range Weapons Experimental Establishment Woomera, and the Department of the Interior Adelaide.

[29] For example; the towns of Jindabyne (1950-56), Weipa (1965), Mary Kathleen (1958).

[30] Garnaut, C, Johnson, P, Freestone, R: 'The Early Planning and Development of Woomera Village: (*Woomera Symposium Papers 2007*).

[31] NAA A1209, 1972/6095.

[32] NAA MP1335/49, Draft and published articles on Woomera by Blake Brownrigg and John O'Loughlin – articles written for the NEWS, Adelaide, 1952.

[33] Woomera Area School, *A sense of Urgency*, Woomera 1978, p 11.

[34] NAA, A876/1, GL811, *Inter-departmental committee report to the Minister re the operation of Woomera Village, June 1948* –A recommendation formed the basis for the establishment of the Woomera Board, an advisory body to the Superintendent (later Area Administrator).

[35] The streets were renamed in 1950 and included such Aboriginal words as Booromi-(wind), Boorook-(warm), Burrimul (Emu), Carcoola-(Gum tree), Dewrang-(high, lofty), Keneella – (to dance), Kinka-(to laugh), Googona- (rain).

36.1963 May –US/Australian agreement for Naval Communications Station at North West Cape of WA – *US exclusive right of occupancy for 25 years –nearby Exmouth developed as support town & opened in 1967.*

[37] Commonwealth of Australia*, Housing at Woomera*, (Melbourne: Department of Supply, Salisbury South Australia: Weapons Research Establishment, October 1961).

[38] Commonwealth of Australia, 1961, n.p.

[39] NAA D618 (various).

[40] Comments from a requisition of October 1972, File N616/2/4 Part 1, cited in Morton, 1989, p 538.

[41] Woomera School, *A Sense of Urgency- a social history of Woomera-its inception and Growth 1947-1965*, p. 61.

[42] Australian Construction Services: *Master Planning Study for USAF, Nurrungar* (Woomera: ACS, 1992).

[43] 'Hand over of old bakery' *Gibber Gabber*, December 3 1992, and 'Area Administrator's Christmas message, *Gibber Gabber*, December 17 1992.

[44] Freestone, R, Johnson, P A and Garnaut, C: 'Planning Woomera Village 1946-1947 – International Crossings at an Australian Outback Crossroads', *Southern Crossings: proceedings for the Sixth Australasian Urban History/Planning History Conference (Adelaide,* 2002, pp 249-262).

Constitutive contaminations in urban space: urban culture through the "inter-textuality" and the concept of *in between*

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Introduction

Based on the theories of the Russian semiologist Mikhail Bakhtine, Julia Kristeva created the concept of "inter-textuality", in which she states that every text is the absorption and transformation of a multiplicity of other texts, or "every text is built up from a mosaic of quotations, every text is the absorption and transformation of another text. In place of the notion of inter subjective the notion of inter-textuality is set up."[1] Perrone-Moisés states that "inter-textuality is to be understood as the constant work of each text as related to others, this huge and unceasing dialogue among the works that constitute literature. Each piece of work presents itself as a new voice (or a new set of voices) which shall make the previous voices sound differently, extracting new intonations – infinite dialogue/unfinished work".[2]

The concept of inter-textuality in literature also applies in philosophy, as demonstrated by Derrida in his works. As we may conclude from Kristeva's and Perrone-Moisés' words, inter-textuality of an intermediation space among different voices is a space resulting from the dialogue among different works, texts, not necessarily belonging to the same historical time. Specifically about the urban space, we could discuss a space of intermediation among different actions [as from different voices] with conflicting intentions that could engender new possibilities, possibilities of de-territorializations and re-territorializations.

Through this "process" of inter-textuality, emerges a space where the constitution of a hierarchical concatenation of discourse, herein understood as programmatic intentions and design determinations defined by the architect, is no longer possible, or of authority and autonomy of a text over other(s); the center, or centers, previously located exactly in the texts, is transferred to this intermediary zone, to this space among the texts and the relation, "the dialogue" which is established among the texts prevails over the previously inviolable unit of the discourse of each text if considered in isolation.

Very close to what we designate as transdisciplinarity, inter-textuality, in this process of inter-relation among works, opens a possibility for the [transcendental] unit of a theoretical building no longer to be conceived *a priori* or for the discourse to be coupled with a guiding-principle capable of influencing, or directing, or conducting, or concluding the post expressions which followed, in a way hindering creation, especially in architecture, which is the subject matter of our research.

In literature, as well as in philosophy and in architecture, the discourse is traditionally concerned with the explanation, clarification, evaluation (transitive properties) of the object, with a tendency to the final unification of meaning, maybe with a view to its

permanence and its transformation into reference, leading to the predictable homogenizing readings.

On the other hand, with inter-textuality, instead of the prevalence of stability, the absolute, hierarchy, legibility, the dominant discourse, we have a hybrid object, a non-centered structure open to ambiguity, ambivalence of senses, paradoxes, instability of the certainties previously considered as unquestionable.

Therefore a phase in which the interstitial, intersections, the *in-between* prevails is inaugurated, constituting a productive field for experimentation, free appropriations, event, creation and "jouissance"[3], as its objective is not its validation by means of the explanation of other texts, but it own production, open to infinity and the non-depletion, always in process, a time always to come — such aspects shall be better discussed in the light of architecture — "with no intention to establish a final sense — coincident with or contradictory to the incorporated sense"[4].

However, according to Perrone-Moisés, what we traditionally have in the areas of language (Literature, Philosophy and, as we may realize, also in Architecture) is the prevalence of what is known as meta-language, a language "the objective of which is to clarify another language [...] We cannot imagine a meta-language of the logical type which leaves senses in suspension, which allows reticence, unconscious or sensorial suggestions, which assumes in its own texture that which is not-said by the unconscious, its incalculable losses, favoring the indefinite proliferation of senses"[5].

From this point of view, what would be historically connected to a tendency of institutionalization and compartmenting of knowledge according to academic models – separation between scientific and artistic disciplines, for example — with the formatting, **and institutionalization**, of a discourse in which the search for a meaning was fundamental, in which, again according to Perrone-Moisés "the general sense converged to a priority meaning (monologue discourse)" — wouldn't then architects be close to the writing in literature? — with inter-textuality, the need for a final coherent unification giving place to the "interchangeable"[6].

We should then understand such "interchangeability" as constant dislocations and plurality of meanings and senses made possible by an intense crossing of several texts, distant in time, different in gender, prerogatives, objectives, therefore stimulating the forming of knowledge in constant process, fed by unceasing elaborations and re-elaborations made concrete exactly by the multiple relations, based not on casualties or continuities and concatenations of meanings and senses among texts, but on transgressions of such senses, on times to come that may result from the crossing of works, languages, whether scientific or artistic.

Wouldn't the position adopted by certain architects be very close to that adopted by writers in literature? For instance, the artistic production as theory of architects such as Peter Eisenman[7]and Bernard Tschumi, for example, and the close ties with linguistics and philosophy [inter-textuality]. We may even say that, with inter-textuality, human

existence would no longer be tied to the unceasing task of persecuting its essence through *its different and compartmented forms of thinking and being.*

However, so far we have talked about an inter-textuality which is more related to the "immaterial" idea of a space of intermediation, once it is understood as a strategy which intensifies and triggers a process of crossing of different and several texts, discourses, languages, rather than strictly to the constitution of a "material" space (herein the term in its architectural dimension, that is, related to "situations" used in architecture as inside/outside, public/private). What if, as from this moment, we started to call this intermediation space, in its immaterial sense, applicable to literary pieces, of intermediary space, or *in-between* in architecture, that is, a material space, once constituted from the relations between inside and outside? Although Derrida himself has made it clear once that architecture is construction, material, there are correspondences, as we have seen, between *the literary and architectural intermediation spaces*[8].

In *Le Plaisir du Texte,* Barthes makes a distinction between what he designates as pleasure Text and Joy Text ("jouissance", as mentioned above), the first being that which gives joy, fulfills, gives a sense of well-being, that which comes from culture, does not break off with culture, is connected to a comfortable practice of reading, and the second being that which creates a state of loss, which causes discomfort, makes the reader's historical, cultural, psychological foundations, the consistency of his tastes, his values, memories hesitate, creates a crisis in his relation with language[9]

If we consider those two definitions, we shall clearly see the correspondences between this differentiation Barthes makes between the text and the discussion about the mono-logical discourses and inter-textuality — a condition Perrone-Moisés designates as Dialogical Discourse, in which "the word tends to be 'bi-vocal' or 'multi-vocal', establishing multiple contacts inside the same discourse or with other discourses"[10].
However, which relations could be established between the discussions made so far, applicable as we have seen in the field of written languages, with Architecture? Could be possible another Architecture?

In the history of Architecture we know that the architect has almost always played the role as that who defines the spaces and the uses that such spaces should shelter. It is hard to imagine something far different from such role which is bestowed on him as, after all, the translation of spaces into something adequate "to living", in the broadest sense of the term, has always been a prerogative of such profession.

The question is probably evidenced when such spaces, which initially were answers to the wishes and necessities of the moment, have become self-evident architectural references, that is, solutions which started to be used as true project premises adopted in an indiscriminate way.

As a result, we have some correlate questions: do all people appropriate and realize space, or shape, at least most times, in the same way as the architect intends them to

realize or appropriate? Is it possible for the architect to determine that there is an adequate form for each type of use, imagining a uniform perception of form-space or a prediction of the movements of people in such space? Spaces traditionally identified as circulation spaces such as a viaduct or bridge, for instance, which are used for leisure by people who practice some radical sports or open their own business, seem to demonstrate this is not so. As a concrete example, we may quote the case of former amateur boxer Nilson Garrido (figures 1 and 2).

Fig. 1 and 2 – Café Viaduct: Constitutive contamination. Gym, Boxing, Toys room and Library. Support space – Re-programming – Sports and cultural square.

São Paulo Brazil.
Photo 1 from a free site in internet and Photo 2 by the author

The case of Café Viaduct

Known all over the country, subject of articles and publications, Garrido, the "manager" of Boxing Academy Cora Garrido, located under the Café Viaduct in São Paulo, shows us a possibility in the process of constitutive contaminations of central urban residual spaces associated to the existing structures as from voluntary work (the *wish to* act).

A dweller of the *location*, due to having no *location*, Garrido, together with Cora Batista Garrido, undermine the "representation" (what it merely "represents", a weak being, a spectrum, a ghost) and "original identity" of a *location* (non-location?) "historically" undesirable and prone to condemnation when they create and structure a hospitable sports and cultural *location*, a "re-socialization center", formed by a gymnastics academy, a boxing ring, together with a children's library and kindergarten, that is, a sports and cultural square, public and free. Applying for a registration to act as a non-governmental organization (NGO), they have been trying to establish, in a verbal agreement, a partnership with the municipal government to disseminate their "squares" to similar locations in the city, thus generating *intensities* (qualitative differential) under

viaducts, transforming them, neither accepting nor submitting to the representation such spaces have acquired throughout time.

Contrary to (denial) strategies based on obstructions, fake embellishments, emptying and inhibitions, what we see is the empowering of a support-space, which is now of unconditional social welcoming, stimulating productive occupation, generated by programmatic congestion and "promiscuity", of continuation and concomitances of non complementary activities; after all, what is there historically in common between a library and toy collection and a boxing ring?
Therefore we ask whether this corruption of the "sense" given to something intends to modify it or deny it.

Built in 1969, approximately 280 meters long, Café Viaduct [which was designated as such due to a coffee industry which was installed in the district] in an important axis of connection between downtown São Paulo and the traditional Italian district of Bela Vista, known as "Bixiga" and famous for its gastronomy and Italian popular festivities. According to the logics of the so called functionalist Urbanism of the 50's and 60's, the construction of Café Viaduct happened exactly during a time of huge viary interventions in the city of São Paulo. Avenues and viaducts were built so as to articulate distant areas of the city.

However, as it is well known, this search to solve the problem of mobility in macro-scale of the more and more congested and spread out urban territory resulted in the appearance of large residual areas (the lower part of the viaducts - no man´s land) thus creating frontier zones which contributed a lot to the disarticulation of the urban frame at local district level.

Built close to the main "entrance" to the Bela Vista district, Café Viaduct and the resulting residual spaces were greatly responsible for the deterioration process suffered by the vicinities.

From the strategy of a "doing almost nothing" when conceived as support, the architectonic project developed for the lower part of the Café Viaduct, for this specific place, intends not only to reinforce and improve the working condition of the existing social Project [jeopardized by the precariousness of the location], but also to promote the urban reintegration of the district through the unveiling and strengthening of its main access. In short, making a place yet beclouded by the presence of the viaduct more legible.

The architectonic project (Fig. 3 to 5) opts to emphasize for emphasizing the duplicity of the condition of such location through the creation of a *location* of multiplicity, combining spaces of greater programmatic specificity, such as a Library and a toy collection, with more fluid spaces, of greater freedom of action and possibilities of momentary reconfigurations, which we could designate as *Infrastructural Architecture*, an architecture which is no longer seen as an independent, scenic object, but as a cub-

object (*subjectile*), a support for interrelations, a structure of support and energy, potentiality of something to come.

Boxing rings sliding in rails, with flexible positioning according to the needs of the moment, steps as an arena, pivoting files, spaces in plateaus, parlatory-conteiner, infrastructural combinations which try to guarantee a stimulating space for spontaneous and fortuitous occupations. Voluntary urban actors in partnership with architects and public power, maybe this is the configuration of new type of urban management and the engendering of new situations and forms of local democracy.
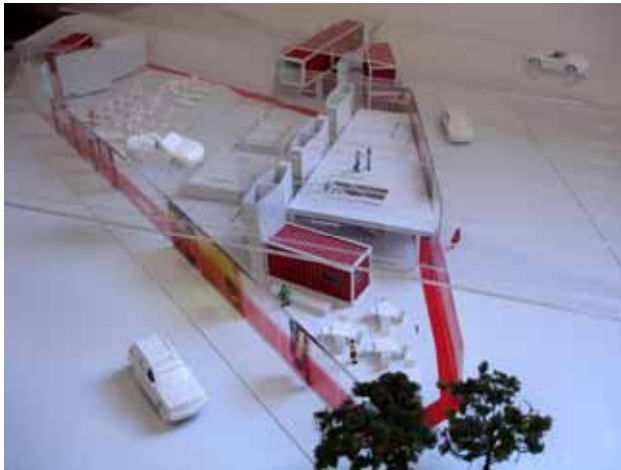
Fig. 3 – Aerial view with the viaduct: sliding boxing rings + containers + mezzanine + steps in arena + perimeter Cooper track

Fig. 4 – Boxing rings and steps in the center. Easily detachable, the rings make it possible to create wider spaces for the concentration of people when of "events".
The Mobile Rings are justify because of the situation: constitution of a "square" of events in the middle or release of the place of charge and discharge between mezzanine and red containers, under the long red container.
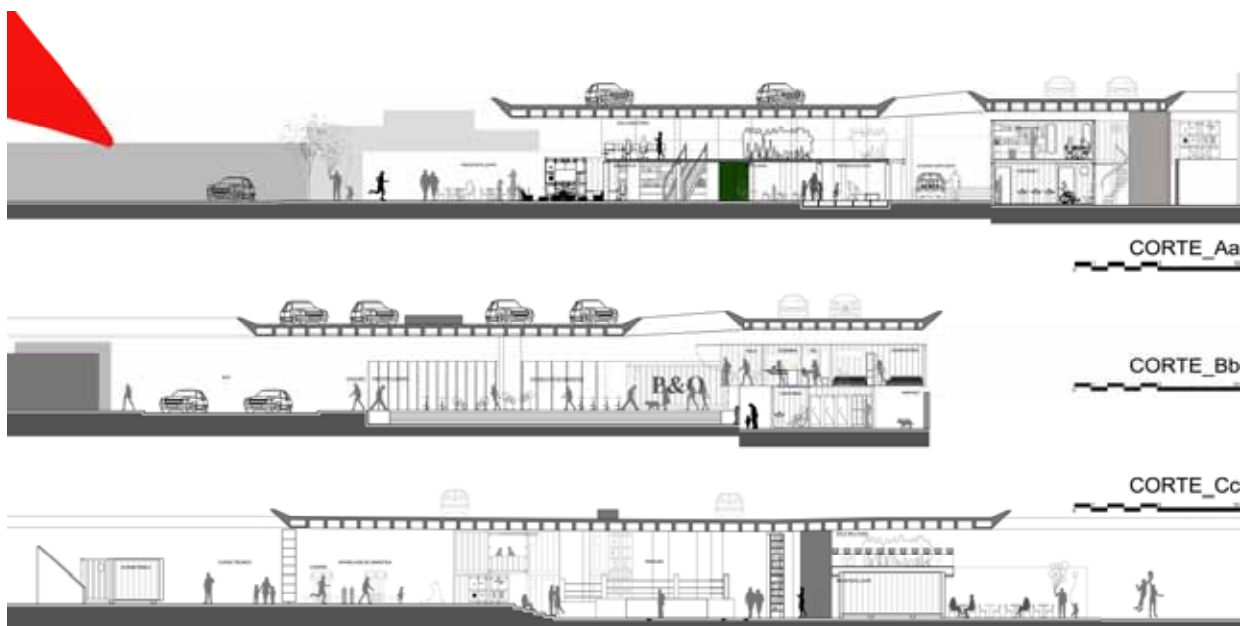
Fig.5 – General cuts: highlighting the multi-function space in the mezzanine, containers and steps as arena.

According to Bernard Tschumi and his inquiries about architecture, in his work *Architecture and Disjunction*[11] is it possible to say that there is a language of space or form? The form determined for a use may be the aprioristic representation, intelligible, of an idea, as many architects want to believe, or would it acquire meanings and senses as from the several and different appropriations, as in the case of Café Viaduct? On the contrary, is it possible to think about an architecture formed only by spaces *in process*, that is, spaces which are not determined for their possible uses? Would architecture only of *in-betweens* be possible, of residual and interstitial spaces? With no intention to produce an answer for each of such questions, we shall use the same questions as delimitations for our inquiries, readings and questioning about space in architecture.

The dominant history of architecture, based on a history of meanings which are constantly reinterpreted (orders, hierarchy, composition unit, axial perspective), although not questioned whether they are necessary or not, is being revised by the so called "writer" architects, who have become known to all with the deconstructionists, who have started to question the validity as related to the necessity of such composition rules and, moreover, the cause and effect relation between significant and significance, between the proposed form and the resulting appropriations.

As said by Tschumi, "long before such questionings about the need of causal relationship between form and function have been raised by deconstructionist architects, Jacques Lacan already noted that there was no cause-effect relation between the significant and significance, between the word and the intended concept[12]". The significant would not have to respond, for its existence, to a hypothetical signification. As in literature, or in philosophy, and according to Derrida, the architectural significant need not be represented by a significance, opposite to what architects herein designated as "writers" think.

As we have seen, through an attitude guided by deconstruction, de-regulation, disjunction, discontinuity, dislocation of the relation between the significant and significance, between form and function, and, at the same time, a valorization of what is designated as being *in-between,* of what is in constant process, of what is transitory, ambiguous, a transgression of historical architectural values and the opening of new possibilities is searched.

But, back to the question presented in the beginning, if architecture deals with permanence, and such permanence is strictly, or at least it should be, linked to man, wouldn't this man be turning fragile among so many non-definitions, uncertainties, dispersions and decentralizations? Maybe this is where one of the differences between literature/philosophy, especially from the propositions of Barthes and Derrida, and architecture stands; as we have seen, for Barthes, writing, or the practice of "joy texts", does not determine, nor does it reveal a proper being, but it produces a subject in permanent crisis and mutation, not a subject "in process".

Urban incubators – consistent voids

Program has long been an integrating part of the architectural process and its requirements, apparently objective, have always broadly reflected cultures, habits and specific values related to social environment and time, but which were not necessarily translated into precise forms or ideal types; as an example, we could mention train stations, large magazines, museums and art galleries of the XIX century, which sheltered a complex program, but which were not necessarily linked to a precise and ideal form.

Quite on the contrary, those were flexible enough to provoke dissociation between form and content, as we may see from the innumerous recycling of use such edifications have undergone a long history; many of them, for instance, have sheltered, and do shelter, functions which were inadmissible for the time, serving as "containers", shelters, of architectural "events".

 However, with the advent of the so called functionalism and the search for a correspondence between contents and form [character?], materialized in a new discourse, especially a new language and its pretense "universalization", flexibility [momentary alterations of the "nature" of a space] and, consequently, the possibilities of manipulation and intervention in such spaces on the part of the people have decreased. A set of ideas was created and, with it, as we have seen in the writings of Le Corbusier, the formulation of a new receipt of social behavior, so as to reach a total integration between society and architecture[13].

The regional and national cultural differences would be deleted in favor of a necessary social adjustment to new demands, to transformations, especially technological, in course and the "new language" of architecture. Would it be really possible to establish a cause and effect relation between such "new language", with its precise forms adjusted to the "new time", and the actions of people in the space offered by such architecture?

History itself has already showed it is not possible, in spite of a situation which lasts up to today, the desire of the architect for control and total definition of space, the search for an adjustment between form and content and the manifest social appropriation, whether on the level of the building or of the city, or that we could designate as being a link between the proposed significance and the significance which has appeared.

Far from such worry, quite on the contrary, nowadays we frequently witness the flourishing of events, of happenings, verified in the most diversified scales, which break off with what was originally proposed, "exceeding", through its use, the uses and functions initially predicted as being the most appropriate ones; from bridges and staircases "climbers", urban staircases which are transformed into squares (momentary

agoras) of contemplation or meeting points for conversation (figures 6 to 8), to the streets, framework of all kinds of activities, as mentioned by Bernard Tschumi when quoting "Les Evénements" of Paris[14], in 68, and the students' barricades in the streets as an example of the rupture of this proposed relation of form and content, that is, the imagined local-destination relation.

For the deconstructionists, the current architectural doing is directly linked to questions related to space; they even talk about a new rationality, a new intuition of space while an [inter]active means, formed by events (one should read, profusion of elements and unpredictable events, sometimes ambivalent or bivalent, or non-immediate apprehension and reading) adjacent and remote, promoting other and adverse routines and logics, a process which we could designate as *constitutive contamination*.

Figs.6 and 7 – Piazza di Spagna – Staircase. Constitutive contamination. Support space – Re-programming – Square. São Paulo - Brazil. Rome – Italy. Photos: Architect Ana Villanueva.

Fig.8 - Sumaré Viaduct - São Paulo Constitutive Contamination Support Space- Re-programming –urban climbers- sports square São Paulo- Brasil

This space would be the one we have constructed for our inhabiting, and where, for Foucault[15], "we always become something different from what we are", or for Derrida[16], "where the possibility of something that would change us would be created", or yet, for Gilles Deleuze, "where the occurrence of the 'virtual' would be possible, that is, a reality of which we do not yet have the concept"[17]. Finally, it would be in the space, not in the pre-determined space, but in the "in-betweens", in the spaces free from pre-configurations, that we would experience such "moments of invention" and we would create the condition for the *devenir autre*, going beyond the limits imposed by the "natural" [is it possible to say that it would be *characteristic, essential* of one "location"?], by history constructed by dominant discourses.

Events, invention, *devenir autre*, terms directly linked concurrently to the search of normative de-regulation of architecture, of its systems of values based on a strict causal connection between program (content) and "type"— more specifically the typological studies which have always conducted architecture to a search of "ideal types" [universal types?] of buildings, forms which are "adequate" to its contents — and to a conceptualization and valorization of in-*between,* of the intermediary space, for the deconstructionists.

Therefore, contrary to "ideal types" as syntaxes serving a functionalist discourse and doctrine, we would also have a consistent space of *not much-design* in traditional senses, or of the design which is not clearly and excessively determined, organized and ordained [in certain cases, with purposes clearly higienists] , but moments of a design of neutralization of senses or aprioristic meanings of such space, space open to multiple and non corresponding interpretations and appropriations. A supporting space capable of absorbing and registering the marks left without, however, acquiring a sense that could be adopted as being the most adequate, and, soon after, of being capable of returning to its situation of significance, waiting for new meanings, interpretations, interventions on the part of the people.

 We could talk about a space based more in accumulation than composition, an urban space as a productive machine free from the primary intentions of the author, remaining only as a trace, a marking trace always open to acceptance and ready to fecundate, *Khôra*[18].

Again, the relation with the Deconstruction philosophy of Derrida, more specifically with the "revised" concept of Khôra. To Derrida, the concept of *Khôra* "would be a region, a receptacle, that would have a form as from the external interpretations, that would leave on it the schematic mark or its impression and contribution. Notwithstanding, the *Khôra* would never allow it to be reached or touched, and, above all, it would not allow itself to be depleted by such types of tropic or interpretative translations; the Khôra would be capable of acquiring the most varied forms, but at the same time would be capable of remaining in its original condition". Wouldn't that be, exactly, the principle of *in-between* in architecture, a space "in condition" to assimilate the constant and different inquiries and requirements possibly resulting from the users?

This does not mean that for the deconstructionists there should not be a program, incurring in risks of what we could designate as being autonomous design, in which the pre-signification would be the justification for total spatial, formal lack of definition, or the absence of commitment on the part of the architect with the problems to be faced or solved.

The intermediary space would be understood herein exactly as a lack of definition, a space open to significations *between* defined spaces, spaces that would be the catalyzing agents, motivators of such actions of the users, of such events, such unexpected happenings that would appear and would remain always in process, transitory, and would never become a dominant activity which could be transformed into a convention of use, and where the program would not be entirely determined by the architect, but would be mutable, would always be requested and conformed by such actions. The role of the architect would be, I believe, that of attempting to promote an interaction between the defined and the non-defined, the design and the non-design, the understandable and the non-understandable, after all, creating a condition for such events to arise, be intensified through the establishment of tensions, more than hierarchical concatenations, between programs and urban ambiences, between cross-programming [inter-textuality] streams and voids.

In the search of constant definition of spaces, of its contents and, consequently, of precise forms, models of uses for such spaces end up by being created by repetition, taking to a certain conditioning as related to utilization, movement and appropriation, on the part of the users, of such spaces. Directed by spaces with pre-determined utilizations, accepted as natural and inexorable by historical process, the attitudes have been gradually incorporated and treated as intrinsic to such spaces; the unexpected happening, what Derrida designates as "events", the rupture with the "natural" would exactly represent an attempt of affirmation, of the "wish for power", according to Nietzsche, as if revealing a pleasure in saying no to simplifications, to oppositions and cultural, psychological and historical values, whether or not "appropriate", whether or not "adequate"[19].

Back to Barthes, in *Le plaisir du texte*, the term "jouissance", or the "jouissances" of a text, is related to the significant, to the idea of rupture, to the incomplete discourse, reversible, ambiguous and the text, instead of having the finished phrase as a model, would be "an unceasing casting of words, an infra-language exercise". Infra-architectural, as it does not have a defined language or design, once it occupies an intermediary position among defined and "dominant" spaces, or an aprioristic meaning, thus remaining, as the "Khôra", in a state of significance, of latency, awaiting for "events", the *in-between*, the intermediary space, the line-trace — instead of the line-discourse, as it suggests neutrality and non-determinist intentionality —, and this moment in architecture, the moment of invention, would be the one to be configured as the space of "jouissance" in architecture, a fertile location for the *excess*, the pleasure of going beyond the "natural" or the stipulated, for the exercise of conflict, in which we would be far from what we are and would open space for the advent of another, of the time to come, according to Derrida.[20]

Yet, as in the writings by Barthes and Derrida, where the author is "dead", the text and the words being free of meaning and incorporated senses, the *in-between* in architecture would be a place where it can be said that the architect-author would be [almost][21] dead, as the space, free from the meanings and representations resulting from the intentions of the architect, would be constantly open to the significations and re-significations on the part of the users creators – the users.

As for the excess and the pleasure, in his book *Erotismo*[22], George Bataille says that one should differentiate the excess of pleasure from the pleasure of excess. Foucault said that people know quite well what they want, the problem was how to get rid of the chains that held them to dogmas, values and historical moral codes. When making the *in-between* possible, wouldn't the architect be exactly contributing for the flourishing of such questioning, active attitude, stimulating, through such "neutrality" — a paradox? — other formulations, beyond the habitual, and an attitude of going beyond the stipulated, that which is determined by historical repetition on the part of such people?

The pleasure of excess could possibly be translated herein as the possibility of manifestation of the desires of the user, many times distant from that intended by the architect and of the user himself, going from a reproductive imagination to a creative imagination.

That is, if we understand reproductive imagination as something coupled with the daily non-critic doing and the creative imagination as something related to thinking, critical reflection, excess for us would be considered herein as a necessary moment in this process of rupture with history, with reality which is presented to us.

This would imply, in our case, in a rupture with historical associations (the forms of spaces justified by its uses and this causal relation being transformed into habits and common sense, totally justified by the practice along time), with the "truths" in architectonic language — the form of space and its meaning conditioned to uses and attitudes, producing the stereotypes and conventions — and, opening the possibility of difference, of the constant process of differentiation (such as the concept of "différance"[23] of Derrida) through intense experience of space and , consequently, the possibility of contact with the Other, understanding the other not only as the fellow man, but as something into which we are being transformed or about to be transformed but yet not consciously; as Barthes says "the pleasure of text is this moment when my body shall follow its own ideas, because my body does not have the same ideas as myself"[24]. Maybe we could substitute the term "*texte*" for "*architecture*", more specifically the condition of "spacing"[25] in architecture herein expresses by the *in-between*, by what is neither absolute presence nor absence, but a space generator of differences and alternation.

Even in periods which are initially contrary to such positioning and favorable to a revision of such values, historically, dominant architecture of different periods, herein with emphasis on the functionalist architecture of the Modern Movement, has been seen

as sets of rules, rapidly transformed into conventions, once stable and, almost invariably, general, based on utility, on a culture of utilitarism/functionalism; besides the need of such architecture, as a social institution, of being always validated or of explaining itself through its utility.

Maybe, also as a result thereof, it has become limiting when needing to establish links between form and content, thus indirectly "suggesting" models of actions more appropriate to the formed set. A moment which is favorable for questioning: having been constantly criticized up to the present moment, this linear relation between form and content, how would it then be seen that which would provoke, stimulate, what would be the possible consequences of a rupture of such logic between form and content?

In theory, the concept of *in-between* seems to break off with such "culture", and the transposition of focus to the importance of space in architecture and the strengthening of unpredicted actions and the making as from the spatial re- or de-programming; as seems to indicate the dynamic proposal for the Café Viaduct.

Contemporary cities express the anguish and anxieties emerging from the regulating and ruling course of globalization, the more exaggerated as the greater is the complexity it elects, inventing the object which more efficiently corresponds to the requests of its pattern: form, domain, the fashion of post-modern temples and icons. It is then imperative to explore the interstices of such culture and underline counterpoints of a new thinking, the importance of thinking about *strategies* [a bet, uncertain] that emphasize cultures of glorification of the collective doing, spontaneous, aggregating, emancipating.

Reviewing and re-thinking relations between man and built environment and man and its major product, the city. With the theories in Roland Barthes's text and the de-constructive concepts of Jacques Derrida, thinking [about] the space and urban "spacings" which may expand the scale of the object, intensify the collective doing, spontaneous, creative, interpreting the quality of the open space as an extension of the object which is not imprisoned by the pragmatism of form and domain.

Such disposition of the new doing to the quality of "in-between", a rupture of the restricted, formal, programmed and pragmatic, "culture" of the imaginary space, of the space in transformation and of the time to come, of the scale of that who does and not of what the restricted function programs is contextualized.

There is, therefore, in this cultural interact, an attempt ro build a bridge with the post-structural thinking as a strategy to think the city space and, therefore, the possibility of "affording passage" to the re-appearance of humanity values, based not on classical, metaphysical humanism, criticized by Derrida, but maybe on a *praxis humanism -culture as practice of life, as realized life-*, vital to the future of the city and man itself, of its erratic creative and emancipating will. Concurrent iteration and alteration; not only [but also] the acceptance of that designated by the object and its destinations, but the

permanent inquiring and requesting (the non-decisive) of the "support" to verify its capacity to respond to us and shelter our intentions, *intense-actions.*

This alternative architectonic will is based on the quality of the residual urban space, which is a place of meaningless rupture of what is restrict, formal, programmed, pragmatic and accurate. Such place becomes the culture of the imaginary space, the space in constant transition. Besides this residual space enables the emergence forthcoming events, going beyond what the restricted function programs as the most adequate use of this place.

Conclusion

The problem of aprioristic representations and their consequences [prevalence of one identity, constitution of an essence, crystallization of a sense, stigmatization] have always been a core theme for post-structuralist thinking. Finding ways to confront them so as to potentialize *devenirs,* other understandings and the proliferation of senses has always been a crucial question for philosophers and thinkers of such tendency.

Particularly, the lower part of viaducts, stigmatized urban spaces, usually associated, on the one hand, to abandoned spaces, a shelter for homeless, a spot for the traffic of drugs or, on the other hand, used as strictly commercial areas (restaurants, shops, galleries), both very little social, find an alternative of having a new meaning in this experience observed in the lower part of the Café Viaduct, when offering a new possibility of relation between the public and private spaces in contemporary city and , consequently, the overcoming of a representation.

Usually de-territorialized, turned into nothing, or re-territorialized so as to turn them into spaces exclusively dedicated to commerce, consumption, mono functional activity, such residual and expectant spaces under the viaducts, the *in between* spaces, acquire a new meaning with the construction and manifestation of this social machine under the Café Viaduct. There a new situation of the urban collective space through a voluntary action [concealed, yet extremely potent] is configured, a situation which as aforementioned, undermines and overcomes the aprioristic representations of a space, making a space of "jouissance" possible when it stimulates the excess, beyond what was imagined and what could be fitting for a determined location.

Therefore, a question is presented, which I believe must be considered and thought over. To what extent the submission of a possible action, whether proposed by architects or by the population, to the representation or to what seems to be the essence of an urban location, would add to the frailty of the actions under such location? Allow me to make myself clear. Would it be possible to think about deeper reconsiderations and ruptures and, with that, other re-territorializations, in urban spaces which already have a strong historical-social representation?

Programmatic tensions obtained by unusual associations of activities – *intertextuality* – would be a possible strategy for the destruction or overcoming of a historic representation capable of condemning a location to a negative identity which, often,

suggests fragile, mistaken, conventional actions, specially because they follow what has always seemed to the most adequate and fitting for such place?

Spontaneous and informal micro-actions, capable of constituting something beyond what is foreseen and usual for a determined place; micro-political actions started by the social wish and commitment of some urban "clandestine tenants" [the Garrido couple could be considered a kind of local policymaker], worked out and potentialized by architecture, would be capable of initiating another urban to come and proclaim, through such special enunciation agencies as that of the Café Viaduct, another possibility of urbanization and administration of areas which are considered to be in limit and ungovernable situations?

Notes

[1] "Tout texte se construit comme mosaïque de citations, tout texte est absorption et transformation d'un autre texte. À la place de la notion d'intersubjectivité, s'installe celle d'intertextualité". KRISTEVA, Julia. Sémeiotiké-recherches pour une sémanalyse. Paris, Seuil, 1969, p. 146

[2] PERRONE-MOISÉS, Leyla. *Texto, crítica, escritura*. São Paulo, Ática, 1993, p. 63.

[3] BARTHES, Roland. *Le Plaisir du Texte.* Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1973.

[4] PERRONE-MOISÉS, Leyla. *Op. Cit.*p. 60.

[5] Idem, ibidem, p. 70.

[6] Idem, ibidem, p. 61.

[7] EISENMAN, Peter. *Diagram diaries*. London, Thames & Hudson, 1999; "Processos de lo intersticial". *El Croquis*, n. 83, Madrid, 1997, p. 21-35; "Na architectural design interview by Charles Jencks". *Architectural Design Deconstruction in Architecture*, v. 58 ¾. New York: Cademy Group LTD, 1998, p. 49-61.

[8] Cf. DERRIDA, Jacques. See Khôra / La Verité em Peinture / De la grammatologie

[9] BARTHES, Roland. *Le Plaisir du texte.* Paris, Éditions du Seil, 1973.

[10] PERRONE-MOISÉS, Leyla. *Op. Cit.*, p. 61.

[11] TSCHUMI, Bernard. *Architecture and disjunction*. Cambridge, The MIT Press, 1996

[12] TSCHUMI, Bernard. Idem, ibidem, p. 176.

[13] CORBUSIER, Le. Por uma arquitetura. São Paulo, Perspectiva, 2002. Original work: Vers une Architecture; A arte decorativa. São Paulo, Martins Fontes, 1996. Original work: L'Art Décoratif D'Aujoud'hui.

[14] TSCHUMI, Bernard. *Le Fresnoy – Architecture In/Between*. New York: The Monacelli Press, 1999.

[15] FOUCAULT, Michel. "Of Other Spaces". In: *Diacratics 16 1, springs.*Paris, (s.n.), 1986.

[16] DERRIDA, Jacques. *Psyché: invention de l'autre*. Paris, Galilée, 1983, p. 15.

[17] DELEUZE, Gilles, GUATTARI, Felix. *Bergsonism*. New York, Zone Books, 1997, p. 97

[18] Cf. DERRIDA, Jacques. *Khôra*. Paris, Éditions Galillée, 1993.

[19] NIETZSCHE, Friedrich. Ecce Homo: como alguém se torna o que é. São Paulo, Companhia das Letras, 1985. Original work: Ecce Homo: wie Man wird, was Man ist; Humano, demasiado humano. Um livro para espíritos livres. São Paulo, Companhia das Letras, 2000. Original work: Menschliches, Allzumenschliches. Ein Buch für freie Geister.

[20] Cf. BARTHES, Roland. *O neutro.* São Paulo, Martins Fontes, 2003. Original work: *Le neutre.*

[21] We shouldn't forget that, as already said, architecture is construction, and therefore its complete absence is impossible

[22] BATAILLE, Georges. *Erotismo*. Translated by Cláudia Fares. São Paulo, ARx. 2004. Original work: *L'Erotisme.* Paris, Les Éditions de Minuit, 1957

[23] **LA DIFFERÁNCE –** model-word which attempts to remark and affect the *diferentia* – production of differences – the terms proposed in the history of metaphysics in the position of transcendental meaning**.** In an interview to Julia Kristeva, Derrida says: "The *différance* is the systematic play of differences, of the trails of differences, of 'spacing' through which the elements remit to one another. **This spacing is the production, at the same time passive and active, of intervals** [**no highlighting in the original**] without which the complete terms would not have a meaning, would not work." (DERRIDA, Jacques. *Posições (Positions).* Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, 2001, p. 32-33)

[24] "le plaisir du texte, c'est ce moment où mon corps va suivre ses propres idées — car mon corps n'a pas les mêmes idées que moi". Idem, ibidem, p. 27. Author's free translation.

[25] More specifically, *Spacing* is a term which is suggested for the first time by Derrida [and mostly discussed in his work *Enlouquecer o Subjétil* (1998), translated from *Forcener le Subjectile* (1986)] with reference to scripture, as a form of differentiating this, scripture itself, from what he designates as being architectonic scripture. Derrida says that for him architectonic scripture would imply in a condition of inventive reading of space, that is, the possibility of a non-conventional reading, so far inexistent. It would be the reading of a subject that would not be limited to moving through the space according to predeterminations or "projectual" suggestions, but that, through and emancipating attitude, would try to transform and transgress established conditions, predictable and habitual. See DERRIDA, Jacques, BERGSTEIN, Lena. *Enlouquecer o Subjétil (Forcener le Subjectile).* São Paulo, UNESP, 1998. Original work: *Forcener le subjectile*, 1986.

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Planning against droughts: a spatial dimension on the combat against droughts in the Brazilian Northeast (1877-1937)

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1. Introduction

The systematic knowledge and control over national territories was essential in the context of the formation and consolidation of modern nations in the nineteenth century. Brazil, and Latin America as a whole, was no exception to this. Legal changes in land regulation; reforms in port areas; efforts towards the creation of laws and nationwide government action in the sanitary, military, commercial and other fields; demographic pressures; diversification of the productive system; the construction of an encompassing transportation system, etc.; are some of the issues inherent to this process.

These issues were faced directly by professionals and intellectuals involved with the nascent discipline of modern urbanism and planning, and would be cornerstones in the history of its formulations, debates, proposals and actions until, at least, the middle twentieth century. It's significant to observe an important technician such as P. Abercrombie reassert, in the 1930s and 1940s, the "location of Industry", "the place of agriculture in planning", and the quest for "solution of the Land question" as fundamental issues in town and country planning[1].

The present quoting of Abercrombie's book is purely incidental. It does, however, serve us as a reference in two aspects. First, as a synthesis of the then-coetaneous discussions on the disciplinary field of planning, recovering the origins and fundamental points of modern formulations. From this set of ideas, models and instruments in debate since the late nineteenth century, the preeminence of the issue of land and the place of agriculture in planning should be underlined. The second aspect is their indication of a common background of concerns and debates related to the formation of modern technical culture in the nineteenth century; an arena in which British experiences were among the main references, as can be detected in the debate concerning the combat against droughts in Brazil.

Hence, this paper aims to comprehend how the initial discussions on technical solutions for the effects of droughts evolved, as spatial conceptions, into a set of regional planning ideas – even if the result was not entirely systematic. Within this conception, large water reservoirs were meant to congregate and stabilize population, whereas roads and railroads would connect productive and commercial centers, forming a hierarchical urban network. The study of these proposals – which predated by decades the institutionalization of regional planning in Brazil – brings about new elements

towards the comprehension of spatial intervention policies, as well as the establishment of planning as a discipline in this country.

Were these actions of combat against droughts, developed predominantly after 1877, precursory to what would later become the disciplinary field of regional planning in Brazil? And, furthermore, is the regional planning institutionalized in the 1950s somehow related to those reflections and actions carried by technicians and intellectuals almost a century before, moving through little-known lands, facing apparently inhospitable conditions, witnessing the human tragedies exacerbated by the climate phenomenon?

Before outlining possible answers, we must first expose a brief genealogy of the actions against droughts in Brazil. This history goes back to the mid-nineteenth century, when the droughts became the object of systematic reflection and more comprehensive combat strategies. It is, additionally, closely intertwined with the history of the Brazilian Northeast, which would only become recognized as a separate geographical entity in the beginning of the twentieth century, thanks in large part to the representative association between the Northeastern provinces and the droughts.

Picture 1: The nine Brazilian Northeastern States. The current officially-designated "semi-arid" region is represented in yellow. (Source: developed by the authors. Base image ©NASA, 2004)

Having once been the center of the Portuguese attentions in the first centuries of colonization, the Brazilian Northeast of the mid-nineteenth century had become secondary in economical and political relevance to the southern provinces. The region's major cities were located in the humid, sugar cane-producing coastal area, while the interior, the *sertão*[2], was occupied mostly by cattle ranches and small subsistence farms. The semi-arid *sertão* receives little to no rain during most of the year, but a rainy period between March and June provides enough water to sustain the populations and agriculture in normal circumstances. It is, however, a fragile balance; there are years when this natural cycle is broken, and the rain is either insufficient, or comes too late: this susceptibility to droughts is the main characteristic of the *sertão*, and became one of the images closely associated with the Northeast (see *Picture 1*).

Even though droughts in Northeastern Brazil, as climate phenomena, have been reported by chroniclers since the beginning of

colonization in the sixteenth century, and although the existent statistical information, while vague, mentions several great calamities causing severe loss of population, little was known about their nature up until the mid-nineteenth century. The first significant effort undertaken by the State to promote knowledge of the region and understanding of the local climate was the 1860 scientific commission to the then-Imperial Province of Ceará, whose findings were only published in 1877, as one of the most devastating droughts in recorded history affected the Northeastern provinces. Aided by the developing press, numerous reports of human suffering and death, epidemic disease surges, mass migration and economic disaster reached the Imperial Capital in Rio de Janeiro, bringing the drought phenomenon into the limelight. This would prompt deeper and more extensive scientific discussion, headlined by a series of dedicated sessions in the Instituto Polytechnico (*Polytechnic Institute*) led by the Empire's foremost engineers and technicians.

Over the remainder of the eighteen hundreds and into the twentieth century, the causes and effects of droughts were discussed at length, and a certain understanding of the climate system began to surface, intermingled with theories on solar spots and other matters, which was nevertheless unable to allow the accurate prediction of the droughts' arrival. Isolated action against its effects was being taken in the form of emergency relief supplies, and the providing of work in the building of railroads and *açudes*[3]; it was only in 1909, however, that a dedicated, State-run department – the IOCS[4] – was created, aiming to better manage the resources applied in the combat against droughts and guide the public works in the region. While the first half decade of this Inspectorship's work was devoted mainly to studying Northeastern climate and geo-physical characteristics, the demand for action soon turned it into a mostly construction-oriented department; again renamed – as DNOCS[5] – in 1945, it remained until the 1950s as the main participator in the actions against droughts, planning and executing numerous works in the affected area.

Picture 2: The IOCS headquarters in Rio de Janeiro (Source: *Ilustração Brasileira*, 1922)

New initiatives, aimed at supporting economic development in the Northeast were taken with the creation of the CVSF[6] in 1948 and BNB[7] in 1952. Despite all previous efforts,

however, the most widely-accepted starting point in the history of organized Regional Planning in the Northeast – and in Brazil as a whole – is the 1959 foundation of SUDENE[8], a Federal department led by a group of young economists which would, over the following decades, dictate the course of investment in the Northeast, overtaking the DNOCS's engineers as the main directors of public works in the region.

The consideration of possible relations in ideas and practices in distinct fields – such as regional planning and the combat against droughts –, requires investigation on the history of institutions, ideas and actions, on the formation of disciplinary fields, as well as on individual trajectories – which can bring out connections between distinct historical times and geographical spaces[9].

With this in mind, as well as the set of themes that make up the "technical dimension of droughts" and the vast amount of primary material already collected by the research that is the base for this article, we propose an analysis of the discussions surrounding two of the fundamental types of actions against droughts: the constitution of an integrated road system (see item 3) and the construction of *açudes* as nucleating elements for social, and especially economic, activity (see item 4).

But how were these actions formulated as fundamental? In what context were they debated, proposed, put in practice? How did, after all, and essentially, the issue of droughts emerge as a technical problem whose solutions pointed towards an encompassing perspective of knowledge and building of a territory – a perspective for which, we accept as a hypothesis, the spatial dimension was of paramount significance? This is what we intend to outline in the following item.

2. Building a Nation, building a territory

The perception of a re-emerging territorial perspective in the realm of planning, after decades of strong emphasis on mostly economical aspects, brings back into question the fact that the consideration of projects for a Nation presupposes the consideration of the territorial structure that supports it, the space that defines it. This presupposition was built as national problems were faced over the second half of the nineteenth century. Speaking of national values indicates, naturally, the very effort of thinking about and defining what could be considered a problem. It also indicates the existence of intellectual, technical and professional groups capable of articulating investigations, analyses, and proposals.

In fact, there is a confluence of factors that allow the understanding of those issues' maturing in that moment. Without moving deeper into the theme, it's worth mentioning: the formation of new generations of superior-level professionals in the national colleges; the creation of institutions dedicated to the discussion of Brazilian themes, such as the IHGB[10]; the appearance of countless technical-scientific magazines, beyond the predominant literary and political publications; the accumulation of knowledge produced by the many foreign scientific commissions that braved the country's territory in the first half of the nineteenth century. The creation of several arenas of technical and public

debate can also be noticed, which would grant legitimacy and allow the circulation of ideas and proposals, expose divergences and construct agreements, such as the creation of the Polytechnic Institute of Rio de Janeiro in 1862; arenas in which projects for a Nation would be formulated and resonated.

In this context, an issue was considered essential: the consolidation of the political State as a territorial State. The need for "maintenance of territorial integrity", amidst diplomatic or even military disputes for national borders and the lack of technical and scientific knowledge of the countries' vast interior, was considered by the Imperial elites an urgent task[11]. A political problem, but also, and mainly – at least according to the engineers – a technical problem.

The droughts exacerbated this urgency. How could a problem be faced and solved if that very problem was unknown – as an objective *datum*, quantifiable, "scientific", after all? What could be done to understand the phenomenon's causes, the affected region, its social and economical impacts? When another great drought erupted in 1877, a discursive base for debates on the phenomenon already existed. It was no coincidence that the session gathered in the Polytechnic Institute to discuss proposals for the facing of the drought would accept as a starting point the 1861 "plan" by the geographer Gabaglia (see item 4). The conjunction of discussions show, beyond the disputes among different visions for the country's modernization, the preeminence of the role the engineers were to play in this process. Originating from a polytechnic formation, with a strong positivist slant, they would seek to articulate the facing of an emergency situation and the possibilities of constructing structural works – dedicated to the stabilization of drinking water and irrigation for architecture, for example.

This is reflected in various proposals that point clearly to the vision of integrated action over a territory to be constructed. André Rebouças, one of the most influential engineers at the time, would propose "the construction of a railway system that allowed a fast articulation of the province [of Ceará], both in order to send assistance as well as, and especially, thinking about the future economical reorganization of the territory, so as to allow distribution and circulation of agrarian production, manufactured goods and people"[12]

Furthermore, it's clear that the droughts were taken, in the discussions in the Polytechnic Institute, beyond their inherent issues and as a problem that allowed the discussion of other issues, considered essential in that period. Beyond a territorial structure for a political State, the formation of a people that could overcome the atavic burdens of colonization and miscegenation was considered fundamental. However, instead of fatalistic condemnation, it was believed and supported that the transformation of the natural environment into a structured territory would lead to the construction of a new social environment, of a new man.

The notion of comprehensive and integrated action over the region is thus consolidated, requiring the definition and delimitation of the region that would be the target of intervention. Even further, this notion would imply the construction of a spatial

dimension, i.e. the evaluation of the (natural and social) landscape, the soil, the topography and hydrography. When the engineer Saturnino de Brito was called upon in 1892 to study the area to be crossed by an extension of the Baturité Railway (which would connect the city of Quixeramobim, in the Province of Ceará, to the São Francisco River, in the border between the provinces of Pernambuco and Bahia), this notion and dimension were clearly defined. His field work took over 40 days, as he evaluated the several trajectory options for the railway tracks based on technical, economical, social and aesthetical considerations. Brito's proposal was to articulate the railway project with *açudes* as a source of irrigation, granting the region's productive segments permanence and viability[13].

This comprehensive approach, which presupposed a notion of integrated action and a clear spatial dimension, would become dominant in the formulations of the combat against droughts. Furthermore, the idea of a general plan (to articulate all these efforts and resources), supported by Brito in 1892, would begin to disseminate in the discourses. The institutionalization of works against droughts, with the creation of IOCS in 1909 would reassert the need for planning.

Over the next two items, we will discuss how this notion of a more comprehensive and integrated action appeared in the proposals for circulation systems and *açude* construction.

3. Road network plans

The transportation network in the mid-1800s' northeastern *sertão* consisted of few and precarious trails created as the colonization frontiers were pushed towards the region's interior during the colonial years by farmers and cattle ranchers. These long and winding paths, often unmapped and unmarked, were rough for the carriages and oxen carts to traverse during the dry period, and practically impossible to be followed even on foot or on horseback in the rainy months, when they became slippery and dangerous patches of mud[14]. In 1858 and 1863, private investor groups built the first two railroads in the Northeast, both short sections located in the sugar-producing coastal area; as most early railroads in the country, they were problematic and unprofitable. In 1873, nevertheless, another group began the construction of the first railroad that actually penetrated the *sertão*, the *Estrada de Ferro de Baturité*. During the 1877 drought, as the private consortium found itself financially unable to maintain the enterprise, the Imperial government intervened, taking over the railway. The construction works were then used as means to provide employment to the masses of people dislodged by the climate and to move relief supplies to the interior and migrating population to the coastal cities. It was the first experiment on what would become a model of work against the droughts in Brazil, closely inspired by similar efforts undertaken by the British administration in India.

Over the remainder of the nineteenth century, other privately-funded roads with similar objectives – connecting the isolated *sertão* to the rest of the nation, developing its economy, and providing relief to the population during the droughts – were built.

Because the State offered financial aid based on the railroad's length, however, they were usually meandering paths, rarely following an optimal path for efficient transportation. The operation of these isolated railroads, more often than not, suffered from severe financial deficit. In 1903 the State decided to again take action, expanding the lines so as to connect the existing railroads and approving projects for new railways in the Northeast. By 1907, the engineers could declare that "a railway plan in the interest of [the Northeastern States] is finally being outlined, and the idea of another internal connection between the North and South emerges, through a line more or less parallel to the coast"[15].
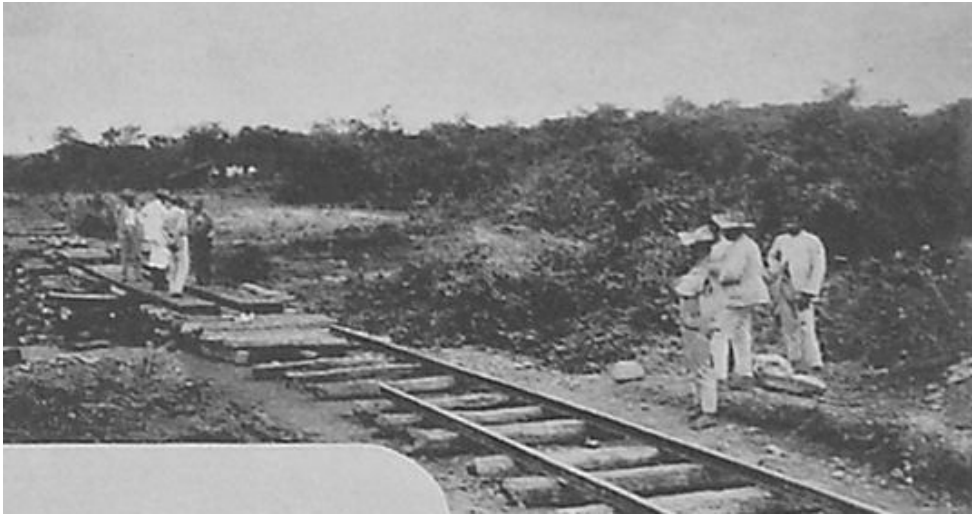
Picture 3: Engineers inspect the building of a railroad in the Northeast
(Source: *Ilustração Brasileira*, 1922)

These engineers were aware of the need of a "general railway plan", forming a "network" – both oft-mentioned concepts –, and stressed that the roads must be profitable on their own, and the course of the lines must follow the technician's design, rather than whim of politicians, as often happened. Various proposals for "general plans" for the region were mentioned in the engineering magazines, such as Raymundo Pereira da Silva's plan for over 13 thousand kilometers of railroads, whose main lines were to follow the paths "indicated by nature", over which populations, economic and administrative interests had been "unconsciously grouped" over the years[16]. Paulo de Frontin, the President of the *Clube de Engenharia* (engineering club) of Rio de Janeiro, presented in 1912 a national plan for railways and transports with a similar objective of extending and integrating the Northeastern railways, but also detailing ways to connect it with the country's South and with the whole of South America[17]. An influence to which this debate could be directly or indirectly linked can be traced back to the late Imperial period, when several proposals for transportation systems (some articulating railways to river basins) were put forward by national technicians[18].

Another engineer, J. S. de Castro Barbosa, approached the Engineering Club in 1909 with a different proposal: two main lines, he suggested, should be created, connecting

the cities of Recife to São Luiz and Recife to Fortaleza, which were to cross in the middle of the *sertão* (see *Picture 4*). At the crossing point, in the small village of Leopoldina or nearby Ouricury, a city would be developed, from which one would be able to reach Natal – the furthest port in the Northeast – in 36 hours, or travel to or from Rio de Janeiro in only 5 days. This crossroads city would be the headquarters of all military forces in the region, where they could be easily maintained and trained, and kept away from "the politics and other distractions of capital cities". This concentration of personnel and the access to easy transportation would allow "the foundation of an important commercial emporium in the *sertão*"[19]; the soldiers would also serve as cheap and regular workforce for the works against droughts, as opposed to the usual policy of waiting for droughts and using the dislodged population as workers.

Picture 4: A reconstitution of J. S. de Castro Barbosa's railway plan. The red dot indicates the "crossroads city" in Paraíba.(Source: developed by the authors. Base image ©NASA, 2004)

While there was an abundance of proposals and plans, the actual construction of railroads was not an easy task, as is evidenced by the history of many individual railways planned for the Northeast. Even when their existance was justified – in some cases even fiercely defended[20] – by engineers, with basis on hard economical data and projections, a lack of financial resources or political interest meant the construction was often delayed and extended over large periods. By the late 1920s, when rail infrastructure could finally provide some basic integration between some of the region's main commercial and population centers, the railroad system was no longer the main point of interest for Brazilian engineers, having been overshadowed by a new development: the automobile.

Having enthusiastically followed the new invention since its introduction in the turn of the century, many technicians became proponents of an automobile-centric road system over the first decade of the 1900s. By 1914, as the First World War made the materials needed to construct railroads scarce and expensive, and in face of a still-incomplete and often problematic national rail system, the impetus of the works quickly moved towards roads intended for automobile use. During the 1915-1918 period, when the notorious engineer Aarão Reis held the office of Chief Inspector, not a single railroad was built or extended by the IOCS; Reis's reasoning was that the roads' easier, faster, and less costly construction was enough to justify the exclusive investment.

Over the years that followed, the Inspectorship's regulation towards road building was vague, with most roadways being created so as to connect the ports and larger urban centers and the construction sites of large *açudes*, allowing the transportation of the necessary building materials. The workforce used in the services consisted mostly of population displaced during the drought periods, so the rhythm of works fluctuated with the seasons and the weather. During the 1920s, the automobile road was consolidated as the model to be followed in the minds of a majority of engineers[21]; in 1927, as an example of this development, Paulo de Frontin, who had been a strong supporter of railroads, addressed his peers with a proposal for a large, integrated national system of roads with seventeen main lines (four of them in the Northeast), explaining that, in the United States, "where automobile roads have reached maximum perfection in their design and construction, the volume transported through them is double that of the railroads"[22]. An actual integrated roadway plan for the Northeast wasn't implemented until the early 1930s, its construction started in 1932, another year of drought, as a relief service to which were credited the salvation of over a million people, "through transportation of families and workers and supplying of materials and provisions to hundreds of service centers"[23]. As a relief system and in their final objective of connecting urban and production centers, the roads functioned, despite the changes in equipment and construction, very similarly to railroads, acting as a complement to another fundamental element in the combat against droughts: the *açudes*.

4. *Açudes* and the consolidation of the urban network

> The Northeast has a relatively large population of about 2 ½ million inhabitants, spread over every spot that has longer-lasting waters, and the urban settlements of the *sertão* and highlands are located in the surroundings of the deeper, more consistent *açudes*.[24]

As part of a report made by the "Rondon Commission", sent by the Federal Government to review the progress of works against the droughts in 1922, the aforementioned analysis denotes a clear conscience of the importance of the *açudes* as defining elements in the foundation of the urban network in Northeastern Brazil. While the availability of water is naturally a condition for the growth of human settlements, the commission's assertion would not, however, have been true a few decades earlier, when *açudes* were few and far between, and their much smaller dimensions were barely enough to sustain the production in private farms, let alone the population of larger urban concentrations. The verdict on *açudes* reached by the 1860 comission sent to Ceará was, in fact, quite diverse.

Giacomo Raja Gabaglia, geographer and professor in charge of writing the report covering the 1860 scientific commission sponsored by the IHGB, considered the *açudes* "more profitable to the wealthy and favored by fortune than to the general populace"[25]. This impression is justified by the fact that in that period – and ever since their inception in colonial Brazil –, *açudes* were small structures, with earthen or masonry walls built by a farmer to provide for his own lands' needs. Gabaglia thought the building of public *açudes* was not viable, as he considered them too costly, and expected problems with

the availability of workforce and the distribution of the works amongst the province's farms.

Regardless of Gabaglia's concerns, and in response to the drought of 1877, the Ministry of Agriculture decided to create an "*Açudes* Comission", led by the British engineer J. J. Revy[26] and sent to Ceará in 1879. The main result of this Commission's studies was Revy's 1882 project for the "Cedro" *açude* in the municipality of Quixadá, a work much larger than anything Gabaglia had seen or suggested. Between 1890 and 1906, facing droughts and other operational problems, its four stone walls were erected (see *Picture 5*), enclosing a 224 square-kilometer river basin, and granting the *açude* a water storage capacity of 125 million cubic meters. It was the first of a new kind of work against droughts in Brazil – the large, public *açude* –, and was visited by the Republic's President shortly after its inauguration, despite it being located in the far reaches of the arid *sertão.* It was also by and large a design failure, its waters completely drained by 1907, due to the strong natural evaporation – a severe letdown for the project's supporters, who nonetheless considered this as a lesson taken, and one that ought to be kept in mind when designing other large *açudes* from then on[27].
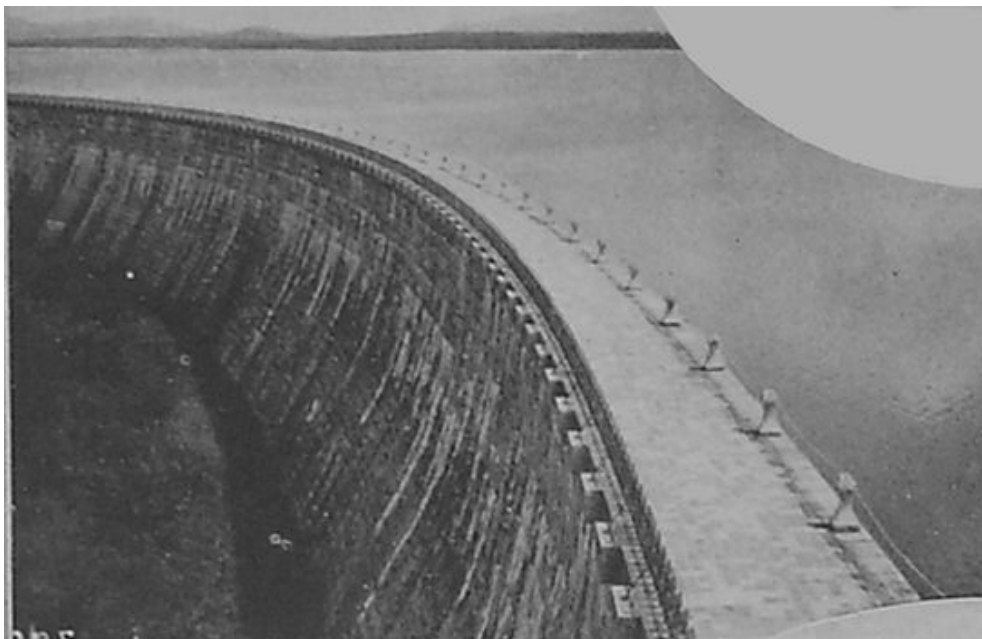
Picture 5: One of the Cedro's walls. (Source: *Ilustração Brasileira*, 1922)

The Federal Government wasn't discouraged by this failure, either, and the 1909 guidelines for the newly-founded IOCS had *açudes* as the very first kind of work listed and detailed. The guidelines categorized the *açudes* as either small (minimum capacity of a half million cubic meters, depth to shallower than four meters), medium (capacity between two and ten cubic million meters, average depth above five meters), or large (capacity of over ten million cubic meters, average depth above six meters). The small and medium *açudes* were generally the ones built in private lands, and the Inspectorship was in charge of evaluating requests from land owners, elaborating the

projects for *açudes* deemed important enough, and refunding the owner of half of the construction costs after the work's completion. In exchange, the owner would accept to "supply water for the domestic needs of the surrounding population"[28]. In their attempts to convince the Inspectorship of their proposal's public usefulness, and thus be granted the State's help, farmers would often cite an area's high productivity and large resident population as their main justification. This small- and medium-sized works were, thus, aimed at improving the rural production and granting the local population a higher resistance to dry periods; because of their smaller size and great dispersion, however, its effects are not easily quantified; also, the local oligarchies' interests often interfered in their distribution and prioritization. The large public *açudes*, on the other hand, would have a more defined role in the configuration of human settlements in the Northeast.

Large reservoirs such as the Cedro and others that followed it, on the other hand, could not be created wherever the engineers (or the oligarchies) deemed them needed. The requirement of certain natural conditions, both topographical and hydrological, meant that it was the terrain, and not the human occupation, that determined their location. Their presence, as mentioned by the 1922 Rondon Comission, imposed "the concentration of population centers on a relatively small area, to which all are forced to come in the times of drought"[29]. The very process of building large dams in the *sertão*, far from the capital cities and ports from which workforce and equipment had to come (see *Picture 6*), required the creation of settlements near the construction sites, many of which endured and developed after the *açude* was completed. These settlements were accordingly planned and equipped, as evidenced by the report of a journalist visiting one of these construction sites:

> In S. Gonçalo the workers' homes already form a veritable city, with a medical station, drugstore, school, drinking water filter, etc. The houses are not light buildings meant to endure a season. Carefully built, they will later serve as definitive homes, because in the locations where today these vast hydraulic works are built, shall, in the future, be raised large population centers, destined to attract even the workers of nearby settlements.[30]

The concerns that went into the planning of these nascent cities went beyond the mere needs of the construction itself: the journalist, whose tour was closely guided and instructed by both Brazilian engineers from the Inspectorship and "North-American technicians who supervised the works in the Northeast", enthusiastically emphasized the Inspectorship's intention of providing education and literacy to the local population and introducing notions of hygiene, thus enabling these "desolate regions" to fully contribute to the nation's development.

Beyond providing water for the population's domestic use, the *açudes* were meant to improve agriculture in the surrounding areas, both through irrigation of nearby land, and through use of the *açude*'s area itself in what was called *vazante* agriculture[31]. In his studies regarding a series of *açudes* projected for construction in the Rio Grande do Norte State in 1925, the engineer Eduardo Parisot, under service of the IFOCS, took into consideration the amount of land that would become available for *vazante*

agriculture and, through careful calculation, demonstrated these areas could support a population of 40 thousand people. Additionally, taking into account the population density of Egypt and transporting it to the area, he came to the conclusion that up to 140 thousand people could be sheltered there in times of severe drought[32].

Picture 6: IOCS trucks move through a newly-constructed road, carrying building materials to an *açude* construction site. (Source: *Ilustração Brasileira*, 1922)

As evidenced by this type of analysis, even if their proposition was not exactly methodical, and despite being commonly affected by problems during their execution, the large *açudes* designed by the Inspectorship were rapidly evolving away from the mostly trial-and-error process that characterized the building of the Cedro. The new *açudes*, larger and more numerous, were a more carefully thought-out intervention in space, clearly aimed at orienting the placement and structuring of human settlements and distribution of population in the semi-arid areas of Northeastern Brazil.

The crucial element which allowed the continued construction of these large-scale works in the *sertão* was undoubtedly the introduction of reinforced concrete building techniques[33]. In a 1910 conference, the engineer J. S. de Castro Barbosa stressed the importance of this new material, successfully employed by Brazilian engineers in civil construction since 1905, for the building of cheaper, larger and more effective dams, citing the Snake River dam in Twin Falls, Idaho, with which the American engineers had managed to "dethrone India and Egypt itself in this type of works"[34].

The admiration for North-American dams and other hydraulic works in the American West was reflected in many articles that dealt with the problem of droughts in the Northeast, and they were often shown as inspirational examples for state intervention in the region. The ostensive presence of foreign firms[35] and technicians[36] carrying out the construction services, on the other hand, was harshly criticized by some Brazilian

engineers, who were adamant that the national professionals had the means and the knowledge and were up to the task of commanding these works. This fact, combined with State's necessity of lending money from British or American banks in order to carry out the works, led to protests that warned about the country falling victim to financial and ideological colonialism[37]. When not directly competing for work, however, the tensions were eased, and local engineers usually collaborated with foreign technicians with little conflict[38].

5. Conclusion

The influence of foreign engineering was not limited to the presence of American and British technicians in Brazil. Imported bibliography, participation in international Congresses and exploratory travels to North America and Europe were often cited sources of knowledge in the Brazilian engineers' articles and conferences. The American stance towards the preservation and management of forests was also widely advocated as a way to lessen the drought and desertification problems, and the regulation of some States in the USA concerning the public use of water was often cited as an essential example, which should be closely followed.

While the foreign experience and example were always welcomed, the engineers knew they had to be adapted and transformed to the Brazilian reality and the available resources.

> Because we are in very different conditions from the arid and uninhabited dry North-American region, we had to act, motivated by calamity, even with the general elements we possessed to fulfill the need of promptly rescuing a region as densely populated as the one we desired to help.[39]

Similar references can also be found dating back to the second half of the nineteenth century, when ideas, proposals and actions against droughts were maturing. References which, in a way, helped forge a knowledge and a practice, a tradition, and finally, a history.

Hence, they helped the building of a notion of comprehensive and integrated action over the region, delimiting and structuring the territory. A notion that, as previously said, appears outlined in the discussions from the 1870s and, especially, as a more consolidated approach, in the 1890s onwards, as exemplified by the reports by Saturnino de Brito (1892), the founding regulation of the IOCS (1909) and the report evaluating the Inspectorship's actions over a decade of existence (presented by the engineer Aarão Reis, in 1920). Furthermore, it can be said that *açudes*, railways, and other works did have a significant impact on the organization of the territory and urban network in the Northeast.

But what is the legacy laid by these actions in the context of regional planning in Brazil? The current verdict is that the engineers' spatial proposals for planning in the Northeast were largely abandoned when their authority to intervene in the territory was

overshadowed by that of the economists, with the creation of SUDENE. It is known that SUDENE itself included some spatial studies and proposals in their plans, created with the help of geographers (and not engineers), especially from the late 1970s onwards. While some of the principles that guided these studies are similar to those used by the engineers decades before, the correlation between these propositions is not yet clear, and demand further investigation. While the engineers continued to propose and execute works against droughts under the DNOCS, their position as the main developers of theories and plans for the development of the Northeast had been lost. Is it, then, possible to find in the engineers' actions consistent evidence of the origins of regional planning in Brazil? Is it possible to map the relations that would demonstrate how the facing of an issue, at first specific and localized, evolved into a comprehensive understanding of the problem? i.e. in a similar way to Francesco Dal Co's study, which demonstrates how, within the progressist ideology of the USA's urban planning, the proposals for parks in the mid-nineteenth century led to the proposals for regional planning from the 1920s onward?

These questions also characterize hypotheses for research. Indirectly, it can be asserted that, yes, such relations can be mapped. In the very core of the formulations of works against droughts are themes central to modern planning, such as "the land question" and "the place of agriculture in planning", to make use of Abercrombie's terms, as previously cited; in the same fashion, the need for the structuring of an integrated circulation system (for goods, people, information) constitutes a common motive in the origins of town and country planning. Furthermore, it's known that many of the professionals involved with the issues of droughts had long and influential careers as town planners (such as projects for urban reform and expansion, technical sanitation and water distribution networks for the cities and surrounding areas, or even in the formulation of public policies), as is the case of Aarão Reis, Saturnino de Brito and Henrique de Novaes.

These indirect relations help the understanding of the formation and circulation of modern technical culture in Brazil, initially in a diffuse or even imprecise manner, in a moment that predates the processes of institutionalization and formalization of planning as a discipline (one which would begin to be taught, in the context of the Academia, in the 1970s).

What about the direct relations? There is a series of leads and many research tasks to be undertaken that would allow the mapping of these possible relations. Furthermore, one mustn't forget that new interventions and readings would inform the process of formation of regional planning in Brazil in the mid-twentieth century, such as the circulation of Geddes' theories via regional planning in the United States, especially through Mumford's writings.

Along with these considerations, one must not neglect the urgency of action dictated by the droughts' devastating humanitarian and economic effects meant the Brazilian engineers had to come up with comprehensive, yet readily applicable solutions. Their dedication to understanding the space over which they should intervene, and their

accumulated knowledge over technical and scientific aspects, as well as their familiarity with intervention upon the spatial dimension, allowed them to create proposals and plans that were infused with ideas and concerns that were key to nascent discipline of regional planning. The need to deal with an extremely adverse situation, while hurdled by political intromissions and an always tight financial situation, combined with their practical mindset, meant the Brazilian engineers had little chance or motivation to abstract their plans into a set of theories. The proposals did, however evolve significantly over the decades, based on national and foreign experience and practice, and a good dose of trial and error.

Furthermore, even if no palpable connection can be made between these engineers' proposals and the work of planning pioneers such as Patrick Geddes and Lewis Mumford, contemporary to their own, it's evident that themes such as the relationship between the country and the city, the circulation of materials, people, and ideas, and the management of urban population, were being discussed and solutions based on quantifiable data and scientific predictions were in construction, following parallel trajectories determined by each country's specific needs and available resources.

Even still, such ideas met a complex intellectual arena of discussions on planning that found in the theme of the droughts a privileged space for discussion. In this sense, the work of the engineer Saturnino de Brito can be emblematic. The author of dozens of plans and works (of sanitation networks, urban expansion and reform) for countless Brazilian cities, his participation in the works against droughts as early as the 1890s, producing extensive studies and reports, observing and constructing various analytical perspectives, reasserting its condition as a problem of national scope, pointed towards new paths. In the one hand, it consolidated the comprehensive approach and incorporated the spatial dimension of territory. On the other, we could surmise, it meant the definitive overcoming of the illustrated and erudite look of the chroniclers and early scientific commissions, towards a systematic observation of nature in its multiple dimensions – thus approaching the formulations that characterized the scope of Survey, either regional or civic.

Acknowledgments

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[1] Abercrombie, Patrick, *Town and Country Planning*. (London, UK: Oxford University Press, 2nd ed., 1943), p.07. [orig. 1933].

[2] A word which originally carried representations of desolation, distance and mystery – "*Sertão ou desertão?*" ("*Sertão* or big desert?"), questioned the British traveler Henry Koster, upon arriving in the region in 1810.

[3] *Açudes* (singular *açude*, pronounced "ahsoody") are buildings in which one or more sections of wall are erected to contain a fluvial course, thus creating an artificial lake which serves as a water reservoir – it is, in other words, a dam, or dam system, although the word applies to not only the containment walls but also the artificial lake itself.

[4] *Inspetoria de Obras Contra as Secas* – Inspectorship of Works Against Droughts. In 1919, it was renamed as IFOCS (*Inspetoria Federal de Obras Contra as Secas* – Federal Inspectorship of Works Against Droughts)

[5] *Departamento Nacional de Obras Contra as Secas* – National Department of Works Against Droughts

[6] *Companhia do Vale do São Francisco* – São Francisco Valley Company, designed to develop the area surrounding the valley of the São Francisco river. Its objectives and program resonated with those of the Tennessee Valley Authority, founded in the United States fifteen years earlier.

[7] *Banco do Nordeste do Brasil* – Bank of the Northeast of Brazil

[8] *Superintendência de Desenvolvimento do Nordeste* – Northeast Development Superintendence.

[9] These relations are still open issues in the research – that also seeks to map the trajectories and institutional places of the various professionals, his contacts, areas of influence, etc.; regardless, some considerations on this respect are made in the article's conclusions.

[10] *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* – Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute.

[11] Sousa Neto, Manoel F. de, *Planos para o Império*: os planos de viação do Segundo Reinado (1869-1889). Thesis. (São Paulo, Brazil: USP, FFLCH, Depto. de Geografia, 2004), p.06. – It's important to note that the concern with the clear definition and protection of borders would be increased in the 1860s, due to the Paraguay War (1864-1870), the bloodiest conflict in the history of South America which opposed the alliance between Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay to that country.

[12] Dantas, George A. F.; Ferreira, Angela L. de A.; Farias, Hélio T. M. *Pensar e agir sobre o território das secas: planejamento e cultura técnica no Brasil* (1870-1920). [*considering and acting upon the territory of droughts: planning and technical culture in Brazil* (1870-1920)]. In *XII Encontro Nacional da ANPUR*, (Belém, Brazil: ANPUR, may 2007 – CD-ROM), p.08.

[13] Brito, Francisco S. R. de. *Relatório de reconhecimento do prolongamento da E. F. Baturité, de Quixeramobim ao Rio São Francisco*. In *Obras completas de Saturnino de Brito*. Vol. I (Publicações preliminares). (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Imprensa Nacional, 1943), p.193-220. [orig. 1892]. The engineer would later return to this theme with his work "As Secas do Norte" - in: *Obras completas de Saturnino de Brito*. Vol. XVIII: Memórias diversas: notícias, memórias e artigos vários (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Imprensa Nacional, 1944), p.107-157. [orig. 1913].

[14] Capanema, Guilherme Schüch de; Gabaglia, Giacomo Raja. *A Seca no Ceará: Escritos de Guilherme Capanema e Raja Gabaglia*. (Fortaleza: Museu do Ceará/Secretaria da Cultura do Estado do Ceará, 2006). [orig. 1877]

[15] *Revista do Clube de Engenharia*. (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Imprensa Nacional, 1909). Issue 19, p. 39.

[16] *Revista do Clube de Engenharia*, 1909, p.50.

[17] *Revista do Clube de Engenharia*. (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Imprensa Nacional, 1910). Issue 29, p. 147

[18] On this respect, see Souza Neto, 2004, pp.77-156; those were plans by the geographer-engineer Eduardo Moraes (*Navegação interior do Brasil*, 1869), the engineer João R. de Queiroz's (*Esboço de um plano de viação geral para o Império do Brasil*, 1874, and *Recursos financeiros à execução de obras públicas no Império*, 1882), the engineer André P. Rebouças (*Garantia de Juros*, 1874), the then-director of Roads and Public Works from the Ministry of Agriculture Honório Bicalho (*Rede geral de comunicações*, 1881, the first official plan under the Imperial government), Antonio M. de O. Bulhoes (Plano *Geral de Viação do Império*, 1882 – the first elaborated in a collective manner, with collaboration of several engineers and presented in the first railroads congress of Brazil, organized by the engineering Clube, in 1882).

[19] *Revista do Clube de Engenharia*. (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Imprensa Nacional, 1910). Issue 22, p. 77-78

[20] The Mossoró Railway is one such case. It was first requested in 1875 as a means to cross the sertão from north to south and reach the São Francisco River, allowing for transportation of people and goods – most significantly large amounts of salt extracted in the vicinity of the city of Mossoró. The actual construction only began in 1909 and ceased in 1933, when less than half of the originally planned distance had been covered.

[21] Exclusive investment on them was not, however, agreed upon unanimously. Over the 1930s and beyond Henrique de Novaes and other engineers still defended the parallel and complementary use of railroads, especially to transport heavier, lower-value cargo. It was only in the 1950s that the automobile-road system became virtually hegemonic in Brazil.

[22] *Revista do Clube de Engenharia*. (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Typographia do Jornal do Commercio, 1927). Issue 29, p. 142.

[23] *Revista do Clube de Engenharia*. (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Clube de Engenharia, 1936). October 1936 issue, p. 1050.

[24] *Revista Brasileira de Engenharia*. (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Escola Polytechnica do Rio de Janeiro, 1923). August 1923 issue, p. 49.

[25] Capanema, and Gabaglia, 2006, p. 132.

[26] The majority of evidence points to his full name being "Julian John Revy", despite some claims of him being French and named "Jules Jean Revy". His reports to the commission are written in either English or Portuguese, and always signed J. J. Revy.

[27] The 1923 Rondon Commission's report revealed the Cedro's reservoir hadn't yet reached full capacity despite rainy periods since its construction, and regretted that no action had been taken to establish permanent meteorological stations to perform studies in the area, which they believed could be invaluable for understanding the climate and building new *açudes*. The Cedro reached full capacity for the first time in 1924, was completely dry again in 1930, and only in 1974 it was able to reach its full level once more.

[28] Reis, Aarão, *Obras Novas Contra as Sêcas: executadas entre 3 de setembro de 1915 a 31 de outubro de 1918* (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Imprensa Nacional, 1920)

[29] *Revista Brasileira de Engenharia*, 1923, p.60.

[30] *Ilustração Brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Commissão Executiva do Centenário da Independência, 1922).

[31] In this system, by cultivating the *açude*'s ground during the dry season, which still keeps some moisture and nutrients when the water levels are lowered, the local farmers are able to plant and harvest without depending on rain or complex irrigation systems.

[32] *Revista Brasileira de Engenharia*. (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Escola Polytechnica do Rio de Janeiro, 1925). January 1925 issue, p. 21.

[33] The concrete-built Piranhas *açude*, for example, built in 1922, has twice the capacity of the Cedro; the Orós *açude*, finished in 1961, dwarfed all previously-built *açudes*, its reservoir being over sixteen times as large as the Cedro. Other similarly-sized *açudes* have been built since then.

[34] *Revista do Clube de Engenharia*, 1910, p. 86-88.

[35] Norton Griffith & Co.; Dwight P. Robinson & Co.; and C. H. Walker & Co are some of the companies involved in the construction of *açudes*

[36] Some of the names cited are J. J. Revy in the 1860s-1880s, and Benjamin Thayer, R. A. Manwaring and J. A. Sargent in the 1920s.

[37] *Revista do Clube de Engenharia*. (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil:Clube de Engenharia,1932), p. 251.

[38] It's also known that many Brazilians sought superior-level education in the United States in the turn to the twentieth century (see Atique, Arquitetando-se a Boa-vizinhança, 2007). Omar O'Grady, born in Natal, Rio Grande do Norte, graduated in Engineering in the Armour Institute of Technology (nowadays, Illinois Institute of Technology), in 1917; his final graduation work was the design of a Hollow Dam and Hydro-Electric Plant, for French's Mill, New York; upon returning to Brazil, he would work for the English firm Norton Griffith & Co., as overseer of the construction of the Acarape damn, in Ceará, until 1923; he would later be mayor of Natal, between 1924 and 1930.

[39] *Revista Brasileira de Engenharia*, 1925, p. 21.

D-community: how private interests meet the needs of public realm

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1. Introduction

1.1 Situation of Aging in Beijing

Beijing became an ageing city since 1990. At the end of 2005, the population of inhabitants over 60 years, which is defined as ageing population, is 2.243 million, accounting for 14.6% of the whole inhabitants in Beijing. It is estimated that by 2020 the ageing population will be 3.5 million, which will be 19% of the total population of Beijing (Figure 1).

However, comparing to aging increasing, the elder care ability of traditional Chinese mode is decreasing. Firstly, the population in a family deceased because of the implementation of the policy of family plan since 1980.And the elder-only family number is increasing. In 2005 the elder-only family number (including the family of one elder or one elder couple) in Beijing is 504,000, which counts for 33.3% of the total elder families. Secondly, the earliest one-child-families become aging increasingly. So that the child of one-child-families have to care his/her parents, i.e. two elders or more if grandparents are alive. This kind of elder care system is difficult to continue. Thirdly, limited by the national welfare resources and funds, government-built elder care facilities are too few to match the aging with fast increase speed. By the end of 2005, the number of elders living in elder care centers is 17,000, which is 0.8% of the elders in Beijing. Now in Beijing there are 313 elder care centers and 30,267 beds, which means 1.3 beds per 100 elders.

Therefore, in order to solve such problems, in Beijing and other cities with high aging rate, such as Shanghai, Jiangsu, Dalian, Qingdao, etc., a new elder support pattern, "elder care at home (居家养老)", is under exploring and trying. This paper analyzes the situation of "elder care at home" in D-community in Beijing, which is pioneer in exploring the pattern of elder care at home.

1.2 Situation of Communities in China

Chinese housing support system was reformed since the middle of 1990s. The housing policy reform changed urban housing system from the national house supply welfare to commercial housing. Therefore the commercialization of urban housing developed quickly and commercial houses occupy a large ratio. Accompanying to the

commercialization of housing system, the house function is being subdivided, especially housing estate for elders appeared because of the rapid increase aging population.

In China, communities can be divided into seven types, which are old type Community, single or multi Work-Unit (in Chinese 单位, Danwei, company, organization, etc.,) Community, High-class residential Community, immigration Community, commercial residential Community, Jizhen (in Chinese集镇, market town in countryside) Community, and newly urbanized Community. Most are Work-Unit Community, which are 42.3% for national average and 40.1% in Beijing and east China region.

Before 1998, the workers in urban area could obtain houses from Work-Unit and could live with low rent fee, which is a national welfare. Work-Unit took charge of the building management and maintenance. In 1998, the housing welfare policy was abolished and the formal welfare houses were sold to the residents and became private, which are called Fanggaifang (in Chinese房改房, policy-reform house) and are permitted to enter house market for trade. Accompanying to the house privatization, Work-Units become not provide maintenance and services to residences, which is not good for elder-care-at-home. The former Work-Unit Communities became commercial Communities and residents cannot obtain support from Work-Unit.

On the other hand, the services for retired workers become public-supported and Work-Units do not support retired worker any longer. Under this situations, the existing Resident Committee (RC, in Chinese居委会, Juweihui,) turn to be important in some types of communities. But in commercial residential community like D-community, there was no RC at the beginning. Residents service here must depend on the real estate development companies (REDC).

However, REDC certainly aim at benefiting from estate development projects. While setting up the Supporting System for the Elderly at Home (SSEH)[*1)] belongs to the public realm. It seems that companies' private interests conflict to that of the public realm.

This paper studies the situations of SSEH in D-community (D-SSEH) in Beijing and argues that private interests can match public realm if the REDCs can develop a plan considering the needs of elders.

Yao (2007) and Yan (2003) studied D-community from the viewpoint of architecture and Sociology. Zan (2003) studied D-community in the field of Enterprise Management. However no research focuses on analyzing SSEH from the viewpoint of urban planning. Therefore this research aims to analyze the evolution and characteristics of D-SSEH to clarify the following aspects: (1) For the aspect of the REDC: why did it choose to plan and build community for elders? How did the REDC benefit from this project? (2) For the aspect of residents live in D-community: Who choose to live here and for what

reason? How do the residents feel about the market-leading D-SSEH? (3) Games between the stakeholders in D-SSEH; their relationships, and the operational pattern of D-SSEH.

Three times investigation were conducted in March 2006, September 2006 and January 2007. Field survey of buildings, public space, services facilities was conducted to obtain intuitionist image of the physical environment of D-community. Interviews to elders living in the community and staffs of REDC, Property Management Company (PMC) were conducted to obtain objective data and opinions on the appearing and evolution of D-SSEH and its effect. Literatures and reports on ageing condition of Beijing, community research and D-SSEH were collected from publications and web sites to complement the field survey data. Two copies of questionnaires were delivered to one household and the collection was conducted by post mail. The investigated number and collection rate are shown in Table 1.

2. Introduction to D-Community

D-community was constructed in 2003 in Beijing. It was one of the earliest residential communities orientated to the elderly since the 1990's housing reform in Chinese cities and it is the largest retirement community in China by far. People focus attention upon it because a new kind and elder service market decided elder care system, SSEH, was introduced under the background of population aging, elderly care mode changing and housing support policy reform.

D-Community (Figure 2, Table 2) is a commercial residential community developed, constructed, sold and managed by a REDC. It is orientated to retired elders. It is designed by referencing the experiences of American retired community, especially the project of Sun City Center developed in 1961 in the United States of America.

The site area is 2,350,000 square meters. The total floor area is 700,000 square meters, consisting of 650,000 square meters of residential buildings and 50,000 square meters of public buildings. The floor area ratio is 0.3.

The community is well planned to offer elders good living environment. An artificial lake of 160,000 square meters is constructed and green spots with total area of 750,00 square meters are scattered among the buildings. For the convenience of elder living, building types are limited to Si-he-yuan (Chinese: 四合院, is a type of residence that was commonly found throughout China, but most famously in Beijing. The name literally means a courtyard surrounded by four buildings), two or three-story detached or connected house, and four-story apartment with elevator. The community is no-barrier designed and equipped with infrared security system, water source or ground source heat pump system, etc.

The community is developed in three phases and consists of seven parts.
(1) Phase 1, finished in April 2003. Apartment buildings consisting of houses of 70 to 230 m^2 floor area were constructed. Post office, supermarket, and restaurant were constructed as well. In order to make residents live interestingly, table tennis circle, chess circle, and fishing circle are set up in July 2003. But medical facility was not realized although it is planned in the development scheme.
(2) Phase 2, finished in 2005. Except residential buildings, public service buildings were constructed as well.
(3) Phase 4, finished in 2007. An artificial lake of 40,000 m2 was constructed so that the community environment become quite well. The medical facility was finally completed in November 2007[*2)].

The investigations conducted by the authors shows that the residential buildings, outdoor environment, leisure places, service facilities are well planned and constructed. Service facilities, such as supermarket, can basically fulfill the residents' requirements. Although the medical facility is completed four years later that that planned, it is become very important because the community is far from downtown city.

3. The REDC: balance between commercial interests and public realm

3.1 Why the REDC orientate D-community to elders?

For a commercial company, of course benefiting is the only purpose. The REDC of D-community decided to develop a community for elders based on the consideration of community location, aging situation in Beijing and the background of Chinese house policy reform. The REDC found the gap between the customer requirements and the available houses developed by real estate developers. The REDC of D-community developed a special plan that can fulfill both the requirements of company and customers. Such a community is co-formed by the development of Chinese society and real estate industry.

The first reason for developing an elder-orientation community is the community location. The community locates at the northeast suburban of Beijing and is 45 kilometers far from downtown Beijing (Figure 3). Although there is one bus route available for residents to go to downtown or go conveniently by private car, the traffic conditions are not so convenient for salaried workers to go to and fro between home and workplace. But the land price is cheap so that the location is suited for developing an elder-orientation community.

Secondly, the population aging problem in Beijing is another main reason for the REDC deciding to develop an elder-orientated community. REDCs in Beijing like new concepts. The leaders of REDC who developed D-community think that it will benefit much if they firstly propose the concept of elder-orientated community and offer special houses for elders. Main benefits are as follows. 1) They can barrier rivals from entering

this market. 2) Currently the elder-orientated houses are needed while no REDC provides such house[*3)].

Thirdly, since 1998 the Chinese housing policy was reformed. People can no longer obtain houses from the country but have to buy houses. Accordingly the house maintenance and community services are no longer provided by the institute where the residents work. So that if a REDC can provide such service, even in commercial way, elders can worry nothing about the house maintenance. This is a very important issue that makes D-community be sold well.

3.2 How does the REDC operate the SSEH in D-community? It's advantages and difficulties.

For the purpose of building a comfort community for elders, the REDC has to build a residents satisfied SSEH. Advantages and difficulties that a REDC faces were summarized using the investigation data.

Advantage -1) A REDC can financially support the improvement of SSEH. It can set up, manage, or introduce a service for elders. In D-community, the REDC constructed public facilities and commit the building maintenance and services providing to a professional Property Management Company (PMC) [*4)]. Because REDCs have fund and authority for constructing public facilities for communities, this is very advantaged comparing to traditional community elder support mode, which is managed by RC. Generally a RC does not have enough funds to construct facilities for elders. With respect to introducing services, a REDC can use cooperation or commit professional company to provide necessary services for elders.

Advantage-2) A REDC can provide elders communication place and help to set up resident organizations. For example, in D-community the REDC provides a lot of places for elders' communication and helped to organize several activities or circles to make elders' life become interesting, for example, new year party, singing circle, dance circle, sports circle, etc[*5)]. The PMC provides place and a part of fund. The participants need to pay the rest fee by themselves. Of course residents set up organizations by themselves as well. Both types of residents' organizations are well developed and totally self-managed.

Difficulty-1) REDCs have not authority to use administrative resources so that they have to communicate with government. A REDC itself cannot complete a service that needs administrative resource, for example, post service, medical service, etc. Now the Chinese social reform is not yet completed, so that many services planned by the REDC of D-community cannot be smoothly fulfilled but have to negotiate with government to obtain government support or look for new solutions.

Difficulty-2) REDCs cannot directly know residents' wish so the cooperation with RC or residents organizations is necessary. Because the main purpose of a REDC is to benefit from a project and the work contents is different from RC, they cannot well know the real requirements of residents. But a REDC has to well understand residents' requirements; otherwise they cannot set up a good SSEH. Therefore how to cooperate with RC and residents organizations is a big problem that REDC have to face to.

4. Elderly Residences: Living Conditions of D-community

4.1 Who are living in this community?

Firstly, according to the outcomes of the questionnaire, it is found that the elder residents here are mainly healthy and young elders, generally younger than 75, who are nearly 80% of total residents. Their education level is much higher than the average of elders in Beijing.

It is also found that on the one hand there are quite a few middle-ages in their fifties purchase houses here because they will retire soon. On the other hand there are some two-elderly-generation families, including several long life residents over 100 years old. The residents also include a number of employees of some companies nearby. Thus it is evidential that on the age composition young elders are the main part of the community and it is a mixed retirement community with all ages as well.

Secondly, with respect to family structure more than 60% of the families are empty nests with one old couple besides few single elder households (Figure 4). And over three-quarter families only have one or two children. Moreover over half of total families have no more than one child living in Beijing and some ones have no child living near. The main purpose of their children's visit is to get together only except for few household taken care by their children with several visits every month. So it is shown that most elder families here do not obtain cares from their children.

Thirdly, the education level of residents here is much higher than the average of elders in Beijing. The residents having university education are the most at 38% and resident educated over junior college account to 77% of total. With respect to the occupation before the retirement techno-professional is the most, 39% of total, followed by office clerk, civil servant and teacher. It is obvious that these new middle classes in China cities are the main body of this community, which matches the sale orientation of the real estate developer, which is for high education and high income. At the same time, the class composition leans to participate in community activities zealously and develop their own community culture.

Their former houses before moving to D-community mainly concentrated at the northeast part of Beijing city, near to D-community and with convenient transportation. (Figure 5)

4.2 Why do they move to D-community?

The former houses of the residents before moving to D-community mainly concentrated at the northeast part between Second Ring road and Fourth Ring road of Beijing city, near to D-community and connected to throughway. Thus it should be carefully considered of transportation and orientation when locating new built retirement communities in suburb areas. (Figure 5)

As to the reason of moving, 98% of residents like elegant environment here. Barrier free and community activities are also important reasons. (Figure 6). Low building density and stories, open space and nice green provide a plenty of outdoors activity grounds. According to the questionnaire walking is the most popular daily exercise for the old people, which is supported by safe walk system and pretty environment. Green, cleanliness and safety are the three most satisfactory environment factors regarded by the residents here.

More than half objects will continue to live here but better elderly care is expected. (Figure 7)

4.3 How do they evaluate the community facilities?

When evaluating the life service facilities the residents answer of "not very satisfactory and not satisfactory" occupies larger proportion (Figure 8). The main reason could be taken for that almost all service facilities provide by developer alone so they are limited in quantity and variety. Furthermore there are few other available service recourses nearby. Next, most houses are in occupancy only on weekends and the ratio of residing perennially is not high enough to keep the business of some shops or restaurants continuous. Especially the most critical opinion focuses on the lack of community medical service that is thought to be the firstly provided service in a retirement community by all residents.

As to the exercise and entertainment facilities, with a relatvely high usage, the evaluation of most residents is positive while lower expense is expected considering consumption level of retired persons. In addition it meets the needs of most investigated objects that a variety of community activities are carried out by Community Services Company or by the residents themselves. Moreover many old people look forward for more especial elderly care such as visiting service of medical or housekeeping and emergency help, etc. (Table 3,4,5)

To conclude, the quantity and quality of hardware facilities offered by REDC in D-community is on a high level; but the services and management quality cannot make the residents satisfied

5. D-SSEH：Its pattern and the relationship among stakeholders

5.1 D-SSEH is led and set up by the REDC of D-community. (Table 6)

   1) At the beginning of the D-community, only basic SSEH services were provided by the REDC through PMC and residents circles. The first characteristic is the services could not fulfill the elders' needs. Therefore many elders bought houses but did not move to live in D-community. The second characteristic is that the REDC wanted benefits so many services are charged services and the fee were more expensive than that in other communities in Beijing.

   2) Accompanying to the community construction and increasing of resident number, the REDC solved some problems through negotiating with Beijing government. The government made new policy for commercial community built in rural area to solve urgent problems, for example setting up post office and bank office, etc. The support of government made the community services more abundant. On the other hand, the residents used the facilities provided by REDC and PMC or the activities organized by REDC to set up several amusement circles. The circle members also discussed how to improve the SSEH. Finally several Residential Organizations (RO) were set up. The RO is most close to elders and is able to collect elders' needs. At the same time, the RO takes part in the activities organized by government and set up connections with government so that they can obtain government support to help the improvement of SSEH.

   3) The set up to D-community RC indicates that the government factor was introduced into the D-community. According to Chinese law, a RC should be set in a community. It is administrated by Jiedaobanshichu (Chinese: 街道办事处, the lowest level administrative subdivision) and takes in charge of transferring government policy to community residents. In a general community, RC is the government-representing organization that is most close to residents. Generally the staffs in a RC are the residents living in the community. They communicate much with all community residents and are easy to help residents and obtain the trusts of residents. But in the newly developed D-community, the staffs of RC are not the residents of D-community. They do not communicate much with the residents and have not yet gained the trust of residents. Their work need to be improved.

5.2 Stakeholders in D-SSEH (Figure 9)

1) Market: REDC, PMC, and Club
D-community is a newly developed commercial house estate and locates in the suburb

of Beijing surrounded by rural district and forest. Two aspects of influence to the community are caused by the surroundings.

First, REDC had to take charge of every community service by itself at the beginning of the community because there was no RC then. Everything related to residents was handled by the PMC. All the services, including hotel, restaurant, conference, health care, sports, amusement, elder college, etc., were provided by the D-Community club affiliated to the REDC. These organizations share the nice view of the community and provide funds for environmental maintenance.

Second, because the community locates in rural district, the facilities generally constructed in an urban community, such as medical facility, post office, public transportation and commercial facilities, were not constructed from the beginning. The facilities are set up gradually by the REDC and government. Supermarket shop, restaurant and amusement facilities are constructed by the REDC. Post office and bank office are set up by the cooperation of REDC, government and other public organizations.

2) Community: Resident Organization (RO) Accompanying to the increase of residents, PMC organized a serial of amusement activities, such as New Year party, singing circle, dancing circle, sports circle etc. PMC provides place and funds and participants also need to pay a part of fee. Residents also set up some circles by themselves. Resident organization denotes to the elder support system mainly in two aspects. One is that some circles, for example singing circle, have high performance level and are often invited to perform by local government. Through these activities the connection between government and residents is strengthened and government can know more about the community requirements. The other is that the resident relations are improved by attending these activities so that the residents can help each other and communicate to handle some community issues. The function of RO exceeds the scope of amusement.

3) Government: RC and Public Service Organization
Accompanying to the increase of residents and the operation of the community, the local government set up a RC. Different to traditional RC, the staffs of the RC are not the residents of this community. They live in other places far from this community therefore they are not close to the residents and are not so trusted by residents as other traditional communities. Therefore the RC in D-Community does not function much in the daily community affairs.[*6)]

Medical Treatment Station (MTS): In all the public services, the most difficult and mostly cause the elders' attention is the set up of a MTS. Although the REDC promised to set up a MTS, it cannot do it by itself. The supports of government and health department are needed. According to the current policies and rules, the basic heath facilities provided by local government should be configured on two or three neighborhoods level

in urban areas and on one village level in country areas. Although D-community is so large in size as to hold nearly 2000 households in the first and second phases, it only occupies one unit part of the original village legally, whose address is named X village No. 1. Therefore D-community can not reach the standard of heath facilities configuration so that it can not get the finance and staffs from government resources. It is found that REDC should collaborate with local government and health department actively to set up community medical facility by changing the land use level. Moreover, it is necessary to collaborate with relational parties and acute, active response to the new situation resulted from new housing system. At last, until November 2007 was the D-Community MTS built up.[*7)]

To sum up, in D-Community the organizations related to elder care at home include REDC, PMC and club, RO, government, and government built organizations, such as RC and MTS.

5.3 The Inspirations of D-SSEH

D-community is one of the newly appeared community types under the situation of the reforming of housing system and population ageing in cities. D-community is developed facing to the elderly people, which is the key point that decides whether D-SSEH is set up and whether it acts effectively. There are some inspirations that are drawn from its experiences for the same kind of communities in the future.

Based on the characteristics of D-community that the real estate developer provides houses and relevant services and facilities, it is found that D-SSEH is gradually formed under the leading of REDC. The concrete affairs of D-SSEH are taken in charge by PMC and club, which are both subordinate companies of REDC. On one hand they provide facilities and services within the community, On the other hand they organize and cultivate various kinds of residential organizations (CRO) around all community residents. But limited to policies or embarrassed by the new appearance of this kind of community REDC manages to cooperate to local government and related departments in order to solve some issues beyond its duty. Recently the basic administrative community organization, Community Residential Committee (RC) has been sent here according to new community management rule, which is expected to be able to operate SSEH well like it acts in most communities of urban areas.

In the process of nearly four years' development, until the end of 2007, D-SSEH is set up basically by the leading of REDC with the assistance of residential organizations, government and RC. It is evidential that the services are of satisfactory to most community residents. Although the model of D-SSEH, as a developer leading type, still has lots of problems to be regulated and improved continually in the further, it does enlighten more and more commercial residential communities with inspirational meaning of its creation and innovation in China.

6. Conclusions

1) The real estate development plan can fulfill the requirements of both REDC and elder house buyers. Most elder residents are satisfied to the living environments of the D-community, which is the main reason why the houses in this community can be sold well. This shows that private interests can be in conformity with the needs of public realm.

2) The SSEH can be set up in a commercial developed community to meet elders living requirements if the REDC or PMC can provide and adjust some services suitable for elders.

3) Some issues need to be solved to make SSEH work better. For example, in this case the MTS is not well configured because a REDC does not have the right to configure a medical facility so that for many years a medical treatment building is constructed in the community but there are no doctors and nurses. This shows that it is very important to harmonize the private interests with the resources of public realm. The current public resources configuration method in Beijing needs to be reformed to exterminate the barriers to the effective use of public resources.

4) D-SSEH could be a model for future commercial developing communities. Both its advantages and disadvantages might give inspirations for the new comers.

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Notes

*1) Abbreviations in this Paper

Abbreviation	Meanings in English	Chinese Character
-	elder care at home	居家养老
REDC	Real Estate Development Company	房地产开发公司
PMC	Property Management Company	物业管理公司
-	Club	俱乐部
RO	Resident Organization	居民组织
RC	Resident Committee	居委会
MTS	Medical Treatment Station	医疗服务机构
SSEH	Supporting System for the Elderly at Home	居家养老支援体系
D-SSEH	Supporting System for the Elderly at Home in D-community	D社区居家养老支援体系

*2) The Open of Dongfangtaiyangcheng Hospital (东方太阳城医院开业),
http://www.sunhome.com.cn/home.asp#

*3) Zan Qingwen. The Marketing Way to Solve the Aged Problem Base on the oriental Sun City.
(Beijing, CHINA: Thesis for the Master's Degree, Renmin University of China, 2003: p18)

*4) According to Chinese law, the PMC of newly developed community firstly is appointed by the REDC.
After the community RC is set up, the PMV should be appointed by the RC.

*5) Elder college consists of Taiji Sword, Folding Fan Dance, Drum Dance, Ballet, Sing, Chinese Dance,
Golf, Swimming, Bowling, Badminton, Table Tennis, Tennis, Computer, etc. Indoor activities are
conducted in Elder College in management building. The indoor sports are conducted in the gymnasium.

*6）Whether RC can be reformed to adopt D-community residents, or the RC can actively attend the
community affairs need further investigation.

*7) D-community hospital has floor area of 2200 m^2 and 20 beds. It consists of 15 departments of
internal, surgery, emergency, laboratory, radiology, genecology, orthopedics, otorhinolaryngology,
physical therapy, Chinese medicine, B ultrasonic, electrocardiogram. It was built up by the cooperation of
ministry of health, organization department of central government, the academy of science, Beijing health
department, and Shunyi district government.

Appendix

Figure1.Condition of Ageing in Beijing
(People over the age of 60)
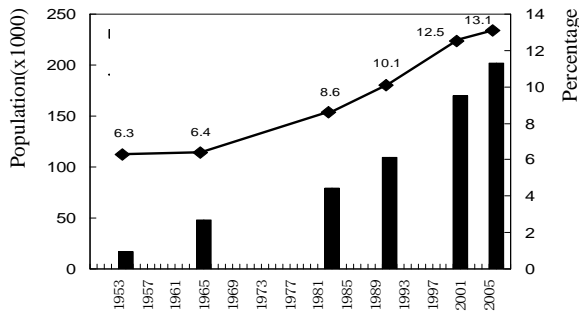
Figure 3.
Location of D-community

Figure 2.Site Plan of D-community
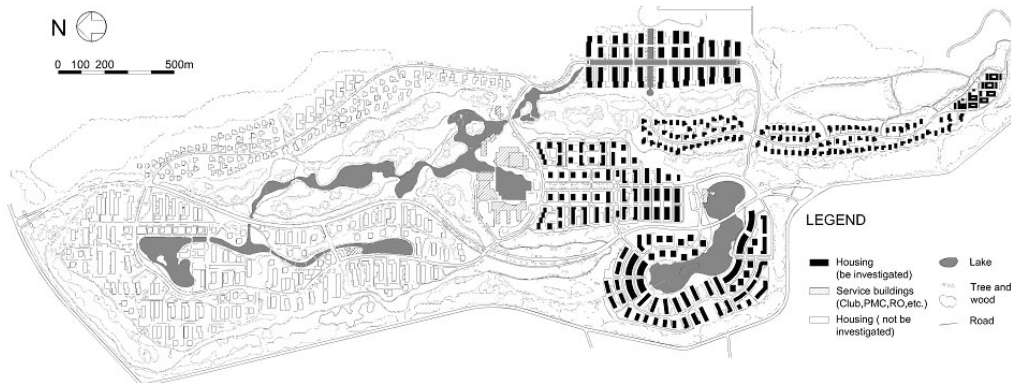
Figure 8. Satisfaction Degree of Elderly to Community Facilities
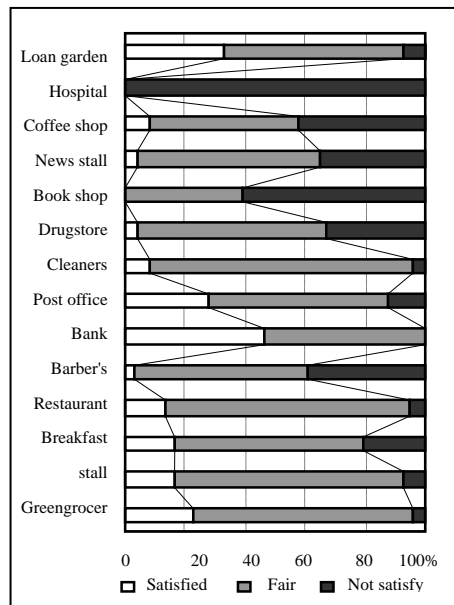
Figure 6. Reasons to move here (plural replies) n＝51
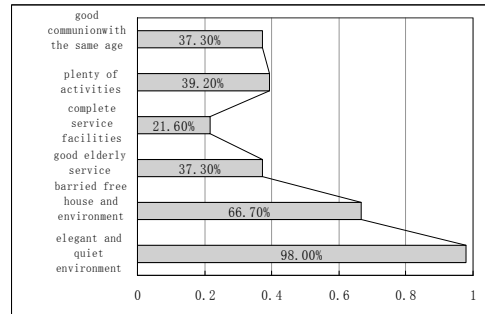
Figure 7. Dwelling will in future (plural replies) n＝53
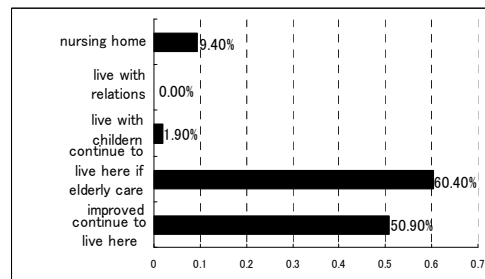
Figure 4. Age Composition of Investigated Elderly by Children
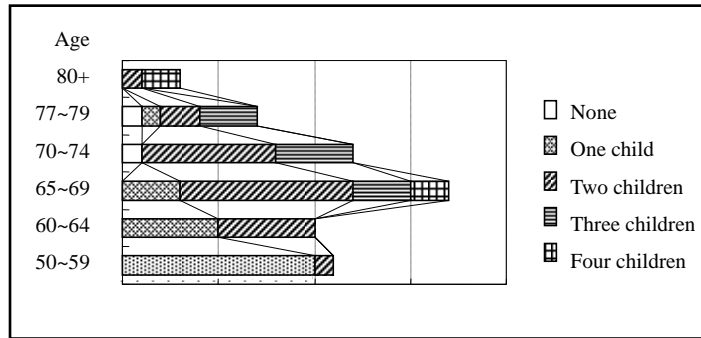
Figure 5.
House Location Before Move here

● 1 household   ● 2 households   ● 4households   ● second house   n=31

Figure 9. The Stakeholders in D-community and their Relationship
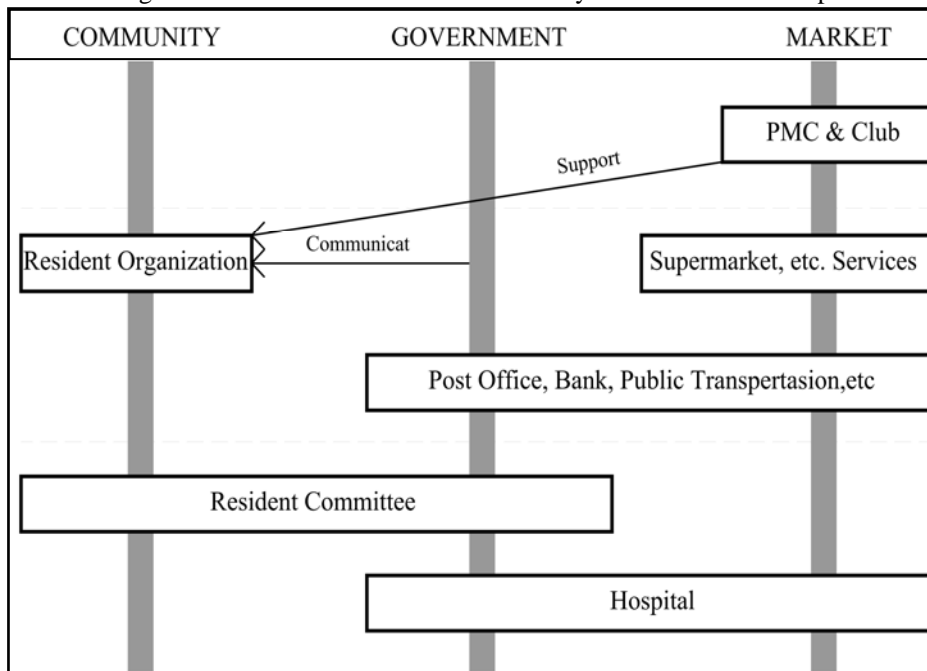
Table 1. Investigated Objects Amount   (person)

	Family (household)	Person		
		Male	Female	Total
Deliver item	126	126	126	252
Answer item	35	34	33	67
Answer ratio	28%	27%	26%	27%
Valid answer	34	30	31	61

Table 2. Technology index

Site area	2,340,000 m^2
Gross floor area	700,000 m^2
1st Stage Project(2003)	125,000 m^2
2nd Stage Project (2005)	240,000 m^2
3rd Stage Project (2007)	300,000 m^2
Household	～4000
Floor-area ratio	0.29
Ratio of green space	80%

Table 6. Pattern of D-community SSEH

Pattern of D-community SSEH	Analyses
	At the beginning, only market acted in D-community. The PMC and Club provided daily services.
	Then RO appeared. It was supported by the PMC and Club, and mainly self-organized by community residents. It has communication with local government occasionally.
	Up until now, a SSEH leading by market factor emerges in D-community.

Table 3.　Free Opinion on Community Service

Number	Gender*	Environment management					facilities				house		safety		Traffic		Service company		correspond		other	
		Green space	Waterscape	Clean	Pet	Reform	Medical	Entertainment	Expense	Free grounds	Equipment	Repair	Parking	Security	Public	Special	staffs	Service	Traffic noises	Surrounding	Barber's	Loan garden
01	F1																					
02	M1																					
03	F2																					
04	M2																					
05	F3																					
06	M3																					
07	F4																					
08	M5																					
09	F6																					
10	M6																					
11	F7																					
12	M7																					
13	M9																					
14	M11																					
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37	M27																					
38	F29																					
39	M29																					
40	F30																					
41	M30																					
42	F31																					
43	M32																					
44	F33																					
45	F34																					
46	F35																					
47	M35																					

Legend: *Gender: F-wife, M-husband, Number-Family number
　　　　■Satisfied　　　■ not satisfy

Table 4.　Free Opinions on Elderly Care at Home (n=32)

Family Number	Age*	Gender**	Involved Aspects											
			House	Facilities	Shopping	Medical service	Activity grounds	Expense	Communication	management	services	Developer	Environment	Others
01		F		○		○	○					○		○
		M					○					○		
02		F				○								
		M			○	○								
03		F						○		○				
		M		○		○								
04		F				○			○				○	
05		M				○	○							
06		F				○		○		○				
		M				○		○		○				
07		C												○
09		M			○	○	○							
11		M								○			○	
16		F	▲	▲	▲	○	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲
		M				○			○					
17		M	○	○	▲					○	○			
18		F	▲	▲	▲	○	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲
21		F				○								
		M				○								
22		F				○		○						
23		F										○		
		M										○	○	
24		F				○						○		
		M				○						○		
25		M				○		○		○	○			○
29		F				○		○				○		
		M				○								
30		F				○								
		M				○								
31		F				○								○
35		F				○	○	○				○		
		M				○	○							

Legend: ○ negative opinion ▲ positive opinion
*Age:　50-59　60-64　65-69　70-74　75-79　80+
**Gender: F-wife, M-husband, C-couple

Table 5. Typical Opinions on Elderly Care at Home (n=32)

	Medical service	Activity grounds	Infrastructure
Facilities• House• Environment	The problem of hospital must be settled urgently, otherwise many elders have to remove. This is the most important in planning elderly community.*01-F* Must set up hospital or out-patient department as fast as possible to settle the urgent service such as pharmacy, injection and assay.*03 －M* Except medical, everything here is satisfactory. A health station not a big hospital is required in which injection, emergency help can be provided. A seasoned charge nurse could be competent.*18-F*	There is no free place for old people in the club. Old people and salary-person cannot afford to it.*01-F* Amusement place can be used to communicate. But now it is canceled by the developer.（When we moved in, we can chatted, played chess and card there, and have a lot of fun. Everybody is disappointment when it was canceled.）*05-M*	The gas system is not connected with the city gas system. So the price here is higher than down town. And it would be no supply time to time.*01*-F
			Public Traffic
			It is not convenient to go down town by public traffic from here. The line and time are both too long.*04-F*
			Environment
			The lake water should be more clear here.*11-M*
	Expense	Management	Elderly Service
Management•Service	PMC service is tooexpensive.*03 －F* It would be better if the service price may be lowed down. Because our pensions are not so much.*22 －F* The amusement places in community cost too much for those old people who live here and depending on pensions. We wish to pay less for each time.*29-F*	The service establishment is not enough according to the contects.*03 －F* The environment quality should be improved a ot.11-M The visiting service system should be better. *23-F*	A nursing center is needed in the third period of construction, as the nest families increasing.*07-C* The cost of elder restaurant should be lower than 5 yuan; retired old people are so weak to be assisted.*25-M* SOS must be put into effect especial at night to assure safe to elders.*17-M*
Developer	Elderly communities only be planned by government because that only government could consider common people and any enterprise runs based on profit. Enterprises have no social responsibility.*01-M* No free activity grounds and everything is charged. Chess room, activity room and elderly school aim at profit now which were promised to be free of charge by developer.*35-F*		
Other	Totally this community is satisfactory.*16-F* Continue to carry forward its adventages.*11-M*		

Nantong: how an individual influenced city planning

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1.   Introduction

1.1   Zhang Jian and Nantong Model County

In Chinese modern history, Zhang Jian (Fig.1) is well known for his urban construction work done in Nantong. It was regarded that Zhang Jian's achievements depended on Nantong and modern Nantong's developments depended on Zhang Jian's direction (Uetsuka, p47).

Zhang Jian obtained the "Number One Scholar" (in Chinese Zhuangyuan,   , the one got the best score in the annual imperial civil service examination) title in the national exam of Qing dynasty in 1894. From then on, Zhang Jian became an officer in the central government. Less than one year later he left the central government being disappointed in the politics of central government, and went back to his hometown Nantong in Jiangsu (   ) province. There he conducted a wide range of city development including urban construction by the thoughts of "self-government". Tong prefecture (in Chinese Tongzhou   , which is renamed to Nantong county in 1911, and to Nantong city in 1949) was located at the north bank of Yangtze River (   ) and the west coast of Yellow Sea (Fig.2). Modern Nantong shows special experience in China for it was mostly planned and constructed by a Chinese person, Zhang Jian, compared to most other Chinese cities remained feudalistic mode or some foreign settlement cities were mainly planned by foreigners.

Zhang Jian founded the modern industry, agricultural, commerce and education system, etc. (Fig.3) in Nantong County and Tonghai region, and made it a modern city through the efforts of himself and people around him (his students, friends, and staffs in his companies). Nantong thus was called "model county (   )" by Chinese media in 1914 for its comprehensive construction in city infrastructure and social system, which motivated him much more to continue city development in Nantong.

From 1895 to 1926, led by Zhang Jian, Nantong became a "model county," then a "model city", which consisted of a new downtown with an array of modern institutions, western style buildings, paved roads, and public parks, showing the appearance of an advanced modern city.

Modern Nantong was featured of the structure of One-City-Three-Towns (, Fig.4): the city zone (old urban area,   , was the area for education and commerce), Tangzha (was mainly the area of industry and company town), Tiansheng Port (, was the area of transportation), and Langshan (, was the area for leisure

and sightseeing). The four parts formed the Nantong County. Four arteries connected them together. This structure continues in use till now.

Furthermore, Nantong's special development was not limited to the city area. It took place in the rural Tonghai (   ) region as well. The broad planning of Lianghuai Saltern and Cultivate area (   ) benefited regional spatial planning in new town network forming, population growing, and regional infrastructure system construction.

Fig.1 Zhang Jian in 1895
Source:Zhang,Xuwu, ed.(2004). Zhang Jian, p40

Fig.2 The Location of Nantong
Source: Shao, Qin.(2004). Culturing Modernity. p1

Quantity of Items

	Education	Industry	Agriculture	Residential Building	Commerce	Trafic	Civicism	Beneficense	Landscape
1895 1903	2	5	2	0	0	3	0	0	0
1904 1912	14	7	2	0	5	10	3	1	0
1913 1921	13	10	19	13	16	12	4	9	10
1922 1926	4	1	1	4	3	3	0	3	2
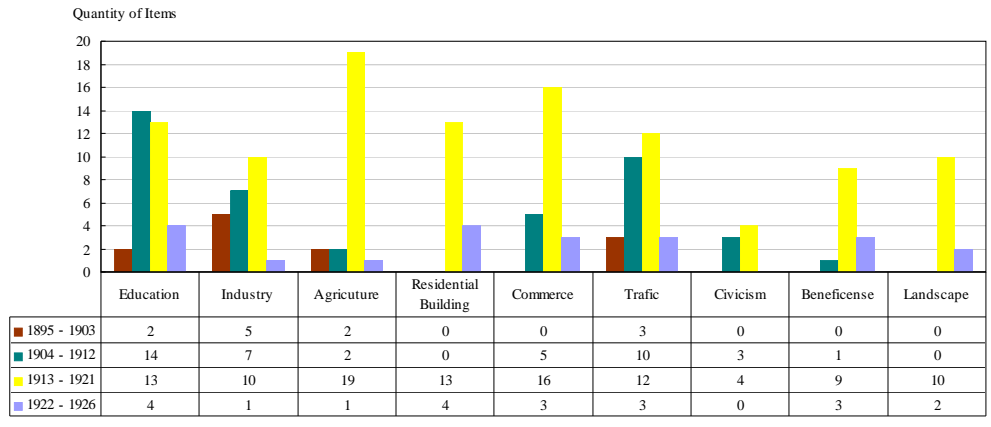
Fig.3 Construction Items in the Four Phases
(According to the Chronological Table)

Fig.4 One City and Three Towns

1.2   Purpose of this paper

As Zhang Jian was not a government officer responsible for city development, this paper focuses on the motivation of his efforts in city construction and by what means he managed to gain the power in land use and city development.

1.3   Research approach

During the last 10-20 years, many researches are conducted on Zhang Jian and Nantong in the fields of history, sociology, economy and law, etc., which make plenty of literatures available. Thus this paper uses the methods of literature-review and expert-interview to search the answers to fulfill the research purpose.

This paper begins with a glance at Zhang Jian's professional experiences, which influenced his later social activities much. Then the reasons of Zhang Jian throwing him into the local city development are analyzed, which may contribute to later analysis on his power-gaining. Finally the paper discusses how he obtained the power.

2.   Zhang Jian's professional experiences

This part introduces the main professional experiences of Zhang. Both his working experiences in central government and the dignitaries with whom he worked with are the key points of his later power gaining in Nantong city development.

In the period before 1894, Zhang worked as the secretary in central government. This experience helped him extend his sight besides ancient books he learned and write some famous articles. Those articles caused Weng Tonghe's (, 1830-1904) attention, which conduced to his success in 1894's imperial civil service examination. Since 1895, during his business activities, the title of the "Number One Scholar" and his relations with dignitaries helped him in funding, buying equipments and dealing with the human relations. He gradually became a powerful gentleman in local affairs. He could influence the determinations of important issue in Nantong with the support of local government and even could influence the personnel configuration of local government to maintain this supporting (Zhang Jian, 1918, Preface). Since 1911, Zhang became more powerful in Nantong as he and his family members directly occupied important positions of Nantong, including the military position.

2.1   Before 1894

Zhang Jian devoted to the civil service examination from his teenage to his forties. Before 1894, he worked firstly as a secretary for Sun Yunjin (in Chinese   head of Jiangning Taxation Bureau), then for Wu Changqing (in Chinese   commander of Huai Troops). He went to Korea with the troop in 1882 and wrote a famous Memorial to the Throne (in Chinese   ) (*The Six Policies on dealing with Problems arising from Korean Renwu Mutiny*, in Chinese   ) on the policy of solving Renwu

Mutiny (in Chinese   ) there. This article and Zhang's excellent mediatory work during his stay in Korea was very much appreciated by Weng Tonghe, the Grand Minister of State, which is said to be the reason for Zhang Jian's success in the imperial civil service examination. In any case, the recognizing from Weng and later working with him was propitious to Zhang Jian and benefited him much in his promoting and enterprise, in both experience and human relations.

2.2   1894-1895

In 1894, Zhang Jian won the Number One Scholar in the imperial civil service examination. This is the turning point of his life. He was appointed the Editor of Imperial College (   ) and he here from entered the gentlemen class of the Chinese society then. Even after his backing to his hometown, Tongzhou, in 1895 without any official position from the Central Government, the identity of the Number One Scholar kept him in the gentlemen class.

2.3   1895-1911

In 1895, Zhang Jian's father died so he left the central government and went back to Nantong to go in the mourning for his father. By the commission of Zhang Zhidong (in Chinese   1837-1909), the Governor-General of Hunan and Hubei Province (in Chinese   ), Zhang Jian took in charge of establishing the civil corps of Tonghai region (in Chinese   ). This offered him opportunity of implementing a duty under the central governor's commission and obtaining the assistance of local governors and gentlemen. It also helped him to enter the network of central government, local government, and local gentlemen and to exercise how to handle things among them. From then on Zhang Jian kept close relationship with Liu Kunyi (in Chinese   ) and Wei Guangtao (in Chinese   ), the successors of Zhang Zhidong, both of whom gave him important help in his business later.

The Sino-Japanese War lasting from 1894 to 1895 directly accelerated Zhang Jian's founding modern industry, agriculture and commercial in Nantong in local level based on the effort of local elites. From then on, he mainly dedicated himself to the local affairs of city construction and just accepted official positions occasionally on his interests on commercial or water conservancy enterprise. Such as in 1899 he was the consulting official of Bureau of Academic, in 1904 the top consulting official of Bureau of Commercial, etc.

Besides the positions in government, Zhang Jian occupied many positions in social institutes during the later years of the Qing Dynasty, such as the president of Jiangsu Academy Institute (in Chinese   ), the director of Zhendan College (in Chinese   later Fudan University   , Shanghai) (1905), the president of Preparative Constitutionality Association (in Chinese   )(1906), the prolocutor of Jiangsu Parliament (in Chinese   ), the president of Jiangsu Education Institute (in Chinese   ) (1909), etc. These positions showed the social

recognition of his achievement in local businesses within the province area and might benefit him.

2.4   1911-1926

1911 is a tuning point in Chinese history. It saw the over of more than 2000 years of dynasty history and the entrance of Republican China era. Zhang Jian visited Japan in 1903 and changed his political standpoint to supporting constitutionalism after coming back from Japan. So he was commissioned the Ministry of Industry in the Interim Government of the Republic of China (in Chinese   , 1911) and later the ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Business (1913-1915). These positions all lasted for a short period because of the different opinions between him and President Yuan Shikai (in Chinese   ). Again he focused on local construction business and took charge of constructing the canal of Jiangsu (1919), Wusong Commercial Port (in Chinese   , 1921-1923), etc.

3.   Zhang Jian and his power

3.1   Why was Zhang Jian interested in City Development?

Zhang Jian felt fully disappointed with the central government after the "Treaty of Shimonoseki (in Chinese   )" was signed between Qing court and the Japanese government in 1895. In order to stop foreigners' economic invasion, together with other elites all over the county, Zhang Jian began his lifelong practice of "saving the country by developing industry" in his home town Nantong (Zhang, Xuwu. ed. *Zhang Jian*. 2004. p217). Thus Zhang Jian planned to build a "rudiment of new world (in Chinese   )" in Nantong to be a model for other counties to follow (Zhang Jian. 1911. *On history of Tong Hai Cultivation Company* (in Chinese   ) *in the first stockholder's meeting, Zhang Jian Quan Ji*. (edit by Cao Congpo et al.) ,1994, Vol.3, p387). In his paper *Shun was an Industrial Politics* (Zhang Jian. 1904, *Zhang Jian Quan Ji*. (edit by Cao Congpo et al.) ,1994, Vol.5, p151), Zhang Jian put forward his thoughts of "to be village, to be state, then to be capital (in Chinese   )", which reflects his broad planning of local, province and country area.

So he participated in all issues relating to city development, from developing industry, agriculture and commercial businesses to construction schools (including school for blind and mute children, for poor people, for women, and for adults etc.), hospitals, rest homes, parks, roads, sports ground, theater, museum, library, etc. Actually it seems like that Zhang Jian wanted to build a whole Nantong city.

3.2   How did Zhang Jian get the power?

At that time in China, the lands were private or belonged to the government. It is interesting that how Zhang Jian got the authority for land use and all those construction items during the city development progress in modern Nantong. Basically every piece of the lands was bought, although some of them were free of charge. The detailed answer

for this question can be found through reviewing the development history of Nantong, which can be divided into the following four phases.

3.2.1 Phase 1. 1895-1903: Government-supporting

In this period a series of single items were constructed, including Da Sheng Cotton Mill (in Chinese   , 1895), Tongzhou Normal School (in Chinese   , 1902), and Tong Hai Cultivation Company (1901), which were the first industrial, educational and agricultural items. They are the bases of modern Nantong city planning.
Da Sheng Cotton Mill was a stock company for which central government financial supporting was obtained. Its land was near to old Nantong city and was bought from private with no much trouble. Tong Hai Cultivation Company was also a stock company but its location was far away from old Nantong city and the land owership was so complicated that even the government could do little to help Zhang Jian in solving the entanglement. The conflict between the company and former landlords lasted for about eight years. Tongzhou Normal School was set in the site of a scraped temple. By then the government allowed people to found new style schools use some scraped temples, so it did not need money but government permission to use the land. The fund for building school was supported by Da Sheng Cotton Mill. A certain proportion of income of this company was used to support local education or other social enterprises from the very beginning of its foundation. It was Zhang Jian's idea that "education is father and industry is mother".

To sum up, in the first period of modern Nantong's construction, Zhang Jian mainly used money earned by his companies to support other parts of his entire plan. The officers of central government helped him in capital and in dealing with relationships with local government.

3.2.2 Phase 2. 1904-1911: Institution-setting

Zhang Jian conducted a field investigation on Japan's agriculture and education in 1903 and returned with a new idea of "self-government" instead of his former "village-ism", which became his useful academic tool to deal with relations with local government.

In name of self- government, many institutions were set up by Zhang Jian in this period to help him enlarge his enterprise. The institutions such as the Commercial Association, Education Association, Water Conservancy Association, and Flood Control Association, etc. just took care of their own businesses at beginning. But some of them became local forces later. For example, in 1899 Zhang Jian set Factory-Militia in order to safeguard the factories and businesses of him. Later it became Industry Security Crops that was admitted by the government. At last, this Industry Security Crops took charge of some duties of local police. So Zhang Jian's influence was gradually filtered into more and more local affairs.

So in this period, Zhang Jian founded institutions to manage his businesses; some of them had new functions of implementing the government's duties.

3.2.3 Phase 3. 1912-1921: Government- infiltrating

On one hand, at the turning point of social change, Zhang Jian's elder brother Zhang Cha (in Chinese   ) became the general of local military. And Zhang Jian might influence many local governors appointment and dismissing. By this way, he can select those persons who had the same idea with him to occupy useful positions so as to help him in important policies' decision. Thus in some degree Zhang Jian's opinions became the government's. Zhang Xiaoruo, the only son of Zhang Jian, founded Nantong Self-government Institute in 1921 following the western style.

On the other hand, as Zhang Jian's businesses went to its high tide, he accumulated his prestige in local, regional, and country range. This gave him additional power in local businesses. For example, he planned to build a road system within the Tong Hai region area. So he called together some gentlemen to discuss, subscribe, and share the duty. Then they publicized their planning and put forward the detail, blueprint, and needs, such as labor, land, etc. Afterwards, to their surprise they even got some lands for free and so did some labors.

To sum up, during this period, Zhang Jian gradually grasped the real power in Nantong through his and his brother's position in central and local government. Whenever they had some idea to do something, they discussed and planned firstly and then submitted it to the local government to request for authority with the name of self-government. This kind of power is not very reasonable but it did benefit local people with a broad construction of the road network and school network within Tong Hai region, parks, bus system, water supply system, and many other cultural and urban infrastructures.

3.2.4 Phase 4. 1922-1926: Power-declining

Due to Zhang Jian's random using of the power and the capital of Da Sheng Company, Nantong's economic circumstance went flinty accompanying to the changing of outside market. Not only the power of influencing Nantong city, but also the power within his Da Sheng Company turned to be weak. Together with his death in 1926, the times of Zhang in Nantong passed away too. (Fig. 5 Zhang Jian's Power Development in the Four Phases)

3.2.5 Brief Summary

Zhang Jian in Nantong is a special example of individually participating in city planning under a kind of unusual circumstance. His power is beyond normal range especially in nowadays society. There were also other similar examples in China in those days, such as Lu Zuofu(in Chinese   ) in Beibei (in Chinese   ), Sichuan (in Chinese   ) province; Ha Rui (in Chinese   ) in Xining (in Chinese   ), Ningxia (in Chinese   ) province; Huang Yizhu (in Chinese   ) in Xiamen (in Chinese   ), Fujian (in Chinese   ) province, etc. All of these show that if a person cares about the city construction issues, and tries to do something on it, more or less, he can obtain some

power to make some influence on politics, society and economy in the time. The key points are: first of all, d you care? second, have you gone for it?
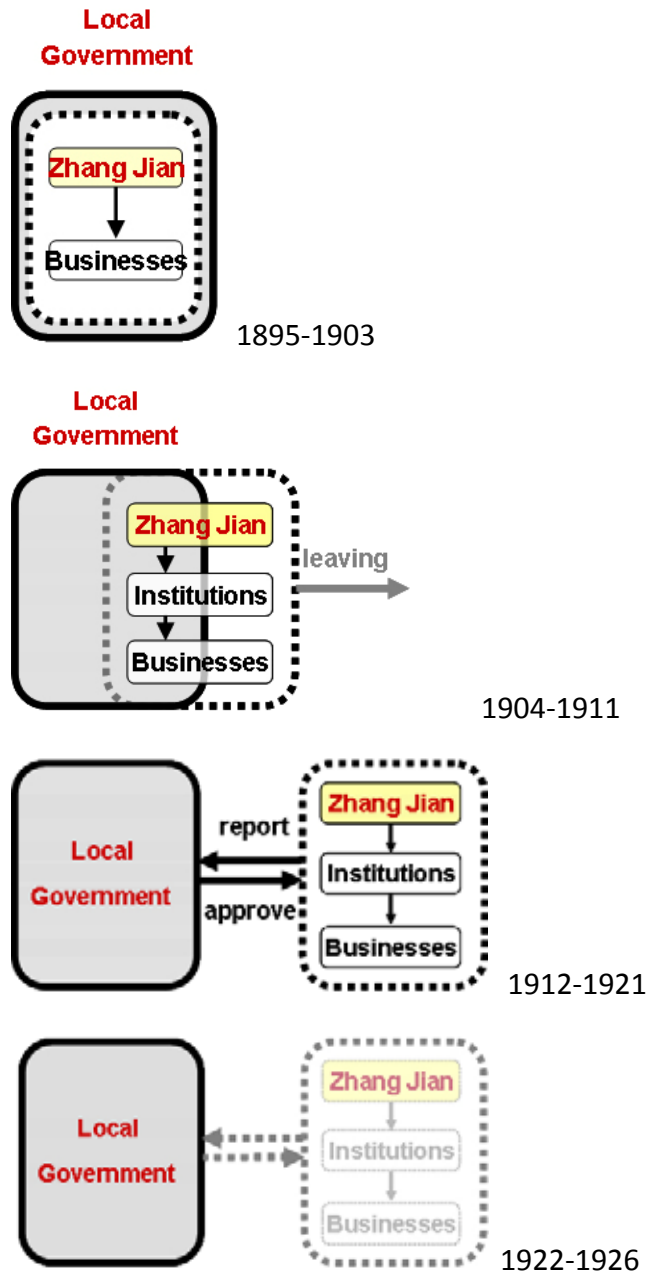
Fig. 5 Zhang Jian's Power Evolvement in the Four Phases

4.   Conclusions

1   Zhang Jian continued the role of gentleman of traditional China. In the meanwhile, he learned the advanced thoughts such as self-government from Japan. Finally, through official relations he accumulated from his own professional experience, in the economic way of starting companies, and by the social means of self-government, he gained the power of conducting city planning and city development. The power even could influence the appointment and dismissing of local officials so that contributed to the spreading the thought of self-government.

2   Although the practice of Zhang Jian in Nantong (1885-1926) is a specific case, its meaning is far-reaching. Besides the government officials taking charge of city planning, everyone has the right and could obtain power to participate in city construction. If people want to influence city planning efficiently, firstly they should have a strong desire and then they need to make efforts to use social resources as much as possible. With these two conditions they can own corresponding power.

Note:

1. All figures without marking source are drawn by the author.
2. This research is supported by Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS).

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Two different approaches to planned tourism development in Mexico

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Introduction

Throughout the past 3 decades there have been changes in the political and economic scene in Mexico that have modified the way in which Central Government has encountered sustainability in the tourism development process on the coasts.

A major top-down comprehensive planning process in Cancun[1] could be said to be unique in tourism planning history in Mexico, not only for its economic success at national level but also for the planning methodology that has been developed from this case. This article will draw on the circumstances that have made Cancun case study develop from a top-down strategy and the consequences. It will show the way the planning agency has prepared and set the scene to invite the private sector become part of the development process.

Given the fact that there was not any human settlement or strong local organisation for tourism before the arrival of the planning agency to the site where Cancun sits today, in the beginning the process in Cancun has been very much oriented to creation, innovation and implementation by Central Government.

The Nayarit case study differs from the first case not only in location but in budgetary resources and in stage of the development process at local level. There are existing features in Nayarit that impinge on the development of the new tourism development such as local organisations, existing human settlements and on-going tourism dynamics. The development process in Nayarit emerges from a local initiative and relies on private sector. However the process in Nayarit could still be considered a top-down initiative as Central Government guides the process though it has a strong bottom-up input. In this way, Central Government could be able to focus more on punctual interventions and strategic moves to reorder and support the on-going tourism synergies on site.

Tourism planning in Mexico

The introduction of tourism in any region has been widely recognised for its contribution to the activation of economy, the expansion of employment and the reduction of poverty[2]. Generally speaking, local economic processes become activated by the arrival of tourists in any place. Tourism, especially in decaying regions, has been used as a strategic tool for fostering development.

Until the early 1970's, massive tourism on Mexican beaches have evolved in a non-planned manner in the most important national ports. Tourism activity has begun as a secondary activity in places such as Acapulco, Veracruz, Manzanillo, Puerto Vallarta

and Mazatlan. These ports started to receive visitors not only for business purposes but also for relaxation and well-being. Deterioration of the natural resources and the landscape came when the arrival of a massive influx of tourists exceeded the capacity of the scarce infrastructure for tourism purposes[3] .

As a reaction to this kind of un-controlled tourism growth and in order to reverse the out-migration and the decaying trends in certain regions in Mexico, the Ministry of Tourism has elaborated a strategy to encourage massive tourism sustainable development through the creation of ex-novo tourism resorts in remote places with adequate infrastructural premises for the allocation of tourists[4].

In 1974, Central Government through the Bank of Mexico has launched a trust fund called FONATUR (National Trust Fund for Tourist Development) which collaborates with the Ministry of Tourism in planning tourism on Mexican coasts. Thereafter planned massive tourism development on Mexican coasts has been encouraged and guided by FONATUR.

During the 1970's and 1980's the trust fund focused solely on one type of strategy: tourism promotion on regions that lacked of important settlements, showed characteristics of severe poverty, abandonment and were in great need of major economic activities[5]. In this way, remote sites with high out-migration rates could become attractive employment sites which would encourage regional economic development.

In this order of ideas, FONATUR has chosen five regions of untouched natural beauty where it has launched five resorts. The resorts have been called CIP's (Integral Planned Resorts) namely Cancun, Los Cabos, Ixtapa, Huatulco and Loreto. The following image shows the location of the five CIP's and some of the most relevant numbers of the five resorts.

Figure 1. Location of the five CIP's in Mexico

Concepts	Cancún	Ixtapa	Los Cabos	Loreto	Huatulco
Area (Ha)	12,700	2,016	990	9,970	20,975
Urbanised area (Ha)	3,643	799	328	345	1,915
Government Investment	937 MUSD	329 MUSD	254 MUSD	337 MUSD	542 MUSD
Rooms (April 2005)	27,193	3,827	5,835	720	2,063
Inhabitants (2000)	419,815	95,548	105,469	11,812	28,327
Direct employment opportunities (2000)	32,178	9,231	7,793	771	1,390
Indirect employment opportunities (2000)	88,810	10,893	15,430	1,790	3,780

Table 1. Facts of the five CIP's from FONATUR Basic Data

In the beginning, FONATUR had received economic support from development organisations such as the Inter-American Development Bank[6]. Lately, the role has turned to national development banks to support FONATUR programmes.

The methodology FONATUR has developed could be considered as an integral planning process in two ways. First it relies on previous physical, geographical, economic and social studies to assure the feasibility of development. Secondly FONATUR master plans work in accordance to the National Development Plan and the corresponding regional and local plans, in this way, economic, social and environmental issues become requirements of the tourism development process.

FONATUR planning methodology has been based on a master zoning plan which determines land uses and densities. Other more detailed documents such as design guidelines and briefs become statutory when acquiring a plot of land for tourism development.

As a result, FONATUR has been able to set its own design parameters and standards. Innovative trends as well as the latest technology in the construction field have been used to develop the CIP's. Thereafter infrastructure and services that have been introduced in these regions have been highly efficient and cost-effective.

In CIP's, FONATUR has become main facilitator of the development process. FONATUR has participated in a variety of main actions that comprise fund raising, acquisition of land, site development design and construction of infrastructure, promotion of urbanised plots of land and recovery of funds to settle the debt. FONATUR has created complete cities and encouraged tourism-related activities in many ways. This circumstance has put public sector in a difficult position which has resulted in conflicts of definition of private interests and public realm.

This kind of strategy which has been used throughout the development of the first five CIP's has been of huge costs and liabilities for the agency. Conversely, in the beginning of the XXI century, FONATUR has launched a new CIP with a different strategy. This time, FONATUR seems to take a more cautious, secondary -perhaps conservative- role which enhances strengths of an existing neighbouring tourist destination and controls the risks of an on-going development process on site.

First case study. CIP Cancun

Cancun has been the first CIP to be developed by FONATUR. The site where Cancun lies nowadays was a desert beach of outstanding natural assets with no infrastructure or existing human settlements[7]. In other words, it was greenfield in every sense. More than half of the territorial reserve belonged to Central Government. There were some plots of land that were private property and that had been bought. The rest was mainly communal land that has been expropriated.

The development process in Cancun has begun with major political moves that comprise the change of political status of what has become the State of Quintana Roo. This territory of the Yucatan Peninsula was divided and the north-eastern part of the Peninsula became the member State of Quintana Roo in the Mexican Republic in the early 1970's[8]. At the same time, with 12 700 ha. territorial extension, the Central Government has created a new municipality for the allocation of the tourist resort called Cancun.

Finally through the Ministry of Tourism and with national and international economic support, Central Government has launched FONATUR, a planning agency in charge of developing the site and creating a new city.

In the beginning, the planning agency has worked very much on its own. FONATUR as a recently created organisation had not had reputation or previous background from its outcomes. The local private sector was not strong enough to participate actively in the process and the international private sector showed little interest since it might have been considered risky the fact that a desert beach with no infrastructure could hardly become a feasible business in the short term.

The uncertainty for private sector in the initial phase of development made the agency, with the economic support of the international development organisations, take direct action in tourism businesses. Having said that, not only has FONATUR had to urbanise, design and build the physical premises for tourism related activities but also it has had to encourage the synergy to keep them growing and going on. In this way, Cancun has caught the attention and began to raise the interest of the private sector.

For launching tourism development in Cancun the budgetary resources came from three stakeholders. The participation of the Inter-American Development Bank accounted for one third of the total investment. Another third came from Central Government and the last third corresponds to the private sector contribution. The

following list comprises the main works of the first loan of the overseas bank to FONATUR.

Project	Comprises
Transport	Internacional Airport located 17 km. from the junction of Tulúm-Puerto Juárez and Puerto Juárez- Mérida freeways. Enlargement of Puerto Juárez Bridge to join Cancún island with the continental zone - 80 mts. Long - Filling and dredging works Acquisition of ship for passenger transportation
Water and sewage systems	Potable drinking water system for 40 000 people Sewage and water treatment system for the same population Insect plague control, solid waste refuse dump and environmental sanitation in Isla Mujeres
Electricity	Construction of a transmision line between Tizimín and Puerto Juárez - 150 km. de long- Substations and terminal stations in origin and destination transmision lines Construction of aerial and underground lines for 5 000 housing connections and public lighting
Telephone	Central station for 1 000 lines
Fuels	Construction of two service stations
Urbanization	Streets and avenues Urbanization Works including street building and paving Betterment of the tourist zone which comprises street paving and open space maintenance Betterment of the commercial zone which comprises a convention center and golf course club house
Ancillary works	Construction of a 18-hole golf course Restoration works of archaeological sites

Table 2. Main infrastructural works for launching the CIP Cancun

FONATUR performance was based not only in creation and innovation but also in implementation, management and encouragement of many tourism-related issues. For instance, in the case of the city airport, the planning activity not only accounted for site planning, but also for fund raising, design, construction and the implementation of a management scheme for airlines[9]. This circumstance has made the agency play a very broad and paternalistic role in the whole planning process.

Furthermore FONATUR has also become an important figure not only for the private but for the public sector. In the beginning, the agency has supported local authorities such as the recently created municipality of Benito Juarez. For example, the first Municipal President of this entity has previously worked for FONATUR[10]. Consequently

FONATUR has acquired both, great liabilities and power in the region which also could raise questions of subsidiary and proportionality of authority.

Nowadays tourism development has extended throughout the south of the Mexican Caribbean coast called Riviera Maya. Though the private sector has grown and diversified and the municipality has got stronger, FONATUR could be said to still be playing a crucial role and have an input in the planning process of the site.

Second case study. CIP Nayarit

The second case study differs in many aspects such as size and budgetary expenditure however it still holds the status of CIP. The new CIP in Nayarit has been included in a new programme to impulse traditional tourist development zones that face sustainability issues. The development strategy is being guided by governmental powers. The role that FONATUR intends to play is the coordinator between parties to increase site sustainability.

The new CIP is located in the State of Nayarit on the coast of the Pacific Ocean, north of the State of Jalisco, where the world-wide known tourist resort of Puerto Vallarta lies. Both States Nayarit and Jalisco, share the largest bay in Mexico called Bahia de Banderas. This bay has been recognised as one of the most dynamic tourist destinations nowadays[11].

Originally tourism development in Bahia de Banderas had remained in the State of Jalisco. Nevertheless lately, tourism success has overburdened northwards Jalisco political limits. Social and economic characteristics of both States differ considerably. For instance, in 2005, whilst the State of Jalisco had 6 752 113 inhabitants, Nayarit had only 949 684[12]. The annual growth rate between 2000-2005 was 1.2% for Jalisco and 0.6% for Nayarit according to INEGI[13].

Fig. 2. Location of Tourism Corridor CIP Nayarit

Though tourism development in the State of Nayarit is in its early stages, it lies besides a consolidated tourism resort. Its location takes advantage of the existing infrastructural premises such as the international airport and the cruise port in Puerto Vallarta as well as the existing freeway that connects Puerto Vallarta with the city of Tepic, capital city of the State of Nayarit[14].

A new strategic vision of tourism development in Nayarit is intended to be joined to the existing development creating a diversified tourism corridor from Puerto Vallarta, State of Jalisco to San Blas, State of Nayarit. The new scheme is looking forward to allocate a new sector of the sun and beach market based on higher income in specific points along the corridor. In this way high quality products are intended to enlarge the time period of the tourist stay on the existing corridor[15].
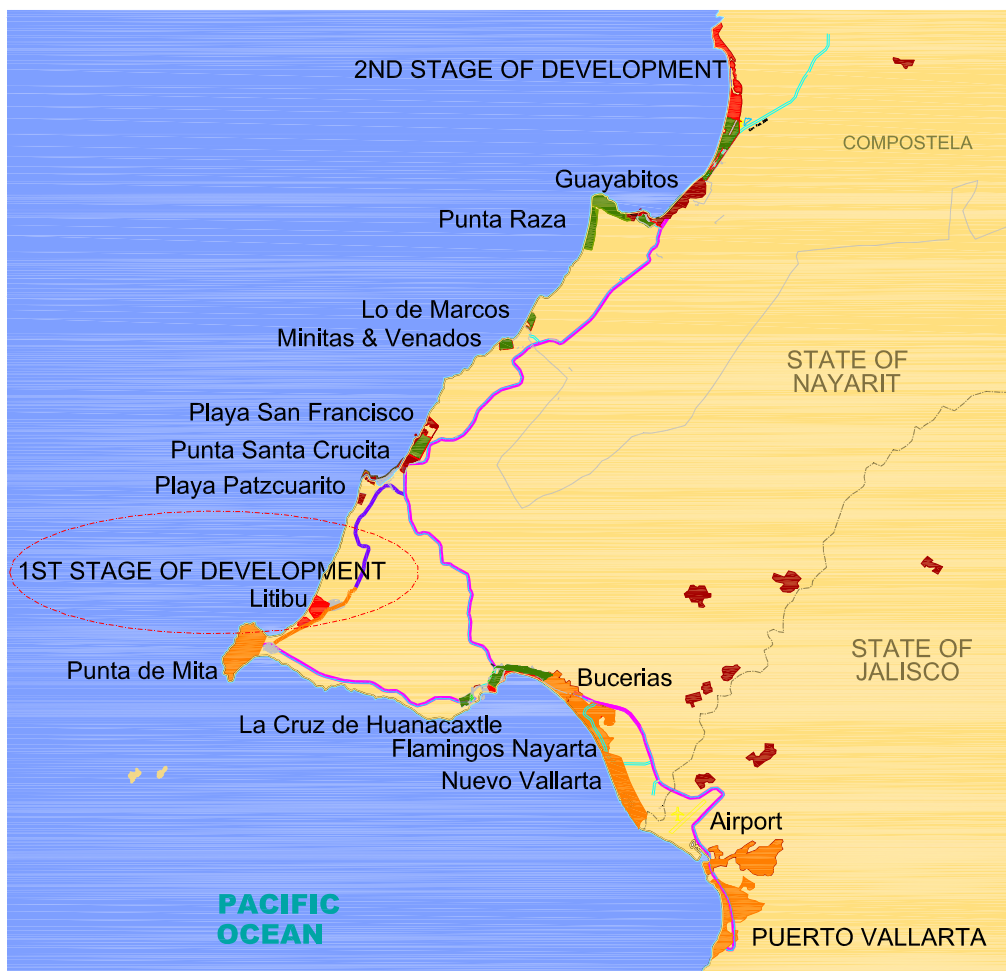
Fig. 3. Map of Tourism Corridor of CIP Nayarit.

The planning process in this place has emerged from a local tourism trust fund interest. The local trust called Fideicomiso Bahia de Banderas (FIBBA), has administered various plots of land for tourism purposes that belong to the State of Nayarit. FIBBA has asked FONATUR to guide the development process.

The first stage of development in Nayarit is called Litibu which sits on 167 ha. plot with 2 km. beach front. The development comprises a PGA golf course that faces the beach and the mangrove. Its total capacity is 4 100 lodging units for tourism residential and hotel use. Litibu is just besides an existing town called Higuera Blanca. The main infrastructural works for Litibu such a desalination plant for drinking water and a sewage treatment plant will also serve Higuera Blanca. Higuera Blanca is expected to allocate the working class of Litibu. The new freeway which is under construction from Jala to Bucerias will give great accessibility to Guadalajara city and the central part of Mexico. In this way Higuera Blanca is expected to grow and consolidate as a transport hub.
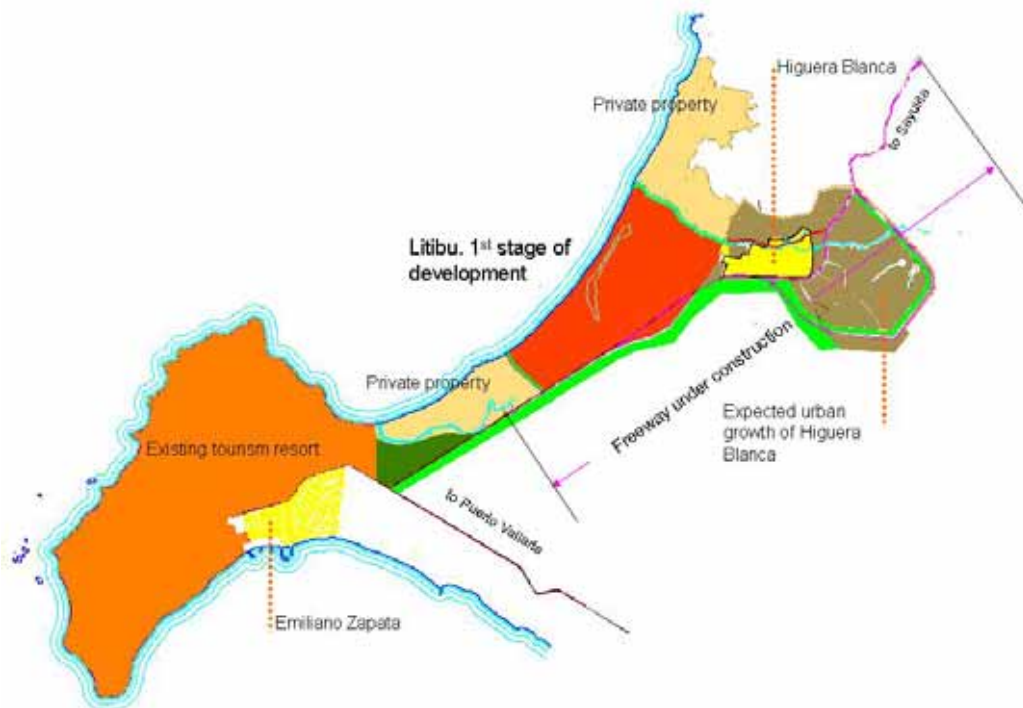
Fig. 4. Map of Litibu, 1st stage of development of the Tourism Corridor CIP Nayarit.

The second stage of development is approximately 50 km. north from Litibu. It is still under project. It will follow the same formula as Litibu. It comprises 5 900 lodging units that will surround a PGA golf course in front of the sea and the mangrove. The second stage of development lies also besides an existing town. The total capacity for the corridor will be 14 500 lodging units so other territorial reserves are subject of study for subsequent stages of development.

The role of FONATUR and process of site selection and acquisition of land in the case of Nayarit has differed from the previous cases. FIBBA has collaborated in the process of site selection and acquisition of land for Litibu. The highly privatised waterfront in Nayarit made FONATUR get acquainted with the existing real-estate market activity and

organisation. The property on the Nayarit waterfront has almost been privatised. FONATUR has had to approach land acquisition through negotiation with private landowners. This circumstance constrained to a larger extent, the possibility of acquiring by purchase order or compensation as in previous times.

Two pieces of land were ceded by FIBBA to FONATUR for the first stage of development in Nayarit. Both plots of land were separated by other two small properties that FONATUR has purchased. FONATUR has conducted negotiations with both landowners of the smaller properties. They were not interested in selling, though they wanted to become part of the development process. Separate negotiations with both leaded to subdivision of property and compensation for the land ceded to the reserve.

The change of FONATUR model for encouraging a more horizontal scheme responds to two main reasons; on one hand, the decentralization of Central Government and on the other, the emergence of a participative local private sector.

There has been a reduction of FONATUR budgetary resources. Nowadays FONATUR is not being sponsored by the international development banks anymore. It works with national financial resources and more rigid credits.

FONATUR raises funds applying to national development banks for economic resources for each project with no special consideration whatsoever. In every case, fund raising applications that are based on the previous feasibility studies must comply with mortgage repayments in rigid time schedules.

At the same time, there have been various organisations and groups of citizens and businessmen that are participating actively in the development process in Nayarit. A group of tourism investors in the State of Jalisco have also shown interest in the neighbouring development process.

Whilst there has been an increasing political and economic decentralization movement raised by local governments and local groups, there have also been other circumstances that have impinged on the decentralization movement such as the evolution in the legal framework involving the environment. Nowadays it is compulsory the elaboration of environmental studies and EIA (Environmental Impact Assessment) to maintain the balance between inputs and outputs in any development action.

Moreover the authority in charge of the environment and natural resources, SEMARNAT gives an approval and conditions the way in which development can be carried out. Its requirements are integrated as in design guidelines by FONATUR that become statutory documents for developers and owners [16]

The public and the NGO's have shown special interest and participate actively in the procurement of the ecosystem and the species of the site. This is the case of Alianza Verde, a group that has shown interest in caring about the native fauna of the place and the impact of the new phase of development in Nayarit[17].

Lastly there has been a change of view on private property and the legal framework for human settlements. Topics such as human rights have impinged on Mexican law and regulations. Nowadays the public is increasingly aware of their rights and assets as property owners and the methods to appeal or sue for them in case of unfair expropriation and compensation.

The new approach – a sustainable process?

It is important to note that internal and external circumstances have modified FONATUR performance and objectives through 3 decades. In financial terms, economic support from international banks has been diminished and today the agency relies mainly on national funds and the support from the local organisations and groups.

In Nayarit, the private sector has experienced a growing tourism influx and it is eager for it, though aware of the natural decline that un-controlled tourism growth may mean to the region. The planning exercise in Nayarit may have been swifter for FONATUR that has focused more on monitoring, assessment and recommendation than in executive tasks.

The process in Nayarit has done a revision of assets and methodology. First, the agency has made a revision in terms of local strengths and weaknesses before taking any development action on site. Secondly, the agency has revised its own planning method through a 30-year life span experience. The extent to which this approach to tourism development process could be said to be sustainable stems from a range of factors.

To find out the degree of sustainability the second approach in CIP Nayarit could be said to be reaching in comparison to the first case study, some issues that are most relevant to the sustainability discussion in the kind of development will be presented as follows.

The definition given by the Brundtland Report 1987[18] states that sustainable development is *"development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs"*. This definition may be interpreted in social, administrative, environmental and economic aspects.

Socially, it could be that FONATUR has intended to encounter more social and local aims encouraging and strengthening existing local communities and organisations. The agency could be walking towards the creation of more sustainable communities in the way of respecting local groups and local synergies. Existing human settlements are intended to become highly benefited and integrated to the development process.

The planning agency seems to prefer to undertake betterment works in existing towns and routes than to build new towns and new routes near the development sites that could segregate old towns. It could be noted the desire that local people will be the first-

incorporated to the new labour market and the economic process without leaving their home. Under this order of ideas, the agency could be taking a lesser influential role on long-migration patterns as well as will being less liable for creating a new social structure.

Moreover respecting the existing commercial activities, the commercial routes could remain the same and in this way would be reinforced rather than changed. The already established retail could be said to find that the incoming groups of workers and inhabitants would make their commercial activity more robust. Hence the entire community could have the opportunity to diversify in cultural, recreational and retail services and facilities.

Administrative sustainability in Nayarit could be encountered in the desirable possibility of developing tourist resorts that can become self-managed and self-controlled as early as possible. By working with the local trust and the local people, FONATUR could make decrease the agency staff on site and focus on monitoring tourism activities instead of intervening directly. Experts in certain fields could work on punctual topics with representatives of FONATUR and the local trust on site.

It could be thought that less control and involvement of FONATUR in the development process could leave aside the social governmental statutory principles. Nonetheless local private sector participation has been shown to be positive of the new CIP in Nayarit. For FONATUR, local participation has meant the decrease of participation on ancillary matters in the development process. This circumstance has given the agency the opportunity to intervene more on decision-making and co-ordination which could be leading to implementing and managing programmes for procurement of local conditions in health, education and public realm.

In environmental terms, FONATUR has procured a highly sustainable vision in respect of existing resources. The agency could be targeting to preserving the existing infrastructure and routes as well as the human settlements. In any case, this could be allowing the rational introduction of new development to enhance the existing one and could be leaving the environment untouched in regions where development has not reached.

The presence of a real estate market on site could result in the independence of FONATUR from real estate activities. In the second case study FONATUR has not been involved in subsidy of private investment and has not have any direct influence to raise or lower the real estate market.

Hence the development promoted by FONATUR on the tourism corridor would be integrated as a competitor in an autonomous and independent real estate market that manages and controls itself. Consequently both FONATUR and the real estate market could be said to perform in a healthier and swifter manner as both have gotten a non-compromised attitude amongst each other.

FONATUR liabilities on infrastructural premises could have changed. The role of the agency has changed from being the designer and the builder of main infrastructural premises in previous CIP's, to being the coordinator of negotiations and supervisor of the building and management processes amongst different organisations that provide public services such as energy and water. This is due to the fact that, to a greater extent, the region has already counted on existing infrastructural premises and nets.

Conclusions

This paper has presented two case studies of tourism development on the Mexican coasts. The characteristics of both processes differ considerably in context and time; however they share the guidance of a planning agency in charge of promoting tourism sustainable development.

The first case study has been considered a top-down comprehensive exercise in the sense that it was a Central Government initiative with a scarce local input. The encouragement of massive tourism development in declining regions has proven to be an effective tool; however this article has shown that local organisations and local authorities could facilitate to make the development process more sustainable and cost effective.

The first case study has implied large sums of economic resources, wise moves in the political arena and huge risks in social and administrative terms which to a larger extent could have put Central Government through difficult position. In Cancun, the planning agency has become a crucial figure in most political, economic and social actions. Even nowadays that Cancun could be said to be walking towards being a consolidated city, FONATUR could still hold great liabilities and powers on site.

Conversely the second case study has been presented in a different setting. The planning exercise has been done through the consideration of opportunities and threats of the site as well and most importantly, the exercise has revised the planning method itself.

The agency could have found a more manageable size of the development in extension, time and investment.

The Nayarit case study intended to enlighten the extent to which a cautious strategic vision for tourism development could have approached sustainability in a more efficient manner through the revision and the consideration of the existing assets on site. It has also been shown that the integration of a participative society in the development process could result in a more sustainable process as long as it can be placed in a broader framework with clear national and local guidelines to follow.

This paper has explained that being FONATUR the coordinator more than the actual builder of infrastructural works might mean a shorter presence of the agency on site with fewer liabilities for infrastructural premises than in previous cases.

In the social viewpoint, this paper talked about the benefits for local people as in getting a closer to home labour market, reinforcing retail and commercial activities, improving services and facilities and enlarging the variety of cultural, recreational and retail choice in town. The development process in Nayarit could be working towards being more sustainable in terms of supporting local dynamics, reinforcing the existing communities transport nodes and exchanging points of services and facilities more efficiently.

Economically, it could be argued that local economic dynamics have been reinforced yet not at FONATUR costs. FONATUR has left aside the great responsibility of creating and procuring a real estate market, which could result in a much healthier process in sustainable financial respect.

In terms of the planning process, public participation in various stages and fields has put the development process under a wider and more horizontal structure, with more actors and groups involved. For FONATUR, tourism development may have been diminished in territorial extension, yet it has not been in terms of political action and local compromise.

For FONATUR the Nayarit case study could be working towards the desirability to develop tourist resorts that can become self-managed and self-controlled as early as possible. FONATUR intervention may take a shorter period of time than in previous cases which is a desirable feature for both the agency and the development itself.

In the case of Nayarit, the process may have been swifter and more agile than the one in Cancun as the result of two circumstances. On one side, the evolution of a planning tourism exercise during 30 years by an agency searching for more sustainable forms of developing the coasts of Mexico and the existence of local authorities and organisations who want to develop their region in a participative manner.

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Urban watershed management: decision-making in Jacarepaguá Lowland Watershed, City of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

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Introduction

In the City of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, Jacarepaguá Lowland Watershed emerges as an example of the State and the Municipal Governments' incapacity, towards the natural resources, especially water bodies, in promoting urban sustainable development in the Administrative Regions of Jacarepaguá (XVI AR), Barra da Tijuca (XXIV AR), and Cidade de Deus (XXXIV AR). Since 1970, despite the fact that this lowland has become object of huge public and private investments, achieving significant economic development, mainly in Barra da Tijuca, the absence of a region sewer system to collect and to treat effluents has been contributing enormously to the pollution of its lagoons: Jacarepaguá, Marapendi, Lagoinha, Tijuca and Camorim (Silva, 2005). Consequently, in Jacarepaguá Lowland, the programs and projects implemented by the public administration to mitigate local environmental problems reveal not only the disconnection between public activities but also the refusal to consider its watershed as a management and planning environmental unit.

Concerning this, Neder (1997) affirms that since there are neither efficient nor innovative models of environment management in Brazil, the main activity of public environmental policy is to regulate private activities in order to preserve and to conserve natural resources. Therefore, the absence of political strategies to integrate environmental elements and macro-social-economical decisions reduces the participation in environmental decision-making discussions. In addition, according to Cunha & Coelho (2003), the Brazilian model of watershed management is based in the co-management and the decentralization of decision-making, promoting the need to conciliate antagonist interests, the control of conflicts and the redefinition of responsibilities among regional watershed committees and national water agencies.

Indeed, as far as the state and the municipal governments are concerned, the programs and the projects that have been developed in Jacarepaguá Lowland Watershed, usually, do not attempt to the fact that effective environmental planning and management depend on the recognition of its watershed as a territorial unity able to integrate environmental, social and economical dimensions. For that reason, this study intends to examine the limits and the perspectives of the public administration in conciliating private and public interests towards the environmental management of Jacarepaguá Lowland Watershed, as an important urban watershed in the City of Rio de Janeiro. In addition, it aims to analyze the existing legal instruments, recognizing this watershed as a management environmental unit to establish the inter-relationship between multiple public and private actors.

Urban evolution of Rio de Janeiro

The evolution of Rio de Janeiro urban fabric is closely related to its socioeconomic development, which guided, and still guides its territory sprawl. The production of selected noble spaces in the city had appeared after the middle of the 19th century, when in 1870 rich social classes started moving to the south, where the government implemented new means of transportation (Leitão, 1995).

Before 1930, high-income classes had occupied the "new" neighborhoods in the South Zone of the city: Copacabana, Ipanema, Leblon and Gávea. The bourgeoisie medium social classes had lived in the "old" neighborhoods of the South Zone: Catete, Laranjeiras, Flamengo and Botafogo, and neighbourhoods of the North Zone: Andaraí, Vila Isabel, Tijuca, Aldeia Campista and Rio Comprido. In addition, the labor social classes of low income had resided in the periphery of the city, where industry was located, such as São Cristóvão and its suburbs. It is important to recognize that the government and its public services companies commanded the occupation of the South and North Zones by medium-high social classes. On the contrary, labor classes had occupied the city suburbs regardless government authority and regulation (Abreu, 1997).

In reality, at the end of the 19th century, the seashore of Copacabana started expanding; and at the beginning of the 20's, buildings of many pavements were constructed in place of old residential houses. However, the urban occupation of this neighborhood started in the late 40's, due to the success of real state agencies activities; so much so that, in the 50's, Copacabana was highly occupied (Leitão, 1995).

After the 50's, because transportation system had not developed as territory enlargement, two situations appeared in the city. First, labor population had started locating themselves close to industry and service job offers, in regular and irregular areas, occupying vacant land due to difficult access, such as slopes, mangrove, rivers edges, or lack of use by its legal owners; therefore, funding slums (Abreu, 1997).

The urban sprawl of Rio de Janeiro expressed a radiate form determined by its physical configuration of mountains and lowlands, which turned difficult the access to many neighborhoods, such as Barra da Tijuca. Thus, between the 50's and 70's, car circulation raised and changed the landscape configuration because the government had invested in express roads, tunnels and viaducts to enhance vehicular flow and accessibility within the city (Abreu, 1997).

After the 70's, the urban development followed the beach shore of the city towards west, in direction to Ipanema and Leblon. Indeed, the union between government and real estate companies had promoted the expansion of the city south zone, and had reinforced urban segregation because these neighborhoods were destined to high income classes; as a consequence, from the early 60's to late 70's, the public administration had implemented an eradication polity towards the slums located in that noble area (Leitão, 1995). In that period, the noble social classes started moving to São

Conrado and Barra da Tijuca, which is located in Jacarepaguá Lowland. Although the occupation of Barra da Tijuca followed the dynamics of segregation in urban space, with privileges to medium-high social classes and combination of public and private interests, differently from the urbanization of the south zone, after 1969, it had to be urbanized taking into account the plan of Lucio Costa to regulate the urban development of Jacarepaguá Lowland. Therefore, the urban morphology of Barra da Tijuca is a lot different from the other noble areas in the city because it was based on the rationalist concepts of modern urbanism, which creates and ordered urban landscape (Leitão, 1995).

Urban development of Jacarepaguá Lowland Watershed

The urban development of Jacarepaguá Lowland Watershed, administratively composed by the regions of Jacarepaguá (XVI AR, Administrative Region), Barra da Tijuca (XXIV AR), and Cidade de Deus (XXXIV AR), had depended mostly on the implementation of Lúcio Costa Urban Pilot Plan for the region Barra da Tijuca, in 1969 (Illustration 1).

In the end of the 60´s, Barra da Tijuca (XXIV AR) had a recent urban development due to its geomorphologic characteristics, surrounded by the Massifs Pedra Branca and Tijuca, which made difficult the access to it. However, during the last few decades, the region that used to be mainly residential and rural has been expanding not only because of the accomplishment of important real state agencies in selling houses and apartments to high-income classes, but also due to the sprawl of slums, where lives the low-income community[1]. From 1991 to 2000, slum population in Barra da Tijuca had represented a growth index of 2.23, the biggest in Planning Area 4 (AP-4,)[2] where population had doubled (Table 1). Consequently, the demographic growth of Barra da Tijuca is one of the most significant in Rio de Janeiro. The population in Barra da Tijuca (XXIV AR) increased from 2,580 people in 1960 to 174,135 people in 2000 (Table 2). Additionally, it grew 21.91 times more than Jacarepaguá (XVI AR), which is the administrative region that has been developing due to Barra da Tijuca sprawl.

Illustration 1. Region of Barra da Tijuca According to Geomorphologic and Hydrological Marks. Source: IPP, 1997.

Table 1. Slum Population Growth in Planning Area 4 (PA-4).

City and Administrative Regions (AR)	Residences		Growth Index	Population		Growth Index
	1991	2000		1991	2000	
Rio de Janeiro	226,141	308,581	1.36	882,483	1,092,476	1.23
PA-4. *Planning Area* 4	18,790	41,289	2.19	72,182	144,394	2.00
XVI AR. Jacarepaguá	14,847	31,952	2.15	56,817	111,448	1.96
XXIV AR. Barra da Tijuca	3,547	8,820	2.48	13,915	31,107	2.23
XXXIV AR. Cidade de Deus	396	517	1.30	1,450	1,839	1.26

Source: IPP (2001a).

Table 2. Demographic Growth of Barra da Tijuca Population[3].

City and Administrative Regions (AR)	1960	1970	1980	1991	1996	2000	Growth Index
Rio de Janeiro	3,307,163	4,251,618	5,090,700	5,480,778	5,551,538	5,851,914	1.77
XVI AR Jacarepaguá	164,092	235,238	315,623	428,073	446,360	506,760	3.09
XXIV AR Barra da Tijuca	2,580	5,779	40,726	98,229	129,632	174,135	6.74

Source: Modified from IPP (2001b).

According to Cardoso (1987), in the early 70's, the population of Barra da Tijuca grew 160%, in contrast to 30.7% in the city and 116.8% in Jacarepaguá region, which expresses that, maybe, these two close regions expanded based on the same urban development parameters. However, in the late 70's, Barra da Tijuca population grew 627%, against 21.8% in the city and 42.3% in Jacarepaguá. In fact, the urban expansion process in Barra da Tijuca accelerated especially after 1974, when the region had become object of real state agency practices in order to achieve high profits standards. In Barra da Tijuca, between 1974 and 1976, the urban fabric licensed to build corresponded to one fourth of the residential area of Rio de Janeiro City (Cardoso, 1987).

In the 90's, Barra da Tijuca region had the biggest demographic growth in the city: 44%, corresponding to 124,000 inhabitants. In that decade, 28.5% of the region residents had been living there about less than a year (Ribeiro, 1997). However, the major population growth, of 26% or 45,721 new residents, occurred in the middle 90's when the migratory movement to the region represented 21% or 37,341 new inhabitants (IPP, 2003).

Actually, there were many reasons that added to this considerable urban expansion. First, the real state agencies had massively used the natural beauty of the region (the beaches, the lagoons, and the mountains) as a marketing slogan to advertise apartments, especially, for medium-high income classes. In fact, the real state market announced the region as a new selected area, likewise the south zone of the city, where noble families would find security and leisure (Leitão, 1995). Second, one third of the

region land belonged to only four owners, who had not divided it very much; therefore, accelerating the occupation process. Third, in the 70's and 80's, the federal government invested in the region through its financial agencies and resources from the Housing Financial System (SFH, Sistema Financeiro de Habitação) that lend housing lines of credits; thus, benefiting the real state agencies in accomplishing its enterprises. Last, the public investments in infrastructure, mainly in road network, according to the Pilot Plan conceived by the architect Lúcio Costa, made likely the activity of the real state agencies to develop the urban fabric; hence, achieving high profits standards (Leitão, 1995).

Indeed, the purpose of the plan was not only to organize the urban land use of the region, based on the ideas of the modernism[4], but also to integrate it to the historic center of the city and the new center of Santa Cruz; thus, connecting the city from the west to the east (Illustrations 2 and 3). Lúcio Costa created the urban plan for Barra da Tijuca to be an instrument capable to avoid a predatory and an indiscriminate urban occupation. In this sense, Lúcio Costa Plan was also a legal instrument to protect the environment, especially, the lagoons of Jacarepaguá Lowland Watershed. However, this original urban plan has suffered many changes since its implementation in 1969. Among the changes, the most impressing is the densification of the land occupation, which was a result of the pressure of the important real state agencies against the government administration (Ribeiro, 1990, Leitão, 1995, Table 3)[5].
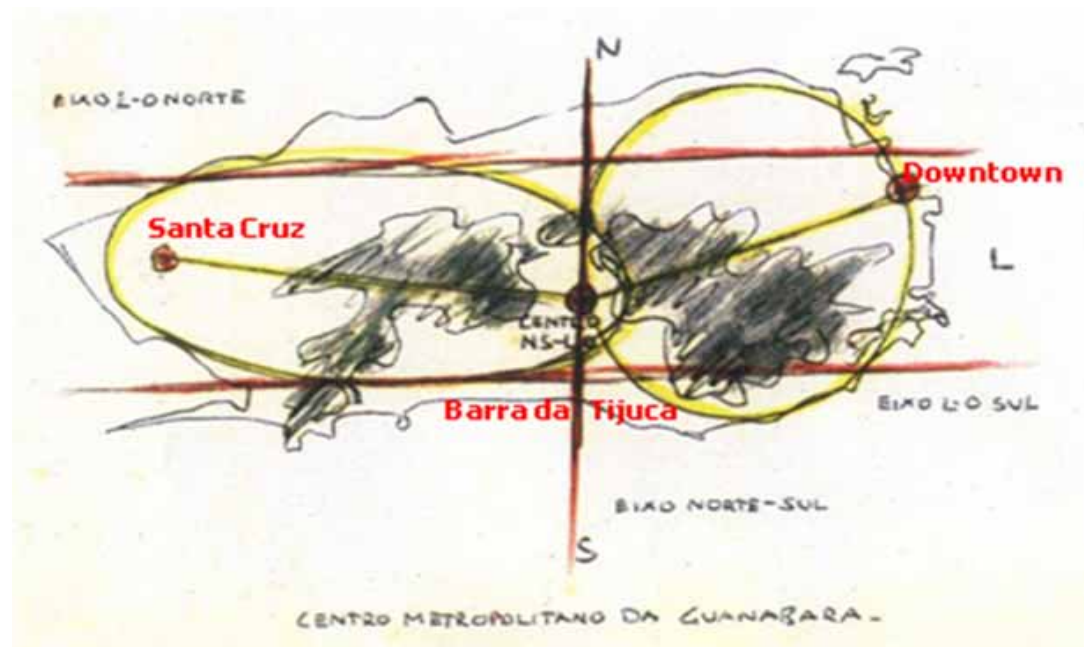
Illustration 2. Urban Plan for Barra da Tijuca and Jacarepaguá Lowland.
Source: Modified from Costa, 1969.
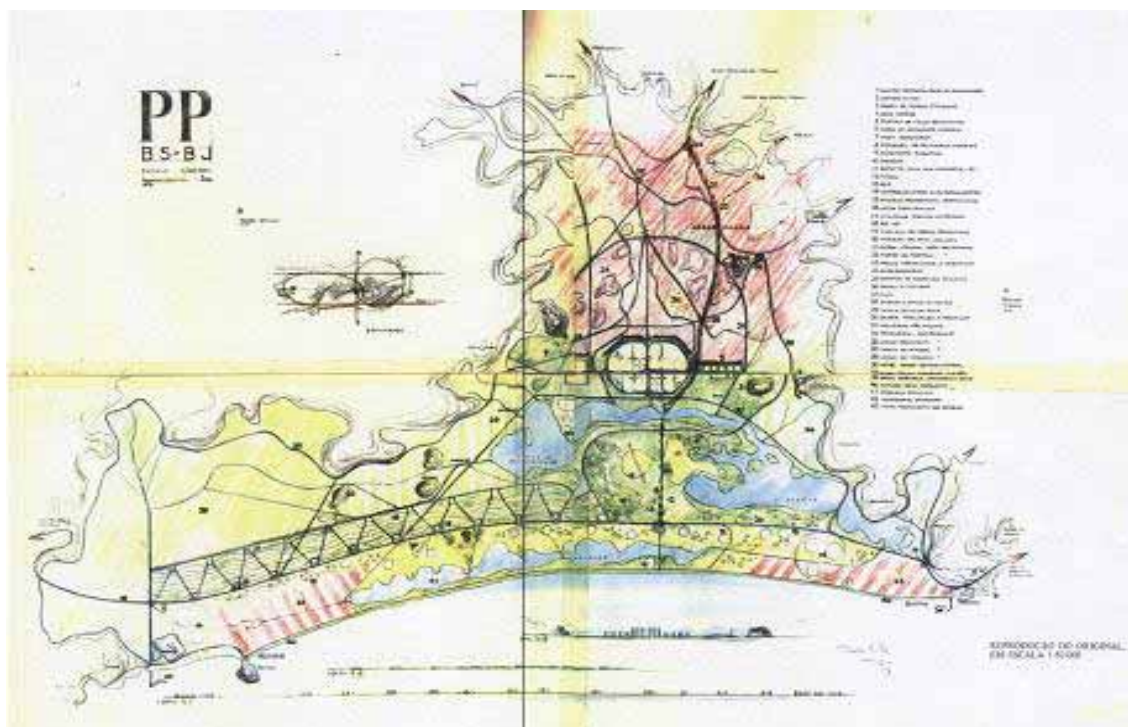
Illustration 3. Urban Plan for Barra da Tijuca and Jacarepaguá Lowland According to Land Uses.
Source: Costa, 1969.

Table 3. Population Density in Barra da Tijuca and Jacarepaguá (inhabitants/hectares)[6]

Place	1980	1991	2000	Growth Index
Rio de Janeiro	50.9	54.8	58.6	1.15
V AR Copacabana	442.5	351.2	333.6	0.75
XVI AR Jacarepaguá	33.1	45.0	49.3	1.49
XXIV AR Barra da Tijuca	3.2	7.7	13.6	4.25

Source: IPP (2001b).

In addition, concerning infrastructure, the public administration implemented the road system in the 70's, mainly between 1966 and 1982, improving the access to the region and benefiting the construction of huge residential condominiums. From 1980 to 1983, the state government provided some urban services, such as provision of water, electricity and gas (Leitão, 1995; Gonçalves, 1999). However, since the state government had not implemented in the region a sanitary system to collect and to treat sewage, the solution was to construct small sewage treatment plants inside the residential condominiums; yet, most of them even works badly or does not work (Santiago, 2004).

As far as the claim for a regional sanitary system is concerned, the state government proposed the implementation of a submarine emissary. Because of this, from 1982, the

Association of Inhabitants and Friends of the Barra da Tijuca (AMABARRA) had started to discuss with the state government an efficient equipment capable to mitigate the environmental problems caused by the absence of a sewer system (water pollution, contamination of water table levels, etc.). In contrast of the typical claim for sanitary equipment, made by poor social classes, in the Barra da Tijuca, the middle and upper middle classes had led the claim, which also counted on the participation of the poor residents of slums (Evangelista, 1989). Due to the urgence of the theme, in 1999, the City Hall demanded the right to implement the sanitation in the region, which is a legal responsibility of the state government. However, in 2000, the state government affirmed its liability on this subject; and finally, in 2001, the Water and Sewage State Company (CEDAE) started implementing the Program of Sewerage in Barra da Tijuca, Recreio dos Bandeirantes and Jacarepaguá (PSBJ).

Therefore, despite its impressive urbanization, largely oriented by the real estate market, the lack of a region sewerage system appears as the main obstacle to its sustainable development, and thus, contributes to increase environmental impacts and problems especially towards the water bodies of Jacarepaguá Lowland Watershed (Silva, 2004). The degradation of water resources in Jacarepaguá Lowland, concerning eutrophication and water pollution, results, mainly, from the lack of a regional sewage system. The presence of pathogenic microorganisms in the lagoons, due to industrial and, especially, domestic effluents discharges, damages not only the environment but also public health, since they sustain fishing and leisure activities (Illustrations 4 and 5). In relation to the environmental degradation of Jacarepaguá Lowland Watershed, there are two main conditions responsible. The first condition refers to the illegal occupation on the edges of canals, rivers and lagoons, generally with indiscriminate earth embankment, that takes place not only in slums, where the poor communities live, but also in luxurious houses. The second condition relies on the lack of a sanitary sewer system to collect and treat the domestic effluents discharged *in natura*, by industrial, commercial, and residential real properties in the lagoons of the region.

Illustration 4. 545 tones of aquatic plants due to domestic effluents discharge in Barra da Tijuca.

Illustration 5. Slaughter of more than five tones of fish due to water pollution in Lagoon Tijuca.

Watershed as an environmental planning unit

A watershed is a topographic area, drained by a water body, commonly a main river, or a system connected to water bodies, usually its tributaries (Lima-e-Silva, 1999; Polette, 2000). The scale of a watershed as a planning unit depends on the inter-relation of socio-economical and ecological systems, which compose the environment, in order to program present and future availability of natural resources towards society needs (Attanásio, 2004). Considering environmental planning, a watershed emerges as an ideal unit regarding the study of geo-ecological interactions between the earth surface and its structural and functional components; landscape elements; and biogeophysical, economical and social processes (Guerra et al., 1999; Tundisi, 2006).

As far as watershed management and water resources management is concerned, it is important to establish some differences. Lanna (1995) affirms that the first one refers to the management of just one environmental resource concerning the watershed itself; and the second one proposes the management of all the resources and the uses within a watershed, therefore, it needs a special planning methodology. According to Dourojeanni (1993), watershed management presents different activities grouped in three categories, such as: (i) restoration, conservation, or protection of natural resources associated to water; (ii) use and control of water resources to sectorial and multi-setorial matters, based on the planning, project, construction and operation of hydraulic workmanships to promote socio-economical development; (iii) well-fare promotion to watershed resources users. Indeed, Frank (1995) affirms that, generally, the projects and the programs proposed to watersheds management include activities related to more than one of these categories.

Indeed, there are some advantages concerning the adoption of watersheds as environmental management and planning unities. The first and, probably, the main advantage presents the possibility of an integrated environmental management as a dynamic instrument capable of adjustments during its implementation, especially, taking into account those situations which were not predicted in the initial phase of planning or which deals with futures sceneries (Lanna, 1995). The second one refers to the fact that most of the cause-effect interactions related to water resources take place in watershed drainage network (Lanna, 1995). The third advantage concerns the identification of environmental results and the measurement of environmental impacts, either positives or negatives, based on water quality and quantity parameters (Gualdani, 2004).

However, it is important to observe that governmental agencies and society representatives might also face some disadvantages. First, the fact that topographic divisors of watersheds and their subsystems usually do not correspond to the political-administrative limits established by government agencies troubles environmental planning and management as far as projects and programs implementations are concerned (Franco, 2001; Cunha & Coelho, 2003; Lamonica, 2004; Cury, 2006). For that reason, decision-making process, even though it may consider society participation, depends on public administration, which is responsible for the environmental

management of a territorial area. In fact, whenever it does not correspond to the political-administrative limits of a watershed, its environmental management and planning demand, essentially, the cooperation between the different administrative levels. This fact justifies the long terms that often the public administration takes into managing and planning environmental issues for watersheds.

Second, the choice of the scale in which planners and managers may address a certain watershed is the basis to an adequate and a successful environmental study. According to Lanna (1995), considering watershed environmental management, there are two distinctive scales that refer to activities such as: (i) those that consider the complexity of the inter-relations between the whole and its parts, that is, between the watershed and its parts; (ii) those that treat specifically the parts through its restrictions, limitations and demands imposed by the whole.

Third, Cunha & Coelho (2003) agree that the model of watershed management in Brazil is based in the co-management and the decentralization of decision-making, promoting the urge to conciliate antagonist interests, to control environmental-social conflicts and to redefinition responsibilities among regional watershed committees and national water agencies. Indeed, the Federal Law 9.433 (1997) is the legal motivation to the adoption of watersheds as territorial planning and management unities, instituting the National Policy of Water Resources (PNRH) and the National System of Water Resources Management. The refereed legislation intends to discipline the use of waters and, chiefly, to define legal instruments to guarantee the rational and integrated use of water resources in a sustainable manner. Concerning this, Cardoso (2003) affirms that this law avoids the monopoly in the management of water resources, since it enhances the representation of different social, political and economical groups; meanwhile, it does not consider the adoption of smaller analysis unities such as sub-bays or micro watersheds to the mobilization and reunion of social actors (Cardoso, 2003). Moreover, according to Muñoz (2000), the Federal Law 9.433 (1997) constitutes an important legal instrument in the construction of a sustainable development ideology because it institutionalized a participative management among municipal, state and federal levels. Nevertheless, the author recognizes that the challenge to implement this law relies on the fact that its legal and institutional mechanisms of a participative democracy exist in an administrative system based on a representative democracy.

Regarding civil participation in watershed management processes, it is vital to emphasize that the National Policy of Water Resources (PNRH) considers as civil organization: (i) inter-municipal partnerships; (ii) users associations; (iii) research institutes; (iv) nongovernmental organizations (NGO); and others admitted by the National Council of Water Resources (CNRH), or State and Federal District Council of Water Resources (CERH). It is significant to observe that, especially since the 90's; the nongovernmental organizations acquire importance towards either the formulation of environmental politics or the management of natural resources (Cunha & Coelho, 2003). However, it seems that nongovernmental organizations in Brazil are essentially dependent on governmental finances. Last year, the Brazilian Court of Accounts (TCU) affirmed that the federal government sponsored around US$ 1.4 billion to Brazilian

nongovernmental organizations, most of them, selected according to deputies and senators' interests (O Globo, 2007).

Limits and perspectives of the public administration

In Jacarepaguá Lowland, regarding the role of the public administration as far as watershed management and planning is concerned, it is important to observe the limits and the perspectives of not only the municipal but also the state governments. Indeed, since the last decade, in particular, both institutional administrative levels have been implementing some projects and programs with the purpose to minimize the environmental problems in the Jacarepaguá Lowland Watershed.

The first one, carried out by the municipal government since December 1997, is called Program of Environmental Recuperation of Jacarepaguá Watershed. The aim of this program is to implement a storm water sewer system in the region, especially in the areas close to the slums on the lagoons edges. For that reason, three stages compose the program, considering Jacarepaguá Watershed as three sub-watersheds. The main goal is to avoid that the garbage from the poor communities, which the municipality generally does not collect, and the domestic effluents, which are not treated, reach the water bodies, thus, polluting the surrounding lagoons. In this sense, in September 2002, the Municipal Secretariat of Environment (SMAC) of Rio de Janeiro brought up the idea of constructing small sewage treatment plans alongside Canal Arroio Fundo and Canal Arroio Pavuna, the two most polluted bodies of water in the region. According to this municipal agency, it would reduce the pollution in the surrounding lagoons, especially Lagoon Tijuca and Marapendi. However, the municipal government had never implemented this idea. In fact, the municipality has been piping the channels in order to prevent from floods, which tend to occur in the summer because of storms.

The second one, developed by an important real state agency with the coordination of the state government since January 2002, is called Dredging of the Lagunar Complex of Jacarepaguá Lowland. The objective of the project is to dredge up the sludge from the bottom of the lagoons, increasing its depth, which now turns impossible navigation. The State Agency of Rivers and Lagoons (SERLA) has been dredging Lagoon Tijuca, with the intention to open a stream in the central area in order to facilitate the circulation of water between Lagoon Camorim and the sea. This stream is supposed to have 1.7 km in length, 0.80 cm in width, and four meters in depth, which is the minimum to maintain sun light penetration in the water body (COOPETEC, 2001). However, the mean depth of the lagoon must have 1.54 meters. For that reason, SERLA was supposed to dredge out 4,000,000 m³ of sludge from the bottom of Lagoon Tijuca (Illustrations 6 and 7; SERLA, 2002). The main problem of this project concerns the schedule, which fixed the deadline for the completion of the works on January 2004 and still is not finished.

Illustration 6. Dredging in Lagoon Tijuca.
Source: Silva, 2004.

Illustration 7. Sludge from Lagoon Tijuca.
Source: Silva, 2004.

The third program, which is been carried out by the state government, by the Water and Sewage State Company (CEDAE), is now named Program of Sewerage in Barra da Tijuca, Recreio dos Bandeirantes and Jacarepaguá (PSBJ). The purpose of the program is to implement a sanitary and a storm sewer system capable to avoid water pollution in Jacarepaguá Lowland, as well as to provide water supply and underwater dredging (Illustrations 8 and 9). It is important to observe that from 2001 to 2006, this program did not consider Recreio dos Bandeirantes, but still, it does not consider all the neighborhoods that compose Jacarepaguá Lowland (Illustration 10).[7]

Illustration 8. Construction of submarine emissary.
Source: CEDAE, 2006.

Illustration 9. Sanitary works in Lagoon Marapendi.
Source: CEDAE, 2006.

Illustration 10. Neighborhoods Assisted and Not Assisted by the Program of Sewerage in Barra da Tijuca, Recreio dos Bandeirantes and Jacarepaguá (PSBJ), in Jacarepaguá Lowland.
Source: Modified from CEDAE, 2006.

Nevertheless, the state government had focused on the implementation of a sewerage system, especially on the construction a submarine emissary that leads into Barra da Tijuca Beach, which is already on operation. The program, which started in April 2001, after almost 20 years of misunderstandings between the local inhabitants and the municipal and state authorities, was supposed to end in January 2004; however, its deadline is now by the end of 2009. Consisted of three phases, the program, which includes the construction of a sewage treatment plan, an earthy and a submarine emissary, pipelines, pumping stations, sewage pumps, collecting sewers and buildings connections, had costed around US$ 260,000,000 until August 2007 (CEDAE, 2008). Besides the schedule delay problem, the local inhabitants and their representatives have been criticizing this program as a solution for the environmental problems in the region, due to the following reasons:

i. Lack of transparency during the development of the program, because the communitarian commission charged to inspect the works did not have access neither to the execution projects nor to the place where the works were developed;
ii. Absence of a study and a report of environmental impact, both legally demanded by the National Council of Environment (CONAMA, 1986);
iii. Absence of a solution to the problem of the sludge produced in the wastewater treatment plant.

Finally, the state government and the private sector, by the State Agency of Rivers and Lagoons (SERLA) in partnership with the Getúlio Vargas Foundation, developed the Ecobarriers Project, which purpose is to reduce the amount of floating garbage that reaches Guanabara Bay and the lagoons of Jacarepaguá Lowland Watershed (Capell, 2007). Considered as a simple solution with a low cost, the ecobarriers – composed by

buoys of nylon and bottles pet - consist of structures made with recycled material and installed in certain points of rivers next to the estuary. In Jacarepaguá Lowland, the ecobarriers are located near Canal Arroio Fundo and Rio das Pedras. It is important to observe that this project, besides enhancing the environmental quality of water bodies, it generates income and provides social inclusion, because local garbage pickers collect the garbage and carry it for boats up to 'ecopoints', where the material is separated, pressed and finally destined to the recycling in local cooperatives. Since 2006, the Brazilian Development Bank (BNDES) has been financing the Ecobarriers Project.

Besides these programs and projects, the municipal and the state governments find difficulty in promoting an integrated environmental management regarding the coastal zone and the watershed, in order to support urban sustainable development in the Administrative Regions of Jacarepaguá (XVI AR), Barra da Tijuca (XXIV AR), and Cidade de Deus (XXXIV AR). Consequently, in Jacarepaguá Lowland, the public investments to mitigate local environmental problems reveal not only the disconnection between public activities in different institutional levels but also the refusal to consider its watershed as a management and planning environmental unit. Moreover, these prospective studies do not recognize the integration between social and environmental components in the study area; thus, diminishing the efficiency in public decision-making (Silva, 2004).

As far as the state government is concerned, in 2005, the Decree 38.260 defined that Guanabara Bay Hydrographic Regional Committee is also responsible for the environmental planning and management of Maricá and Jacarepaguá Watersheds (Governo, 2005). Nevertheless, these two watersheds pertain to two different cities, respectively Maricá and Rio de Janeiro, where social-economical and environmental realities are extremely diverse. Moreover, Guanabara Bay influences 16 cities, which integrate this committee as well.[8] In effect, the role of these committees is to engage state and municipal administrations, water services users, and community representatives, in order to come up with regional solutions to protect, conserve, and restore water bodies. This fact shows that the state administration still do not recognize the different social-environmental problems of all these watersheds, consequently, contributing to an incipient decision-making process, which decreases the effectiveness for environmental planning proposals. Due to this, according to Britto (2007), there was a social claim to establish a new committee, which should have been nominated until March 2007, but remains the same. Furthermore, the National Plan of Coastal Management (PNGC), institutionalized by the Federal Law 6.938 from 1981, settles on the responsibilities of the municipal governments in elaborating, implementing, executing and accompanying the Municipal Plan of Coastal Management. However, the City of Rio de Janeiro still do not have water resources management plans for its watersheds (FEEMA, 2007).

Conclusion

The urban development in Jacarepaguá Lowland, in Rio de Janeiro City, shows that the region appears as an icon urban space for huge investments of public and particular

capital, thus, achieving important social economical development. However, concerning the role of the public administration, either municipal or state, we must consider some aspects.

First, it is important to observe that since the state government had invested in the most essential components of infrastructure to the urbanization process (e.g.: road system construction, water provision, electricity supply, gas furnishing), it expresses the focus on the urban dimension of the region. Second, because the public administration did not implement sanitation facilities, through the construction of a sewerage system to collect, to treat and to dispose sewer effluents, whose discharges have been contributing to cause environmental impacts, it had not concentrated the natural dimension of the region, contributing to the water pollution in Jacarepaguá Lowland Watershed.

Consequently, these factors added, directly or indirectly, to the appearance of environmental impacts, such as: (i) inadequate use of natural recourses, (ii) transformation of urban land use, (iii) transformation of urban landscape, (iv) transformation of natural systems, etc; and environmental problems like: (i) water quality deterioration, (ii) gradual degradation of mangrove, (iii) reduction of water bodies edges, etc. Actually, the public politics concerning urban management commonly act in a punctual intervention that does not establishes the connection between all the systems operating inside the city. In Jacarepaguá Lowland, historically, the government has been focusing in one dimension of the urban complex; consequently, it does not enhance the association between urban infrastructure and environment.

Third, the fact that the Jacarepaguá Watershed Committee is part of Guanabara Bay Hydrographic Regional Committee shows that the state administration do not identify the different social-environmental problems of these watersheds, which contributes to an incipient decision-making process, as a result, decreasing the effectiveness for environmental planning proposals.

Finally, the weakest point for most environmental projects and programs in the region is that, commonly, they involve many government agencies with overlapping responsibilities. Moreover, it is vital that the municipal and the state authorities demonstrate a strong and a true political commitment concerning the environmental local problems.

Therefore, the challenge is to unite governmental and communitarian interests in order to mitigate the cumulative effects of poor environmental management that might cause some irreparable damage to rare natural resources, in particular, to water resources. In addition, it is vital to rethink about the present model of urban development in the region, for to enhance the socioeconomic development linked to the improvement of environmental quality in Jacarepaguá Lowland Watershed.

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[1] It is important to observe that Cidade de Deus (XXXIV AR) is located in a low-income region, mainly composed by slums, referring to irregular urban occupation.

[2] Planning Area 4 (PA-4) is formed by the Administrative Regions of Jacarepaguá (XVI AR), Barra da Tijuca (XXIV AR), and Cidade de Deus (XXXIV AR). The area that has been spreading out enormously in the last decades: Barra da Tijuca has been occupied by medium-high-income classes, Jacarepaguá by medium-low-income classes, and Cidade de Deus by the poor living in slums.

[3] It does not include slum population.

[4] The Pilot Plan for Barra da Tijuca was based on the implementation of huge blocks of apartments (from 25 to 30 pavements) alongside axial roads and around small centers, both responsible for the structure of the urban fabric (Cardoso, 1996, Pinheiro, 2001).

[5] The densification of Barra da Tijuca results, mainly, from the expansion of residential areas in its urban fabric due to the implementation of huge blocks of apartments.

[6] The insertion of Copacabana is because it has the second highest population density in Rio de Janeiro City. The densest region in the city is Catete (395.2 inhabitants/hectares), not including the slums.

[7] Jacarepaguá Lowland is composed by the Administrative Regions of Barra da Tijuca (XXIV AR), Jacarepaguá (XVI AR), and Cidade de Deus (XXXIV AR); and the neighborhoods of Recreio dos Bandeirantes, Vargem Grande and Vargem Pequena. These last two neighborhoods are not considered in the program mentioned.

[8] Guanabara Bay influences 16 cities: Rio de Janeiro, Duque de Caxias, São João de Meriti, Nilópolis, Mesquita, Nova Iguaçu, Belfort Roxo, Magé, Petrópolis, Guapimirim, Cachoeiras de Macacu, Itaboraí, Tanguá, Rio Bonito, São Gonçalo, and Niterói (Governo, 2005).

Planning a green city *versus* private land-partition: park systems and urban development in São Paulo in the first decades of the 20th century

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1.   Introduction

The first decades of the 20th century in São Paulo were the first significant time when public planning reacted against the intense urban sprawl that was taking place in the city. The former balance between built and open areas was then suddenly broken and the village, which had a well-defined form, became a sprawling city without clear boundaries. The urban growth promoted by land developers sparked intense debates, amongst engineers and architects who worked in the public planning departments, on the need to create a general plan for the city.

The intrinsic relationship of the land market, the spread of the *quadrillage* and the idea of progress was described by Manieri-Elia as a distinguished particularity of the *laissez faire* - American city in comparison with the bourgeois European city.[1] In São Paulo both were seen as models for the constitution of the modern city, evidently from different points of view. The American city was a clear reference appropriated mainly by local land developers who considered the grid as the easiest and most profitable way of dividing the land and as a sign of modernity. On the other hand, it was not in the expansionist model present in the United States, nor in the worldwide famous works of Haussmann in Paris, that the municipal public planning was mostly interested. Since it was in the United Kingdom and in Germany where the effects of the Industrial Revolution were mainly observed and that the urban plans carried out there were internationally recognized, the first public plans in São Paulo would look carefully at those experiences in order to prevent the dreadful consequences of the urban, population and industrial growth.

This paper will expose how the processes of change in São Paulo from a small village into a complex city revealed two diametrically opposed views. On one hand, it will show how the land developers adopted the American grid as a new spatial pattern capable of providing maximum profits in the creation of lots, and also considered as a symbol of modernity; and on the other hand it will analyze the reaction of the public planning departments in the sense that they tried to defend the irregularity of the historic city, its well-defined shape and the balance between built space and greenery. It is important to stress that the international planning examples from the *Städtebau* of the German and Austrian planners; from the British Town Planning, and the ideas of Eugène Hénard were the main references adopted by the first municipal public plans for the city aiming at creating a modern green city.

Furthermore, it will focus on how the creation of garden suburbs by Barry Parker and his proposition for the creation of a green-belt around the city represented a model of semi-private planning– as opposed to the examples of other land developers based on the use of the grid– and in agreement with the public aims of creating a green city with a well-defined shape.

2. The shapeless city: private land partition

São Paulo was founded in 1554 as a Jesuitical settlement and only occupied the high lands amid Tamanduateí and Anhangabaú rivers. (Fig. 1) This location was important to avoid floods and for military protection against the Indian attacks. The occupation of the low lands was, hence, systematically avoided basically until the end of the nineteenth century, when several contextual issues led to drastic socio-economic changes which had a significant impact on its urban form. It is worthwhile mentioning that the new attention towards the city emerged with the conjunction of combined events, such as the enrichment of the farmland owners due to the exportation of coffee, the arrival of the railways and the new possibility of speculating with the urban land, established with the land property law of 1850. In fact, it was principally because of these three combined events that the structures of the historic city started changing. The money derived from the commerce of coffee, the improvement in the infrastructures and the land market created the basis for São Paulo economic growth and urban development. Evidently, the industrial activities acted as important driving forces for change, though they were going to be even more significant in the following decades.

Figure 1. Plan of São Paulo, 1810.

Regarding the population growth, it is worthwhile mentioning that the village which had 10.000 inhabitants in the mid-eighteenth century reached a population of 30.000 in 1872, 60.000 in 1890, 240.000 in 1900 and 580.000 in 1920.[2] In relation to the urban expansion, it was irregular, discontinuous and followed the will of the land owners. The farmlands around the city center, that previously formed a belt of agricultural lands, started being divided in lots and became part of the urban area. Therefore, the urban elites consisted of the same groups of coffee growers of the nineteenth century, who

preserved their power in the city development and were now interested in the land market. New possibilities for investment in the city and the maintenance of the former social and economic structures of domination and power, which supposed a weak public control, caused the land owners to be the main group responsible for the creation of the city's new areas of expansion. As a result, the subdivision of the farmlands in urban lots took place discontinuously and fragmentarily in different areas of the city, which created islands of residential suburbs isolated from the urban tissue, such as the districts of Santana, Vila Gomes Cardim, Ipiranga, among others. This process was greatly facilitated by the creation of tramway lines at the beginning of the 20th century which connected these areas with the city center, which increased the land value and stimulated the appearance of other districts with similar characteristics.

The ruling elite kept preferring the high lands and crossed the Anhangabaú valley towards the west and southwest hills, where new residential areas were being settled by private land development, such as Santa Efigênia and Campos Elíseos (Fig. 2) quarters in 1879 and the Paulista Avenue region, twelve years later. Meanwhile, the working class and industry occupied the cheapest and most problematic areas, principally placed alongside the railways and the river valleys.
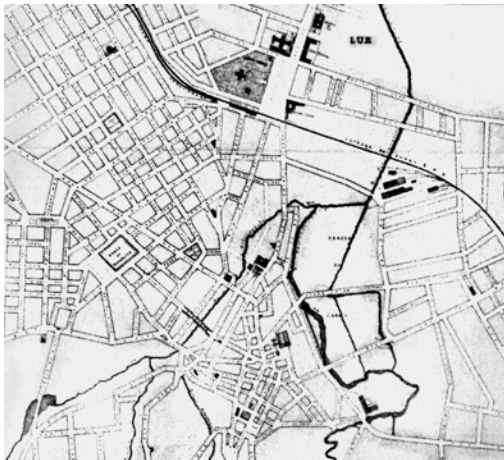
Fig. 2 – Plan of São Paulo of 1890 showing the irregular streets of the city center and the new residential districts based on the grid.

It is important to stress that this new urban activity (the land division and real-estate market) aspired exclusively to obtain maximum benefits and was based on the use of the grid. The principle of order, rationalization and efficiency of the capitalist system of production applied to land subdivision intended to create lots within a common structure and which could be sold at a maximum profit. The election of the grid as the main spatial pattern coincided with the emergence in São Paulo of urban capitalism and looked closely at North-America cities, such as Washington, New York and Chicago and also at Haussmann's works in Paris. These references were also then taken in São Paulo as symbols of modernity, as opposed to the picturesqueness of the historic European cities. In fact, the narrow and irregular streets of São Paulo city centre, as well as the arrangement of its blocks, were shown as belonging to the past and the grid was sold to the economic elites as a modern feature par excellence.

The grid was not accompanied by high-rise buildings, as was common in the American cities. The rural aristocracy, who was moving to the city, was not eager to lose the privilege of living in a big house with a wide open area surrounding it. In a way, the new residential districts for the elites tried to fulfill their wishes to live in close contact with nature and this fact can also be considered as one of the reasons for the local success of the garden suburbs model of creating residential quarters. One of the most important cases in that period in São Paulo was the land development that took place in the Bela Cintra farmland, which was followed by the construction of the Paulista Avenue, placed as a boulevard in the ridge of a hill; and of a square designed by Paul Villon in 1892. (Fig. 3) Thus the grid, the boulevard, and the square appeared as symbols of urban modernity based on examples taken respectively from the American cities, from the haussmannian works in Paris and from the British fixation with low-rise dwellings amidst green areas. Therefore, on the one hand the green areas in the elite's new residential quarters in São Paulo were fundamental to fulfilling their desire to keep living in contact with nature, in a similar way as they were used to when living in the countryside; and on the other hand, they were symbols of status and urban modernity. In this allegoric and cultural construction, the garden, the square and the boulevard had a crucial role. The green areas around the house was no longer the productive garden of the farmhouses, but an ornamental one, which was supposed to demonstrate the owner's cultural trendiness and economic power. The 'square', designed by Villon, followed the British model as described by Giedion[3] and was thought to be a closed semi-public green area for the inhabitants of the quarter. This square and the boulevard were the main places for social encounters and personal exhibition. It is no less correct to state that the permanence of the will to keep the contact with green areas and its new urban symbology are going to be on the basis of the success that the garden quarters had in the city during the following decades.
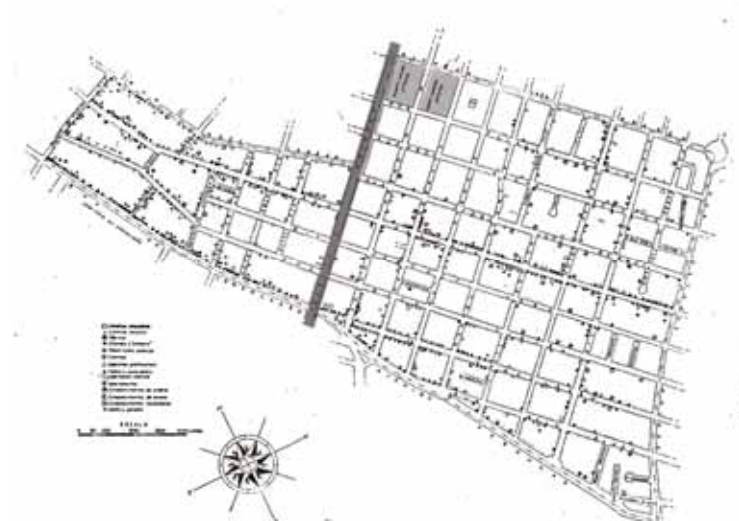
Fig. 3 – The use of the grid in the district around the Paulista Avenue. The square and the avenue are marked.

In fact, the provision of garden areas in the rich residential quarters was made as a way of increasing the attractiveness of the site and was not offered in the popular districts. Furthermore, with the increase in urbanization and industrialization, the open spaces were quickly disappearing from the urban tissue, and the municipal commissioner of public works foresaw that the city was about to face the terrible effects of the uncontrolled sprawl and of the industrial growth that several European and North-American cities had already suffered. In a short period, the picturesque village of the colonial times lost its urban form, balance between open and built areas and – led by real-estate speculation – became an amorphous city in a continuous process of expansion.

It was in this context that the need to think about the city as a complete organism and to propose a comprehensive and general plan was discussed inside the public administration. Among other preoccupations, it appeared to be fundamental to control the urban sprawl; embellish the city, combat the loss of the city shape; reconnect the urban tissue, improve the traffic system and create green areas. The newly created discipline – the urbanism –then took place in the debates of the professionals involved with the realization of public works in the city, especially in the discourses of Victor da Silva Freire, the municipal commissioner of public works.

3.   The defined form green city: the municipal planning reaction

In 1911, Freire delivered some speeches on urban planning and advocated the creation of a comprehensive plan for São Paulo. He detailed the city problems, expounding clearly how private planning was destroying the city's picturesqueness, causing its dissociation and leading it to a state of chaos. As mentioned before, at that time the works of the *Städtebau* and of the British *Town Planning* were two of the most recognized experiences in the construction of the urbanism as a new disciplinary field, and they had a fundamental role as successful examples to be followed in the constitution of the first comprehensive plans for São Paulo.[4] The dissemination of their ideas was particularly important after the *Town Planning Conference* held in London and organized by the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1910. There the main urban movements were represented, such as the *City Beautiful* of Burnham and Robinson; the *Städtebau* of Stübben and Eberstadt and the *Town Planning* of Unwin and Geddes. Against the *Beaux-Arts* methods, the *Städtebau* and the *Town Planning* urged for the establishment of a new disciplinary and scientific field of action in the cities, considering also its historic urban development, the geography and its local character. In this sense, Baxter affirmed that:

> The new school is particularly severe upon the 'handsome-picture plan' method which seeks a symmetrical layout and aspects of balance that are effective mainly upon paper, the qualities aimed at seldom counting for anything in practice. It has been remarked that to practice this method the sole equipment called for consists of nothing but straight lines and some circles. This academic procedure induces peculiarly involved street relations. Gurlitt remarks that the author of such planning, one might almost believe, appears to be

influenced by considerations of arabesque ornament in his endeavour to bring together many lines at one spot, in order to create crossing-points for artistically working up his lacework of streets. Invariably typical of the 'handsome-picture plan' is the circle always created at such points of intersection. Open spaces of this sort are objected to as tending not only to monotony, but to obstructiveness--complicating, confusing, and entangling traffic, by causing several main thoroughfares to converge, thus tying up the streets into a sort of enlarged knot. These circles are monotonous; a city thus conventionally planned is dotted with them. But the proper sort of open space is developed out of local circumstances thoughtfully considered in careful planning according to topographical conditions.[5]

Freire was particularly interested in those urban movements, in the sense that they did not deny the historic city picturesqueness, beauty, and form; but intended to create new urban patterns of development taking these aspects into consideration. The aesthetics of the European medieval city reviewed by Camillo Sitte and extension plans by professionals like Theodor Fischer and Joseph Stübben caught Freire's attention.

In contrast, the combination between the grids and diagonals of the *City Beautiful* was rejected as a model for São Paulo since it was opposed to the picturesqueness of the historic cities and to its disregard for topography; both arguments that Freire strongly criticized in the private planning that was being conducted in the city.

Thus, the future city should keep its irregular street pattern and preserve its picturesqueness. He defended flexible delineations and the use of the curve where adapted to local topography and historic issues. He stated that:

> Our city center is an irregular or picturesque conglomeration – this is the technical term that, in this case, it is used to show the exact impression of truth – where the streets followed, as in the European cities, the fantasy of the constructor, and not the implacable twine of the aligner.

> Is it not the curve that precisely best adapts itself to our rough land, from where the city gets its most characteristic element of charm: the picturesque?[6]

As proposed both by planners of the *Städtebau* and of the British *Town Planning*, the modern city should have a well-defined shape, be encircled by a green-belt, and recover the balance between buildings and green areas.

The challenge of reorganizing the industrial cities, planning their expansion, promoting a healthier environment and urban embellishment – which were part of the basis of the formation of the urbanism as a scientific discipline in Europe– included the preoccupation with reestablishing the connection between man and nature. The park – as analyzed by Chadwick, regarding the European cases, and Dal Co, considering the American cities – was then a fundamental element of the modern life and of planning the modern cities.[7]

In São Paulo, according to Freire, it should not be different. The planning of the modern city should consider the creation of a park system connected to the street system. Some

specific ideas and plans served as direct models for his propositions for the city, such as: the Ringstrasse of Vienna, Stübben's extension plans based on radial arteries and ring streets, the statements of Hénard at the beginning of the 20th century and the garden-city legacy developed by planners like Unwin.

Freire proposed the construction of a ring around the city centre - as a small-scale Ringstrasse and *Boulevard à Redans* – that should distribute the traffic into the radial arteries and become a pleasant walk for the population. It would also connect different green areas alongside its path, such as the two major urban parks that should be created: the Anhangabaú Park and the D. Pedro II Park, both occupying the two main river valleys enclosing the city centre. (Fig. 4) It is also worthwhile mentioning that Freire cited, in his report, the *Königstrasse* of Nuremberg, Theodor Fischer's plan for Frankfurt and the ring road proposed by Karl Henrici for Dessau in order to stress the need of building a city ring in São Paulo. In addition, he valued their respect for the historic city, the definition of expansion areas based on ring streets and radial arteries and on the propositions of park systems connected to the street systems.
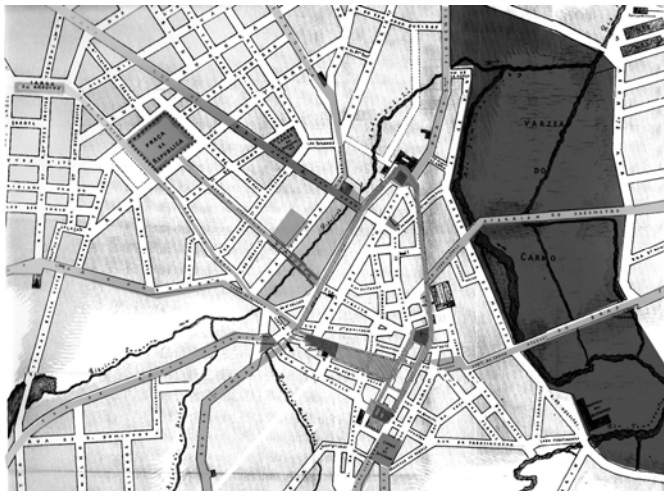
Fig. 4 – Redesign of Freire's plan for São Paulo. The street system, the squares, the area of the Anhangabaú Park (on the left) and of the D. Pedro II Park (on the right) are highlighted.

Instead of preferring the construction of large-size green areas, like the Bois de Vincennes or the Bois de Boulogne, Freire advocated the proliferation of small-size parks and squares all over the city, which would meet the recreational needs of the population and spread the good effects of pure air and sun all over the city. This solution was fundamentally based on Hénard's propositions for Paris and on Unwin's admiration for the connections of the squares, parks and streets in London as presented in his book *Town Planning in Practice*.[8] Besides their role in the embellishment of the city; improving citizens' health and combating unhygienic conditions, the green areas were thought to be used for the recreation of the population at large and as instruments of structuring the city growth. It was the first moment in São Paulo planning history that the green areas were considered as an integrated system in a general plan for the city.

Olmsted's design for the Central Park of New York - as well as his plans for suburbs, parkways and park systems - was evidently observed. The Central Park became the main international example of an urban park connected to the city tissue and influenced the creation of innumerable parks around the world. Riverside, designed in 1869 – more than 10 years before Unwin's plan for Port Sunlight and almost 20 years ahead of Howard's garden-city idea – was a strong example of suburban residential land development that tried to reconnect man and nature, city and countryside. It is important to state that these elements were used in the creation of green cities by the most important urban movements, such as the *City Beautiful*, the *City Planning*, the *Städtebau*, the British *Town Planning* and so on. The interchange of ideas among them was evident, with visits from American planners to Europe and vice-versa; and among them, we can mention the excursion of Daniel Burnham, Charles McKim and F. L. Olmsted to Europe – after the creation of the *Senate Park Commission* and just before their plan for Washington central area and the development of a park system plan. Freire's proposal for São Paulo, as said before, considered the creation of two central parks; parkways, a park system connected to the street system and the creation of garden-suburbs as a solution to suburban development, like those designed in the United States, by professionals such as Olmsted, and in England, by planners of the *Town Planning*, such as Unwin and Parker. The contemporaneous discussion on the creation of a green city was adopted from the international movements, being of special interest Freire's mention of examples of the Städtebau, his interest in the American idea of Central Park, the Boston park system, and their garden-suburbs; as well as the comprehensive town plans and suburb designs of the British *Town Planning*.

Not only was Freire acting against uncontrolled private land development, but he was also competing with other plans presented to the public administration at the same time. One of them was known as Alexandre Albuquerque's plan, and consisted of a series of *Beaux-Arts* avenues focusing on increasing the land value in the areas of interest of his partners; and another plan was defended by the state government and was carried out by the engineer Samuel das Neves. Freire strongly criticized, above all, Neve's solution, condemning his proposal for following the haussmannian model of intervening in the city, expressly because of his intention of opening long, wide and straight arteries. In his words:

> Keep oneself in the illusion that to solve the city center problem it is enough to know how to draw plans of the city, deal with the square and the drawing pen, is to have a notion of things out-of-date for almost half a century.

> The origin of this false notion comes from the transformation of Paris started after the Revolution, but really carried out in the Second Empire, by the Baron Haussmann. He largely used the straight alignment, regular, over long extensions of land.[9]

Another point strongly attacked was the suppression of the Anhangabaú Park and the construction of an Avenue in its place. Hence, against a private plan and another supported by the state government, the municipal commissioner of public works had an important ally to defend his ideas: the French architect Joseph Bouvard. Shortly before, he had presented plans for Buenos Aires and Rosario in Argentina, and was invited, in

March 1911, to express his position about the impasse created. Curiously enough, he did not argue in favor of the *Beaux-Arts* methods he himself had endorsed in his previous plans, such as those in Argentina, but supported Freire's ideas. This fact endorses the supposition that his name was directly indicated by the commissioner of public works to solve the dilemma. Bouvard defended the same principles Freire was propagating and presented a new plan, which also advocated the respect for the historic city, for the geography, and the defense of its picturesqueness and irregularity.

It is worthwhile to stress his shift from the former academic plans to this one for São Paulo in which he considered the characteristics of the place and the picturesque. This could, on different levels, be the effects of the criticisms he received in Argentina, part of a process of revising his principles according to the consolidation of the *Städtebau* and of the *Town Planning* in the international debates, and the influence of Freire. It cannot be forgotten that the translation to French of Sitte's book was carried out in 1902 and that the following year the foundation of the *Association Française des Cités Jardins* took place. It is also remarkable that Sitte's and Unwin's influence in France became wider and wider in the first two decades of the 20th century and their ideas were spread mainly by members of the *Société Française des Architectes Urbanistes*, founded under the presidency of Hénard and Risler the same year of Bouvard's plan for São Paulo, in 1911. Aware of these discussions - and therefore in accordance with Freire – Bouvard stated that:

> It is necessary, from now towards the future, fill the empty spaces, what is going to be easy, if a firm decision of adopting a certain number of measures aiming at the achievement of a great effect, as interesting as picturesque.
>
> It is needed, for this purpose, to abandon the archaic system of the absolute grid, the principle of the straight line, which is excessively uniform; the secondary streets which emerge always perpendicularly from the main artery. It is necessary, in one word and considering the state of things today, to go toward the use of convergent and involving lines, according to the specific cases. (…)
>
> As a result, we have: for the city centre, for the urbs, respect for the past, the understanding of the uselessness of exaggerated street openings and enlargements - the understanding of the uselessness of putting to work, without stop, the pickaxe, as the only result of making the city historic character, archeological and interesting aspects disappear.[10]

His plan preserved the basic structure suggested by Freire, with the adoption of the radial and ring streets system and its connection to a park system, while widened the scale of the intervention. The proposal for the Anhangabaú Park and D. Pedro II Park was preserved, as well as the creation of several small squares and other green areas spread over the urban tissue. The first park was built from 1914 to 1918, and the second was completed in 1922.

Bouvard's plans were developed by the municipal department of public works, led by Freire, and was accordingly built following his ideas without significant changes. It was noticeable that the development of Bouvard's plan took into consideration the

connection of the new garden suburbs, which were being built in the southwest quadrant of the city, with the city center. As mentioned, already in 1911, Freire had defended the garden suburbs as the optimal solution for the residential areas in opposition to the grid and lack of green areas generated by other private land developments that were taking place. Therefore, the construction of the garden suburbs, held by the *City of São Paulo Improvements and Freehold Land Company Limited* (called City Company) after 1917, was an initiative to be encouraged.

4.   Garden-city: the semi-private planning solution

Barry Parker, who together with Raymond Unwin had planned the first garden city, Letchworth, in 1903, was invited by the City Company to design some garden suburbs in the land they had acquired previously. The connections between Freire, Bouvard and Parker are not totally clear. However, Freire seems to have had an important role in bringing Bouvard to São Paulo in 1911, and he himself became a member of the City Company's board of directors in 1938. Moreover, Bouvard was the vice-president of the Company when founded and his son – Roger Bouvard – was sent to São Paulo to decide which lands to buy. Finally, it is possible that Parker might have been contacted by Joseph Bouvard to come to São Paulo and it is a fact that he became, at the age of 71 years, the Company's vice-president.[11] These events suggest the interconnections between the public and the private spheres in the city planning, which was permanent in the following years.

Hence, from the point of view of the private investor, the option to build garden suburbs became worthy of interest for several reasons. Firstly, it had the support of the public planning departments that considered this model the best way of developing land. Secondly, as the preferences to live in the high lands were overwhelmingly spread among the elites, the valleys were the empty areas to be built. Therefore, the irregularity and curves of the garden suburbs pattern designs – that were principally developed in the United States and in the UK – would both suit the topography of the sites and would promote a new and modern way of living in a thoughtfully designed green quarter.

For Freire, thus, the construction of these suburbs would help promoting the creation of green areas at the same time it would fill the empty spaces in the urban tissue. It would put forward the dissemination of a high standard model of planning that was in accordance with his ideas and with the main international urban debates. Afterwards, the public planning should stimulate their construction and articulate them to the existing street system and consider it part of the city park system. In this sense, the construction of the modern São Paulo was thought to be achieved by the combined actions of the public planning and the private promotion of garden suburbs.

From 1917 to 1919, Parker stayed in São Paulo and developed the garden suburbs designs for the City Company, redesigned an existing park and proposed a park ring around the city. (Fig. 5) This greenbelt was much larger than the ring formerly proposed by Freire, and would enclose the whole urban area, reestablishing the city's former circular shape on a larger scale. It was the first time that an outer greenbelt following the

river valleys, mainly of the Tietê and Pinheiro rivers, was presented as a solution to control the urban sprawl and to provide huge areas of greenery for the city.

Fig. 5 – Plan of São Paulo from 1916 showing the park ring proposed by Barry Parker.

If in European cities the rings were mainly created to replace the city walls – in the borders of the city, as in the case of Paris and Vienna; in São Paulo they were to transform the valleys, both in Freire's conception and in Parker's ring park. The greenbelt, which became an element of several plans in Germany and in the UK in the 19th century, was an important instrument in defining the shape of the modern city, both in the works of the *Städtebau* and of the British *Town Planning*, evidently influenced by Howard's appropriation of this idea.

After Parker's proposal, the canalization of the Tiete River, which had been considered since the end of the 19th century observing mainly technical aspects, started being understood as part of the urban plans for the whole city and also as a remarkable opportunity to create an enormous park ribbon in the lowlands alongside the river bed. Instead of being a utopian solution, this idea was taken as a stimulus for the local planners to widen their focus, proposing plans that considered larger areas and aspiring to the creation of a vast number of parks and pleasant walks along the borders of the city.

Therefore, if the private land development carried out in the city based on the grid and regular street and blocks patterns was creating an amorphous, fragmented and gray city; the first public plans initially led by Freire, and then observing Bouvard's proposals, started combating it and struggled to recompose the shape of the city and the balance between built area and open spaces. The garden suburbs and the park ring acted in favor of what Freire defended and were solutions that could help to bring greenery back to the city, to restore the continuity of the urban tissue, to promote an urban model highly admired in the international scenery, and to redefine the form of the city.

Conclusions

The emergence of the urban question in São Paulo appeared only at the end of the nineteenth century when the former state of equilibrium between the city and the countryside, built area and greenery started becoming unbalanced. The contextual issues led by the arrival of the railways, the profits obtained from the coffee trade and by the emergence of real-estate market sharply shattered the colonial facet of São Paulo and threw it into immeasurable process of sprawling.

The private land development since the end of the 19th century adopted the grid as the best solution to obtain maximum profits. In the absence of a master plan, the land was fragmentarily divided and, consequently, the urban tissue lost its cohesion. The former defined shape of the city turned into a formless agglomeration that was growing indefinitely. Just after the first *Town Planning Conference* in London, and alert to the international urban debates, São Paulo's municipal commissioner of public works defended the need to create a comprehensive plan for the city, to prepare its future by acting in the present. The urbanism, as a new disciplinary field, appeared thus in São Paulo as an instrument of planning the uncontrolled process of city growing. Hence, he put himself in favor of the *Städtebau* and of the *Town Planning* methods – which at that time were the main international urban movements opposed to the *Beaux-Arts* schemes. The consideration for the historic city, for its picturesqueness, beauty and form – together with the creation of comprehensive street systems and park systems – were basically the fundamental elements that Freire considered adequate to reflect on in the planning of São Paulo, and that soon after his plan Bouvard adopted. Therefore, the ideas of Sitte, Stübben, Hénard and Unwin prevailed in this specific way of understanding how to plan the modern city.

The loss of the city's shape, beauty and picturesqueness, as well as the occupation of the land and consequent absence of green areas were faced as vital problems to be solved. Therefore, the public planning, represented by Freire and afterwards by Bouvard, aimed to create a picturesque, modern and well-defined-form green city, theoretically supported by the works and ideas held mainly in Germany, Austria and in the UK at the time. The idea of creating a park system in São Paulo emerged both from the observance of these European cases and from the United States examples known worldwide.

The accordance between private endeavors and public planning had in the plans for garden suburbs the object of a mutual cooperation. For the private investor that adopted the urban development pattern derived from the garden-city movement and from the United States' suburbs, it was a way of combining at the same time the best solution to planning in the topographically irregular areas and to creating a high quality design model to attract the elite's interest. For the public planning it was in accordance with their urban ideas, being the best way to promote the expansion of the city. It would help to bring nature back to the quarters, to increase the acreage of green public spaces; to occupy the empty areas in the urban tissue, to create picturesque sites and to redefine the urban form. The ring park would consolidate this process of creating a new city

shape, restraining further sprawling, and provide an immense strip of greenery for the well-being of the citizens.

The relationships between public and private planning are not clear, considering the construction of the garden suburbs. The efforts of the public administration to join these areas to the street system of the existing city and other improvements in these suburbs areas are noteworthy. Almost certainly, economic interests took an important role in these endeavors, but it is important to stress the fact that the support of the public planning it had was strongly encouraged on account of being in accordance with public planning ideas about how the modern São Paulo should be shaped.
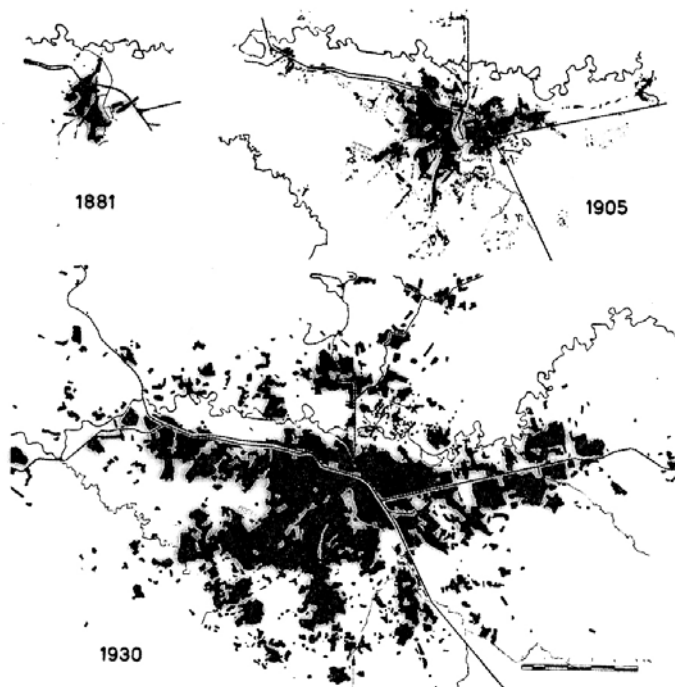
Fig. 6 - Plan showing the urban sprawl in São Paulo from 1881 to 1930.

Unfortunately, several obstacles appeared and the public planners at that time did not have the necessary power to put forward some of its most important plans the way they wanted. For instance, the Tietê River plans which would create an impressive strip of parks, residences and public buildings with time were simplified and limited to the construction of highways on both sides of the river. Neither was it possible to stop the urban sprawl that prevailed over the creation of green areas. São Paulo kept growing strongly (Fig. 6) and its population increased overwhelmingly until the exorbitant numbers that the contemporary metropolis presents. Private planning, on the other side, even under some control and regulations, had grown its power within the definitions of the course of the city, prevailing over the public ones in São Paulo's urban history.

[1] Manieri-Elia, Mario. Por una ciudad 'imperial'. In: Ciucci, Giorgio [et al]. La Ciudad Americana (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1988), p.3-8.

[2] Azevedo, Aroldo. A Cidade de São Paulo: estudos de geografia humana. V.II (São Paulo: Associação de Geógrafos Brasileiros, 1958), p.86-92.

[3] Giedion, Siegfried. *Espacio, Tiempo y Arquitectura*: el futuro de una nueva tradición (Madrid: Ed. Dossat, 1978), p.662-71.

[4] About the Städtebau, Baxter affirmed that: "*The movement has manifold aspects, economic, social, and artistic. Its influence, already great outside of Germany, has been particularly strong in Great Britain, where in organizing movements for garden cities and model villages, and in shaping legislation dealing with town planning and the housing question, many leaves have been taken from German experience*". Baxter, Sylvester. The German Way of Making Better Cities. In: *Atlantic Monthly*, n.104, jul., 1909, p.72-95. In: http://www.library.cornell.edu/Reps/DOCS/baxter.htm, consulted in june 2007.

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Agache's Plan in Vitória nowadays

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Introduction

This paper is based on a 1940's plan for Vitória, the most important city in Espírito Santo, Brazil, supervised by Alfred Agache.

Agache was a French urbanist, who worked on urban planning for several Brazilians cities. *Agache's Plan for Vitória*, as the general plan is called, was made to order for *Empreza de Topografia Urbanismo e Construções* – ETUC -, a private enterprise established in the city of Rio de Janeiro. The goal of the current study is to analyze the importance and the significance of this plan at the time it was drafted and its current meaning to the urban and metropolitan reality.

First of all a brief introduction of Vitoria's evolutionary history is necessary. It is one of the oldest cities in Brazil, founded in the year of 1551. However, its urban and economic development dates to more recent periods. Since the early 19th Century the state's economy began an ascending process, connected to the coffee agriculture and its exportation. This process was facilitated by the creation of colonies formed by European immigrants' in the state's country side. These immigrants, the great majority Italians, were responsible for the growth of the agro-exportation business and for the state's cities network growth. It is worth mentioning that up to that time the territory's occupation was basically on the seashore and in few urban nucleuses. The lack of occupation in the country side was due to a Portuguese ban to a west expansion, to avoid precious stones being smuggled from Minas Gerais (NOVAES, Maria Stella de; OLIVEIRA, 1975: MENDONÇA, 1985). From 1500 to 1822 Brazil was a Portuguese colony becoming a republic in 1889 when the monarchial regime was over.

Thus, by the end of the 19th Century, Vitoria's economy was closely linked to the coffee agriculture, and this commodity price fluctuation on the international market regulated the city's life until the beginnings of the 20th Century. In the good times there were several urban improvements and their interruption, or even changes in urban policies, during times of crisis (illustration 1).

A poignant moment happened in the 1890's when immediately after launching a daring government program, the work was all of a sudden interrupted due to a steep fall in coffee value and consequently in its market share (CAMPOS JUNIOR, 1996). The program content included **re-restructuring the state railway system**, so that the state and part of Minas Gerais' agricultural production would flow, **re equipping the port**, as a necessary support for the exportation of this production, and **city expansion** (CAMPOS JUNIOR, 1996), folded six times (BRITO, 1996) toward east, in the form of garden suburbs (ANDRADE, 1992).

This new project was written in 1896, by sanitation engineer Saturnino de Brito, following aesthetic and hygienic principles argued worldly (illustrations 2 and 3). The new suburb for Vitória, as the project was named, was the first of many others in the author's career, who worked on the expansion and sanitation of several Brazilian cities in the northeast and south of the country (ANDRADE, 1992).

All government's propositions at the time, to the railway network, the port and city expansion, were too broad considering the simplicity of the urban space at that time, its infrastructure and the financial amount needed to accomplish them. Its proposal would only be valid if possibilities of a continuing financial growth of the state's main product: coffee (CAMPOS JÚNIOR, 1996; CAMPOS JÚNIOR, 1993; ALMEIDA, 1986) were considered. It is observed that the financial crisis that happened right after its launching didn't annulled completely the program originally conceived. However, the program was done in steps during the first half of the 20th Century, taking into account the rhythm of the coffee value in the overseas market as already explained (MENDONÇA et all, 1996).

In the first decades of the 20th Century there were several urban plans proposed for Vitória. All of them different from the *new suburb* early proposed about the involved areas. While the latter, programmed a secular expansion, the others were set on a more immediate remaking of the existing urban nucleus, including some territorial extension, although more modest.

In the first three decades, it is important to highlight the establishment of the urban infra-structure, which modernized Vitória (CAMPOS JÚNIOR, 1996; MENDONÇA, 2000). The government actions were incisive in relation to buildings stairs, squares and public parks, rebuilding paths and opening boulevards, like in Paris and Rio de Janeiro. There was also concern about public lighting, water supplies, and the establishment of cable cars lines that extended the city to the west as to the east, contributing to accomplish the new plans for the new suburb step by step.

Several of the buildings done were based in plans developed for Vitória. Thus, it is fair to highlight the City's general plan of 1917, developed by Henrique de Novaes' administration, who besides being mayor, was an engineer and the author of the proposal (VITÓRIA, 1917). Although Novaes was not as well known as Saturnino de Brito by the Brazilian urban historiography, he was also author of proposals for rebuilding, expansion and sanitation to several cities in Brazil. It is worth mentioning that besides his technical capacity, his political activity was relevant in the local as well as national agricultural scenario (MENDONÇA, 1999).

It is observed in the 1917 plan, among other aspects, its concern in promoting the connections between the high and the lower parts of the city, as well as the east-west ones (NOVAES, In: BRIGIDO). To facilitate the redefinition of these flows, which were closely related to the port operation, the proposal to undo a hill becomes important as it took reference in the undoing of Castelo hill in Rio de Janeiro.

In 1931, Novaes developed the Urbanization Plan for Vitória, in which several proposals from the 1917 City's general plan were re-edited. The new proposal was more daring than the first one as it extended considerably the urban expansion area, even proposing, extending landfill to broaden the New Suburb project, written by Brito in the late 19th Century and still weak in occupation (illustration 4). Even though this plan contained several attributes in its contents worth mentioning in Victoria's urban evolutionary context, not to lose our focus in the main subject of this paper, only some will be mentioned. So it's worth mentioning that Novaes was the politician responsible for hiring urbanist Alfred Agache to work in Vitória in the 1940s and he was also responsible for the technical definition of the content agreed (ETUC).

Therefore, focusing on the 1931 plan content, it can be seen that while dealing with a broader territory than the early plans and projects, this one functioned preliminary as a kind of functional subdivision that in a certain way corresponded to a simplified essay to the future urban zoning.

So, it is clear the attention directed to the remodeling of the high city, as an area of well enhanced civic-religious character. Although it did not eliminate the possibility of city growth westbound, the plan highlighted the east expansion. The idea of predicting the functionality of the territory covered beyond what was marked for downtown, as well as the forethoughts for the port and industrials functions in the east, but still close to the central area, and the forecast of a residential neighborhood in the landfill area in expansion projected by Brito (NOVAES, In: BRÍGIDO) were all in the plan. Novaes importance to this remote zoning here mentioned is meaningful in the overall scope of this article if we consider him to be the key person in communicating with Alfred Agache in the next decade what will be deal about in the next chapter.

Agache Plan in Vitória – foregoing

In 1945 Henrique de Novaes was Vitória's mayor for a second time. In this occasion he hired the services of a carioca company to perform a broad action in the urbanistic field, including drawing registers, topographic services, registering and census as well as an urbanization plan. Together with the services of the so-called *Empreza de topografia urbanismo e construções ltda. – ETUC*, they also hired the French urbanist Alfred Agache as the plan supervisor (ETUC). Agache who had created the French Society for Urban Studies, and was its vice-president, was working in South America, having already created an important plan for the city of Rio de Janeiro.

The Urbanization plan agreed on included a main plan, projects for a civic center, creation and remodeling of neighborhoods. Besides these aspects the plan dealt with traffic flow, called functional elements and free spaces, including issues related to recreation, sports and landscape architecture. As to the urban expansion, it is observed that the plan also cared for aspects named immediate and remote expansion, characterized as zoning.

Besides the drawing registry and the urbanization plan, it is observed that the report included, in the end, a chapter that deals with the conclusions, final suggestions and recommendations about the success in the development, advertisement, commission in the city's plan, special legislation and the necessary financial resources to its implementation (ETUC).

The first aspect to be emphasized is the direct relation between the propositions in this new plan for Vitória and the content of prior plans, overall the ones in the 1931's. This fact, highlights the role of engineer Henrique de Novaes in the technical and political leadership of the urbanization plans for Vitória in the first half of the 20th Century and it also indicates, in a certain way, his role as liaison partner to the urbanistic procedures adopted in the beginning of the second half of the same century. On this last item it is proper to highlight the implementation of the urbanistic zoning in Vitória by the 1954 municipal code, even though it wasn't specified as so (VITÓRIA, 1954; MENDONÇA, 2001).

The second aspect to be dealt here is the general content of the proposal, that for some decades was a fundamental reference for the planning and management of the area. The third and last aspect to highlight about Agache's plan, focused in this article, refers to one of the neighborhoods created, called at that time *Saldanha da Gama* (illustration 5). It's about this last aspect that a study will be developed following the current aspects of the plan here focused.

The development of each one of these aspects, in the following chapters allows us to understand the importance of Agache's plan not only for the moment it was proposed, but also for the present.

Agache's Plan in Vitória – the contract requirements

The idea to expose here some aspects related to the contract signed between Vitória municipality and ETUC, aims to show that the plan developed received general lines from the local administration and that engineer Henrique de Novaes, in the occasion mayor for the second time, had a key role in the process.

Therefore, the main document to be examined is the invitation for bid sent by the mayor to ETUC (ETUC). In the document there is an estimate of a maximum of 18 months for the accomplishment of the city registration charter and for the organization of the urban plan for Vitória and Vila Velha. It is worth mentioning that Vila Velha located south of Vitória, was the first inhabited nucleus in Espírito Santo, in the 16th Century, formed by Portuguese settlers, who soon transferred the city's facilities to Vitória, the territory capital, a place safer from Indians and foreigners attacks (NOVAES, Maria Stella de; OLIVEIRA, 1975).

About the registration charter, it is observed that besides the interest in establishing it as a mapping base for the urbanization plan it was also used for fiscal reasons, as a comprehensive real estate census, which included finding out property deeds.

As for the urbanization plan, the contract mentions the necessity to follow the *general guidelines drawn by City hall, so that the city would be divided into six zones* (ETUC) The definition presented by City hall previewed the first West zone, *as firstly and foremost a working-class zone, with the exception of the lots taken from the mangroves… to which will be given mixed use: three store pavement blocks, adaptable to trade, offices and apartments on the upper floors* (ETUC)*.*

For the second zone located south of the so-called urban nucleus of Vitória, the prediction was for *heavy industry, with its necessary proletarian satellite neighborhoods* (ETUC).

The third zone was formed by the existing urban nucleus for which the port and central functions were forecasted, including specific attention to the civic center in the High City. The fourth zone comprehended an East expansion from the existing urban nucleus to become *a clean and light industry nucleus (food, furniture, fabrics etc.), surrounded by residential belts* (ETUC)*.* It is observed that these belts would occupy the areas near the sea shore; while farther from them would be *working-class satellite centers* (ETUC)*.* The fifth zone located in the extreme east of the island of Vitória, is presented as a guideline that will strictly follow Saturnino de Brito's plan, adapting to it the area taken from the sea. The sixth zone refers to Vila Velha and it is barely mentioned.

The other data in the invitation bid document, concerning the maps formats and material to be produced, as well as the deadlines and conditions to be fulfilled won't be listed here as they aren't as important for this study as the guidelines mentioned for the creation of a zoning.

That is why there is a lack of information about Vila Velha as well as specific indications presented for the majority of the zones, surely originated in prior urbanization plans, specially the 1931's. The slight expansion to the west, the special attention to the Civic Center and the real extension of the city to the east, creating territories with landing propositions and sharing of established uses, refer to the urbanization plan of 1931, which Henrique de Novaes rewrote in form of guidelines for the city's occupation plan in this invitation bid.

It is still worth mentioning a possible influence of Novaes, in the presence of Agache as plan supervisor hired by ETUC. During the first half of the 20th Century, Henrique de Novaes role in the production of urbanization plans for Vitória, as his presence in the political scene was, as already mentioned, meaningful. This context allowed, technically as well as politically, the permanence of Novaes, during several periods of his life, in the country's capital at that time, Rio de Janeiro. Novaes technological knowledge about urbanism had already allowed him to quote Agache in his argumentation developed in his 1931 urbanization plan (NOVAES in BRÍGIDO). Besides, in some of Novaes proposals for Vitória can also be observed influences by the urbanization acts done in Rio de Janeiro. These reasons plus the fact that Agache had already done important urbanistic projects for Rio de Janeiro, that had had meaningful repercussion, allow us to

hypothesis with some certainty Novaes preference for the French urbanist hired. It corroborates to the hypotheses the following extract from ETUC's work reports.

> *From conversations in Vitória, with Mr. Mayor and members of the decision committee, it was agreed that the part concerning the urbanization should also be awarded naming professor Alfred Agache as City hall Plan's representative, coordinator and supervisor* (ETUC)*.*

It is also observed that along with the contract between City hall and ETUC it was signed a contract between City hall and urbanist Alfred Agache. In the latter were established his obligations and fees to be fulfilled as shown in this extract:

> *This agreement is an addiction to the contract signed between Vitória City hall and Empresa de Topografia Urbanismo e Construções Ltda. on May 23, 1945 about the organization of Vitória's Main Plan* (ETUC).

Having done these considerations it is now possible to deal with some aspects of the general content of the plan in the following chapter.

Agache's Plan in Vitória –the plan's general content

Considering the scope of the activities in the report presented by ETUC, which included drawing the registers, urban planning and conclusions, it was opted for the current approach to deal only with the urbanization plan.
According to the determinations in the invitation bid, the urbanization plan was composed of five titles:

1 *Main plan and its guidelines*;
2 *Civic Center – created neighborhoods- remodeled neighborhoods*;
3. *Functional elements in the plan- traffic flow*;
4 *Free spaces- recreation- sports – urban landscaping and*
5 *Immediate and remote extension – zoning* (ETUC).

In the first title about the *Main plan and its guidelines*, the report highlighted the difficulties in establishing a road network in the city, due to its long lineal and topographic characteristic, between mountains and the sea. It emphasized that although, a city of small proportions, its neighborhoods are in general, away from the commercial and administrative center. This distance demanded long cable cars' and buses' lines and transformed downtown into a mandatory stop for transferring among neighborhoods. In terms of propositions the plan indicated the fore-planning of marginal paths by the sea. It previewed a balance in the remodeling and creation of neighborhoods, and that *hypertrophy of some at the expense of others* (ETUC) would not happen. This aspect is exemplified with special care to *Santo Antônio* neighborhood in the west in balance with *Saturnino de Brito* neighborhood in the east, with all their blooming characteristics. The search for a group harmony was also mentioned in relation to the functional elements and the attractiveness.

The second title about the *Civic Center – created neighborhoods - remodeled neighborhoods*, dealt with the urbanistic re-structuration of certain parts of the city and the creation of new neighborhoods. Initially the report highlights the fact that besides the central area, Vitória still did not have heavy occupied areas. This fact wasn't enough to justify, the creation of new neighborhoods but the fulfillment of empty spaces to be stimulated by the implantation of infra-structure was. Nevertheless a residential neighborhood project between *Saturnino de Brito* neighborhood and downtown was allowed to be created, demonstrating that this was the municipality's prior intention. The report also forecasted its slow accomplishment because this task demanded receiving the land from the pier job, reason for considering the possibility of this neighborhood to exist *as long as it wouldn't harm the growth of the others* (ETUC)*.* It is also interesting to highlight the transformation of *Ilha do Príncipe into a prime residential neighborhood because of its privileged position* (ETUC), as city's gate.

Santo Antonio neighborhood, in the west would be remodeled as well as the Civic Center, with special attention to the religious and administrative buildings specially the cathedral and the Governor's Palace. There is also some reference to *Saturnino de Brito* neighborhood in the east, indicating the necessity to create another water access, predicted for the new neighborhood, as well as the importance to stimulate the density growth (ETUC).

The third title referred to the *Functional elements in the plan –traffic flow*, proposed heavy machinery, analyzing its function and location in the city and at the same time examined the aspects related to traffic flow. The facilities mentioned were: the port, bus station, boat pier, railway station, airport, hydroplane station, municipal stadium and a commercial and administrative center. As to the circulation, the main aspect of the proposal referred to *Beira mar* Avenue that should have an avenue park characteristic, with future forethoughts of surrounding all the island of Vitória (ETUC).

The fourth title referred to the *Free spaces- recreation – sports - urbanistic architecture,* the report highlights the scarcity of free and arborized areas in the city, making specific recommendations for each remodeled and or created neighborhoods as well as indicating the kinds of trees for the arborization of the designed paths (ETUC).

The fifth title, involving the *Immediate and remote extension- zoning*, indicated that the plan followed the zoning that already existed in the city, probably meaning accordance to what was established in the invitation bid. In general lines it indicated the use characterized in the created or remodeled neighborhoods, referring though to the delimitations of each zone by the legislation or building code to be done. The elaboration of these norms, including the zoning, is attributed to the City Plan Commission whose acts were also present in the report (ETUC).

Having presented the general content of the plan, it seems that it presented wider and more complex dimensions than the possibilities and aims of this article. That is why it was decided to deal in a more specific way with the neighborhood created east of

Vitória, for analyses effect and context proposed in Agache's plan and the current context of the neighborhood.

Agache Plan in Vitória –the New neighborhood

Dealing exclusively with the new neighborhood projected east of Vitoria's central area it is possible to go back to its proposal in the 1931 plan by Henrique de Novaes. Agache's plan while introducing the new neighborhood, explicitly followed the *municipalities ideas* (ETUC), also justified it, considering new access by the sea to *Saturnino de Brito* neighborhood in the island's extreme east. This access was originated in the already mentioned expansion project forethought in the end of the 19th Century and still with a low occupancy in the early 1940s.

The description, in the report of the works in the projected neighborhood, allows us to see it as a continuity of the landing already done immediately east to downtown, to which there had already been a *street project approved* (ETUC)*.* To confirm the idea that the project recovered a prior idea, there is the following description of the grid and some characteristics planned for the new neighborhood:

> *Reviewing this initiative we have designed a new residential neighborhood in simple lines according to technical norms with broad ways and regular blocks taking advantage of the higher elevations for landscaping motifs, forming small parks that will break the monotony of an entire flat area* (ETUC).

Although it predicted the territorial incorporation, by landfill from several islands, the report only referred to attaching *Ilha da Fumaça* (smoke island), near where it was predicted a site for tourist activities connected to shipping and fishing and *also an interesting point with the possibility to form a long beach, eye catching for the new neighborhood and where there would be hotels, casinos and sea shore activities* (ETUC)*.*

The description also highlighted the park-avenue, in *a simple line but with neat lanes and garden spots* (ETUC)*,* as a side way in the neighborhood, connecting downtown to the beaches zones (AGACHE). Even though it was forecasted as a residential neighborhood, it was mentioned in the report the possibility in a distant future that the central area in the neighborhood would shelter the Civic and administrative Center, supposing that the existing one would change function to become museums or research centers (ETUC).

A tourist hotel was predicted in the park-avenue in the vicinities of *Saturnino de Brito* neighborhood, featuring private beaches, parks and interesting sites. As for the lower elevations, it was predicted their undoing for progressively build the landfill that would generate the neighborhood. However, enhancing even more the landscaping aspect of the proposal, the prediction for the higher hills was to transform them into zoos and botanic gardens. In the latter it was planned an orchid center on which high

expectations were placed due to the variety and quantity of the species in Espírito Santo (ETUC).

With these characteristics defining the new imagined and designed neighborhood, already named *Saldanha da Gama* neighborhood, it is reasonable to follow how this establishment and development happened.

The new neighborhood development and its future perspectives

As the area for the new neighborhood was on an enormous mangrove, it was imaginable that the designed neighborhood in the early 1940's, took some years to have part of its area prepared to receive the first buildings. The landfill was done between 1950 and 1954, paralleling to the making of another landfill continuous to downtown in an area called *Esplanada Capixaba*, both linked to the task of improving Victoria's port (CAMPOS JÚNIOR, 1993; MENDONÇA, 2001).

The grid drawn for this new land followed the general guidelines of the project supervised by Agache. However, with the exception of two small squares symmetrically placed in the east part of the neighborhood and a path with a central flowerbed, none of the other landscaping predictions were done during the project's implementation. This lack of a landscaping aspect is also found in the sea shore avenue, that although it fulfills the plan's prediction as a connection between downtown and the beaches it did not become a park-avenue as it was designed.

However, it is proper to consider that the mentioned neighborhood is exerting an important role in this urbanist intermediate context in which it was proposed, between downtown and its prime area, the east of the island.

Following some indications previewed in Agache's plan, the municipal code that defined an urbanistic zoning for Vitória was approved in 1954. This launched a special proposition for the new landing continuous to downtown, *Esplanada Capixaba* that was contemporaneous to the landfill of the new neighborhood *Saldanha da Gama*. For *Esplanada Capixaba* it was previewed the establishment of the city's tallest buildings that would be eight to twelve floors tall. At this time there were already several buildings downtown Vitória, although the height still did not reach twelve floors (MENDONCA, 2001). Downtown was the favorite place by the construction sector to build buildings. Although the area east of Vitória, including the old *Saturnino de Brito* neighborhood, now called *Praia do Canto* and the new neighborhood *Saldanha da Gama* had already some buildings, in the early 1950's, they were of small height and spread throughout the area without showing any kind of polarization (MENDONCA, 2001).

Under this light these neighborhoods were different from downtown that was without any doubt, the area with the greatest real estate interest in Vitória. In this context, the creation of the new area continuous to downtown, expanded the area proper for verticalization building in downtown's surroundings and delayed its extension to the city's east (CAMPOS JÚNIOR, 1993).

A study about the verticalization building process in Vitória (MENDONÇA, 2002) noticed the change in interest in the location of the buildings in the area, following a route east, pursuing the urbanization process in the establishment of the urban infra-structure. The author also identified, that gradually the population interest for buildings in Vitória left downtown and migrated to the beaches, always following the urban infra-structure (MENDONÇA, 2001) possibilities.

It is worth mentioning that before the real estate interest changed objectively to the beaches, there was an intermediate period, when a certain attention was on the new neighborhood designed by Agache, nowadays called *Bento Ferreira*. It is noticed that the broad avenues and large plots allowed creating an occupation similar to *Brito's* neighborhood, although not close to the beach. Thus, the new neighborhood permited the occupation to be done by one family comfortable house, but it also attracted the eye of the real estate business for the construction of buildings similar to the ones in the area near the beach. This procedure done in different periods of the 1970s was due to some circumstantial qualities of the new neighborhood. Among them, the size of the plots and the paths similar to *Brito's* neighborhood and also the closeness to downtown, still the main building area for real estate (MENDONÇA, 2001).

It was observed though, that as the urban infra structure was extended, even to east of *Brito's* neighborhood, *Bento Ferreira*, as downtown began to lose importance comparing to new market preferable areas, that besides urbanization were also near the sea. Before ending this chapter, it is worth mentioning the qualitative potential of *Bento Ferreira* neighborhood, as well as its proximity to Victoria's new center, immediately east of this neighborhood, allowing the market to shed an entrepreneur's eye on it, in spite of its lack of landscaping attributes previewed in Agache's plan.

Conclusion

Based on what has been written, it is noticed that Agache's plan for Vitória was developed in the end of the first half of the 20th Century, in a time still heavily influenced by agro-exportation economy related to coffee culture. It was also seen that several of the propositions were in fact the continuity of propositions previously proposed in early studies.

Thus, it was possible to notice the prominence given to Saturnino de Brito's project expanding the city to the east, as well as Henrique de Novaes' plans, that in a certain way monitored Vitória's urban context, culminating with the invitation bid to ETUC.
It was also observed that in the Agache's plan proposal, the regions located east of the city were projected as prime residential areas, mainly the ones on the coast. It is interesting to observe that this guideline was present in Brito's project as well as in the predictions of Henrique de Novaes, becoming a reality that is still on nowadays.
It is suitable to follow the gradual elaboration of the urbanistic zoning as a building norm rehearsed before, but objectively set and defined in de Novaes' bid invitation and elaborated after Agache's plan, becoming in 1950s a municipal law.

Vitória, from the tiny urban area in the 1940s to the central metropolitan area of seven municipalities of today, totaling about one million and five hundred thousand inhabitants, underwent several and profound transformations in the areas reported in Agache's plan. Concerning the neighborhood of *Bento Ferreira*, conceived at the time east of downtown with the name of *Saldanha da Gama* neighborhood, it is observed that its previous condition facing the landfills refers to Vitória's occupation history. Since the beginning of its occupation, even more from the second half of the 19th Century there were several landfills always trying to generate among other aspects expansion territories, contributing to keep Vitória's political position as the state capital.

The tourist feature as well as the landscaping characteristic shown on the project supervised by Agache for *Bento Ferreira* deserve an specific study later. They were briefly mentioned here. Tourism as a seashore notion in the state of Espírito Santo was used for the city of Guarapari, although present in several other prior propositions for the city of Vitória as well. As for the elimination the landscaping proposed, when the projected was done, it is noticed that the neighborhood occupation from 1950s matches the period that began in Vitória as in other cities in the world the high in real state value in spite of urban aesthetic and the preservation of public spaces.

As for real estate valorization it was possible to notice the attributes of the projected neighborhood (illustration 6), the large size of the plots as well as its location near downtown. After a period of real estate inertia, away from the market interest, it is observed its new vitality by the number of real estate new proposals.
Keeping the inherent quality of the land division, the advantage in localization nowadays, a privileged place between two centers, the old historic with a re-qualification project and the new to where the main offices, business and state departments are moving.

In spite of its lack of landscaping, that surely would enhance the urbanistic quality of the neighborhood, it is possible to say that its localization and grid take us back to the project developed and supervised by Agache and to the technical and political lead of de Novaes to its accomplishment.

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Appendix

Illustration 1: Vitória,1860, by Victor Frond.
Biblioteca Central Fernando de Castro Moraes – Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo

Illustration 2: Vitória and city expansion by Saturnino de Brito. Vitória, 1896.
Arquivo Público Estadual do Espírito Santo

Illustration 3: City expansion by Saturnino de Brito. Vitória, 1896.
Arquivo Público Estadual do Espírito Santo

Illustration 4: New expansion by Henrique de Novaes. *Plano de Urbanização de Vitória*, 1931.
www.urbanismobr.org in 30 March, 2008.

Illustration 5: *Saldanha da Gama* neighborhood supervised by Alfred Agache. Vitória, 1940's. www.urbanismobr.org in 30 March, 2008.

Illustration 6: Bento Ferreira (*Saldanha da Gama*) neighborhood, Vitória, 2005. www.veracidade.com.br in 30 March, 2008.

Brasília as a concrete object of analysis of the interaction between urban planning and private actions in Brazil

Gabriel Dorfman
Emelia Stenzel

1. Realising and facing interests. The planning of Brasília in historical background.

In 1957 took place the national competition for the design of the new capital of Brazil, to be built in the interior of country. At that time, the capital of the country was Rio de Janeiro, which, approximately two centuries before, had replaced the first capital, Salvador in the State of Bahia.

The idea of settling the capital in the very deep interior of the country, far away from its coast, was an endeavor whose roots reached very deep in Brazilian history. The change had been a subject of consideration since the time Brazil was a Colony. Sebastião de Carvalho e Melo (1699-1782), the Marquis of Pombal, one of the strongest figures in the shared history of Brazil and Portugal, took some concrete initiatives in order to establish the conquer of the hinterland with the foundation of new Planed Towns, the so called *Pombaline Cities* [1]. In order to protect the valuable resources of that huge possession of Portugal from the greed of some more powerful European countries, the Marquis considered on eventually moving Brazilian capital to its hinterland. [2]

The decision to establish the conquer of Brazilian hinterland was embraced by the republicans and interwoven with the creation of a new capital, written in the new Constitution.

But the decision to move the capital gave place - in the first republican period, as well as in the Vargas Era - to the development of existing state capital, or foundation of new ones in the Central Western Region. In this move towards West emerged two new regional capitals: Belo Horizonte, in the state of Minas Gerais and Goiânia, in the state of Goiás.

While running for presidency of Brazil in 1955, Juscelino Kubitschek made public his intention to accomplish that old plan – to move the nation's capital - and, after being elected, decided to put it forward, taking the huge risk of making the change complete in the five years of his presidential term.

At the time Brasília was being constructed, the great majority of Brazilian population was settled mainly along its coast, the only significant exception being the state of Minas Gerais. There, where in 17th. Century the gold rush had taken place, a thick urban network was established upon the structures of that former roaring economy. Building the new capital was regarded as the central issue in the bigger plan of

occupation of Brazilian hinterland, the better way to improve economy and settlement in these regions, and so diminishing the acute regional unbalances.

The construction of the new capital not just launched the development of the hinterland, but that of the whole country as well. The modern capital of the *período desenvolvimentista*, helped to define a new identity for Brazil as a modern country, a country that would be about to overcome remaining archaic economic and social structures.

A first significant moment of frontal collision between public planning and private interests, was possible to detect already during the construction. Like in other similar historic case of radical change of a *status quo* to a new situation, resistance among those about to lose some, or eventually all benefits enjoyed in established situation was bitter and fierce.

Chronics of the 20th Century tend to present the change of capital from Rio de Janeiro to Brasília as a move made to put the forces detaining political power apart from direct contact with a political engaged population, a population which exercised concrete pressure in the streets surrounding government palaces and facilities in Rio de Janeiro, what is also right.

But among the reasons explicitly assumed by Kubitschek on founding his decision to put forward the move to the new capital – to protect national politics against too strong influence of established interests [3] – some other groups of interest must be mentioned.

Among those who fiercely fought against Brasília were the strong conservative political powers, opposed to the emerging industrial and labor forces that supported Kubitchek's party and its development policy.

Arm in arm with them were the economic actors which anticipated a loss of access to instances of political and economic decisions made familiar during decades or even centuries of chumming up, as well as the groups bounded to the economy of old capital and surroundings, which foresaw the period of economic restrain, which actually took place in Rio de Janeiro.

Also to mention the resistance of thousands of members of the federal bureaucracy, faced with the contingency of being forced to abandon one of the most beautiful and cosmopolitan cities in the world and move to some provincial backwater in the middle of nowhere. For most of those families and individuals forced to move, the change – despite the substantial economic advantages offered – was a nightmare, since the losses, difficulties and discomfort they were about to go through, did not count among national interests.

A great deal of public effort during the construction was directed to a huge advertising campaign, which sought both national and international spotlights, to overshadow the strong reaction against Brasília lead by these groups. [4]

The power and the influence of those forces in shaping sectors of a public opinion, which reacted – and still reacts –to the plan in which Brasília took place and to the city itself, should by all means not be underestimated.

The construction of Brasília – with the alleged corruption involved in construction contracts - gave the central issue of the Presidential Campaign of 1960, won by Jânio Quadros, a right-wing populist. After six months, Jânio Quadros resigned, pushing the country into a crisis that lead to the military coup of 1964.

After a short period of hesitation, the right-wing military dictatorship took on the task of bringing the left-wing project to its conclusion, not being afraid to use without constraint their power, in order to assure success. The new capital, barely populated, was in fact able to assure much more urban-calm then the old one.

From the time Brasília became a project of the dictatorship, th city gained new opponents, now in the left wing of the political spectrum. The order that was to anticipate the new and modern Brazil, turned to be identified with the authoritarian order established by the conservative powers.

2. Realising new urban values. The capital planned by Lucio Costa

> "We would fain take that walk, never yet taken by us through this actual world, which is perfectly symbolical of the path which we love to travel in the interior and ideal world; and sometimes, no doubt, we find it difficult to choose our direction, because it does not yet exist distinctly in our idea." [5]

In the design competition for the new capital, in which only Brazilian architects were allowed to participate, the design submitted by Lucio Costa won the first prize.

Brasília is worldwide known for its representative public spaces, specifically for its "*Esplanada dos Ministérios*" (Ministry Esplanade), with the new typology of palaces and public buildings designed by Oscar Niemeyer, which surely belong to the most meaningful examples of the architecture of 20th. Century. It is also well acknowledged that with its conception of a new balance between built and inbuilt space, between handmade and natural elements, Costa's plan established a new pattern in the urban landscape, not just for Brazil.

But Brasilia is also a conception of a new, specific form of interaction between public and private spaces. And in order to examine this aspect of the city, an essential aspect for its inhabitants, one has to shift from the representative spaces of the capital and look into its residence blocks – its "*superquadras*".

Here, at these *superquadras*, the soil is conceived free from physical barriers and open to anyone to walk it through in any direction. The private spaces of apartments stand above it, resting on pilotis. On the ground, tiny lobbies are the only allowed restricted areas.

It is very well known that this idea was not Costa's creation, but was first delivered in the writings and designs of Le Corbusier. But in order to implement Corbusier's idea in Brasilia's superquadras, a new form of appropriation of urban soil had to be established: there should be not the typical parcels of traditional cities, but only "projections".

In the very core of Costa's plan is this new conception of urban soil as a public good, in which barriers imposed by private property should not be allowed to exist. Urban soil was meant to be public not in the same sense of some public facilities like a school, or a hospital, but as the basis of a new urban environment. Such an environment, configured much more within the dominance of its natural elements and its emptiness, than within the frame of its building elements, was to be shared by everyone, made accessible for everyone, disregarded the function or purpose of its dislocation. In other words, the city planed by Costa regarded for its inhabitants, the possibility of walking in a park like city [6]. That means, talking a walk in the city, in a sense that is nearer to the one Thoreau applied to it: walking as an experience of freedom.

At the time of the construction of Brasília, nothing could fall farther from the ruling functionalism then the introduction of such concerns in the agenda of a new city, not to mention in the agenda of the capital of a country like Brazil, a country whose urban history is the history of the rising of cities in opposition to the threatening nature.

Another aspect to be considered in the urban context fabric proposed by Costa, was the creation of neighbourhood unities, ensembles of four Superblocks - each Superblock with eleven apartment buildings spread in a square lawn surrounded by trees on all its borders, but one limited by a strip of local shop - which share public facilities, like school, church and club, in a in-between area. Such neighbourhoods are a housing cell which, reproduced along the north-south axis, assured within the capital the development of a strong domestic life.

In the neighbourhood unities of Brasília, the city better known as the capital built for the era of the automobile, pedestrians have the forehand. Each of these ensembles were planned in order to allow its inhabitants to go shopping, praying, dancing, swimming, sporting, or meeting each other solely by walking. In other words, allowed a neighbourhood community built by pedestrians, a community built by walking and through walking.

What could have possibly mean the affirmation of this specific value in a social and above all in a cultural context like Brazil some fifty years ago?

First of all, it meant that a small group of architects managed to attach to political power in order to implement new solutions for the urban context, solutions that had been

object of concern and discussion in the academic community worldwide for at least 25 years.

The engagement of modernist architects in state politics in order to implement new practices in urban planning goes back to the thirties of the last century. It was during the period of the Estado Novo, in the Vargas Era, that modernist intellectual and architects working inside Government launched a revolution in the identity of the country, shaping Brazilian modern architecture in association with a new evaluation of its cultural heritage. [7]

Aware of the possibilities opened by the planning of actions within public institutions, as experienced in that former strategy, Costa aimed at more ambitious targets, by introducing new actors in urban dynamics. Not primarily the interests of the common private economic agents was to be considered in his plan, but a much broader social project should be realized and supported, by means of the planned structure of the new city. In a country with a barely articulated civil society, which did not develop institutions able to give resistance to the interest of economic forces, such association of the architectural elite with state powers resting on broad popular approval - like those of Juscelino Kubitschek and Getulio Vargas - gave the chance for introducing radical changes in urban dynamics. It was due to this association that Lucio Costa could define, without precedence, the space of the capital as common public space.

3. Change of actors in the development of the City

From the seventies on, the city developed to become not just the real capital of the country, but the magnet that launched the development of a metropolitan region that reaches more than two million inhabitants, distributed in 19 administrative regions, one of them corresponding to the historical core of the city, the so-called *Plano Piloto,* with nearly 200.000 inhabitants*.*

Regiões Administrativas	Área total (km²)	População*	Densidade Demográfica (hab/km²)
RA 1 Brasília	472,12 (8,1%)	198.422 (9,6%)	420
RA 2 Gama	276,34 (4,7%)	130.580 (6,3%)	472,5
RA 3 Taguatinga	121,55 (2%)	243.575 (11,8%)	2.003,9
RA 4 Brazlândia	474,83 (8,2%)	52.698 (2,5%)	110,9
RA 5 Sobradinho	572,59 (9,8%)	128.789 (6,2%)	224,9
RA 6 Planaltina	1.534,69 (26,5%)	147.114 (7,1%)	95,8
RA 7 Paranoá	853,33 (14,7%)	54.902 (2,6%)	64,3
RA 8 Núcleo Bandeirante	80,43 (1,3%)	36.472 (1,7%)	453,4
RA 9 Ceilândia	230,33 (3,9%)	344.039 (16,7%)	1.493,6
RA 10 Guará	45,46 (0,7%)	115.385 (5,6%)	2.538,1
RA 11 Cruzeiro	8,9 (0,15%)	63.883 (3,1%)	7.177,8
RA 12 Samambaia	105,7 (1,8%)	164.319 (8,0%)	1.554,5
RA 13 Santa Maria	215,86 (3,7%)	98.679 (4,8%)	457,1
RA 14 São Sebastião	383,71 (6,6%)	64.322 (3,1%)	167,6
RA 15 Recanto das Emas	101,22 (1,7%)	93.287 (4,5%)	921,6
RA 16 Lago Sul	183,39 (3,1%)	28.137 (1,3%)	153,4
RA 17 Riacho Fundo	56,02 (0,9%)	41.404 (2,0%)	739
RA 18 Lago Norte	66,08 (1,1%)	29.505 (1,4%)	446,5
RA 19 Candangolândia	6,61 (0,1%)	15.634 (0,7%)	2.365,2
Distrito Federal	5.789,16 (100%)	2.051.146 (100%)	354,3

(Figures Nr. 1 and 2)

Most of the satellite cities around Brasilia, some of them founded during the construction of the new capital, followed functional urban principles while maintaining traditional urban soil property.

As perspective of big profits in real estate business became more and more attractive – what happens not just in the Plano Piloto, but also in some of the enriched "satellite cities" – like the one of Taguatinga, for example – the pressure on public free areas became enormous and conducted to the urban scenario typical of other Brazilian cities.

The inclusion of the Plano Piloto in the World Heritage List introduced another actor in the urban dynamics – the National Inheritance Institute - which changed the balance that prevails in the surrounding administrative areas, by promoting a reevaluation of the original plan.

How has the city developed in these 48 years after its inauguration in the action of such opposed actors and principles? How have individuals and small groups adapted to the values of public life as affirmed in the city design?

The first concrete case to be examined consists of the changes, which the car channels that lead to the *superquadras* and the shops located along them went through.

Originally thought by Costa to serve exclusively as channels for the people to drive through on their ways home to the superquadra and for the use of the providers of the local shops of the superquadras, located along them, these channels turned to be streets in a more traditional way.

In Costa's Plan customers were expected to come just from the superquadra, looking for items of daily consumption – milk, bread, newspaper and so on. [8] But it did not take too long for shop owners to realize how interesting for their business it would be, if they turned the front of the shops to the street, becoming much more visible for people coming from or driving to other superquadras.

This inversion of the original idea of Costa, brought by private initiative, turned those car-channels into traditional streets – almost Corbusier's *rue-couloir*, only not so narrow and not so shady like Corbusier used to depict them – with unequal consequences for Brasília.

At one side, in the years following the inauguration, the city administration increasingly gave in to the pressure of shop-owners, relieving local shop strips from the planed balance of uses, and so allowing the development of specialized shop strips. "Pharmacy streets", "Restaurant streets" "Household streets" and other emerged to attend not just local customers, but that ones coming from all over the Plano Piloto. This change not only forced the superquadra dwellers to drive by car to buy the daily supplies they once could acquire by walking, but also occasioned traffic problems that today, in same extreme cases, bring local traffic almost to collapse.

On the other hand, by turning their fronts also to the car-channels some of those shop strips that did not specialized use, became the places where life in Brasília comes nearest to the way urban life takes place in a "normal" city. People go out for shopping or only to look at the shop windows, people linger at restaurants and bars with their tables and chairs on the sidewalks, sipping their drinks, or just looking at and being looked by other people.

(Figure Nr. 4)
A local shopping strip in the late sixties

In another case of withdrawal of public action and planning in favor of private initiatives, the city administration increasingly abandoned the education system initially proposed, on the basis of the neighbourhood unities, favouring another development pattern.

During initial decades of the capital, the proposed education system was based on the so-called escolas-parque and escolas-classe, which followed the distribution pattern, set by the neighbourhood unities. Located inside the in-between area of the superquadras, both "escolas-classe" and "escolas-parque" shared the same open spaces with the apartment buildings of the neighborhood, their playgrounds been practically a kind of extension of the gardens and playgrounds that surround the homes of the children living there [9].

This initial synergy between education system and urban plan was brought out of balance with the decay of the public education-system of Brasília, caused by the lack of investment in the existing schools, with consequent low salaries and the decaying of building facilities. This system has been progressively replaced by another of private schools located in a new sector far apart from the superquadras. As consequence, of school-busses and cars filled with children have to travel twice a day between home and school, not just overloading the city traffic-system, but mainly impoverishing the development of city life in the scale of the local communities.

The consequences of both factor mentioned above in the decaying of community life in the superquadras - specialization of shop strips and the abandonment of local schools - can be better understood in the way a different trend was set in the relation of superquadra's dwellers with its public spaces: at the same time that superquadras and their adjacent areas became increasingly places where children do not spend the most of their time, they are being progressively subdivided into independent plots, each of them being fully isolated from the rest by low fences and walls.

Thus the original conception of Costa's design of a common urban space shared by all people walking in all directions, free from physical barriers imposed by private property, is going lost in those individual actions that became more and more intense in the last decades.

(Figure Nr. 5 and Figure Nr. 6)
A space once planned to be integrated – open areas were meant to be shared by apartment buildings and schools, with no barriers between them

If one considers the issue of general insecurity In Brazilian society, it is probably easy to understand how high fences and walls are considered as an effective way to provide some protection. But this is not the case of the superquadras, in which modern camera systems have already been introduced, responding – in association with security personal - for the problem of criminality.

This same logic is nevertheless not sufficient to explain why spaces that lie underneath the apartment buildings and around them are being subtly but progressively appropriated by people who live above them and cut off of access for other people – the so called "strangers".

By looking with some attention to the way the appropriation of ground-areas of superquadras has evolved, it is clear that areas kept under private or semi-private access are slowly but firmly extending. In most cases, this extension happens in a very

gentle way: green borders and low bushes are planted here and there, subtly drawing lines which progressively establish rigid limits on freedom of movements on public soil which once prevailed.

(Figure Nr. 7)
Low walls, low fences and green borders extend semi-private and private domain underneath apartment buildings and beyond it

Considering that the argument of people's necessity for more safety is by no means applicable to these cases (despite the frequent times it is expressed), there have to be surely other factors playing an important role in this process.

Such apparently small and harmless transgressions of the rules implicit in Costa's design for Brasília are not essentially different from the appropriation of public areas along commercial streets made by shop owners in a very explicit manner.

This similarity between both attitudes becomes very clear in the cases where inhabitants of apartment buildings let party-rooms be built on the ground floor of their buildings. And it cannot be overseen in this case, that also the lost of the local character of the shopping strips, which do not attend primarily communal life, contributed to a lack of interest in the preservation of those public areas.
Such attitudes can be better understood by looking at them against the background of the history and culture they belong to.

(Figure Nr. 8 and Figure Nr. 9)
Two examples of explicit illegal appropriation of public spaces by private initiative on commercial streets between adjacent superquadras

(Figure Nr. 10 and Figure Nr. 11)
Example of explicit illegal appropriation of public area underneath an apartment building which blocked movement on the ground of a superquadra

4. Evaluating the experience of Brasilia in the Brazilian cultural context

It cannot be underestimated, in the establishment of such attitudes, the evolution of the political culture of the country, during the 20 years of dictatorship.

If it is true that the militaries embraced the conclusion of the new capital, and assured the realization of the proposed urban structure, it is also true that they were not particularly committed to the principles thought to govern the development of the plan.

The militaries split with the cultural elites that were engaged in the discussion and the shaping of new social projects in the Kubitschek period, replacing the effort of constructing a political and social culture by the propaganda of the primacy of technological and economic factors, in the pursuit of social development.

The cultural resentment that marked the decades of military dictatorship, allowed the reemergence of attitudes rooted in old practices, practices that historically defined urban dynamics in Brazil, as a dynamic in which public spaces are considered as spaces to be privatized.

Such attitudes, which pervade all strata of the social spectrum, are deeply rooted in the colonial history, which set the pattern concerning private x public relations.
By examining the cultural formation of the country, historians from Brazil and abroad tend to agree that the awareness of common interests and the recognition of a public sphere is not so developed in Brazilian culture as in some other colonial countries, like the United States, for example.

In his classic work "*Raízes do Brasil*", Sérgio Buarque de Holanda exposed the idea that Brazilians tend to overestimate the significance of personal relationships, normally preferring them to the anonymous ones, which are ruled by clear socially defined roles and since Max Weber's analysis are considered as characteristic for modern societies. [10]

Such consciousness of a clear distinction between public sphere and private interests is not much developed in Brazilian culture, as a matter of fact until today (eventual doubts on this issue would probably fade away by hearing or reading the daily news about corruption in all spheres – whether public or private - of the country).

Different from other countries and cultures, situations where public sphere has to be protected against predatory attacks from individuals and small groups of interest are not rare in Brazil.

Considering this historic and cultural background, concrete cases of dispute for soil in Brasília can be better explained as disputes between social and private interests rather than disputes between the pretensions of state control against free citizens struggling for the right to shape their own environment.

The automatic application of explanation keys developed in other contexts, in which the so-called civil society constitutes a strong power, able to defend their interests and face regulations imposed by state agents, in Brasília the most aggressive forces opposed to the planned structure come from private agents, being these either individuals or groups.

The preservation of public space performed through urban planning has been until today the most effective way to prevent urban environment from being fully appropriated by private interests. It is also a way to prevent the spaces of Brasilia from been converted to the standards of the cities shaped by Brazilian economic agents, which pursuit profit making without any consideration of their social responsibility.

It is also the only way of keeping from destruction the aesthetical qualities of he urban spaces in Brasília, which offer the most valuable experience to its inhabitants. Walking through the spaces of Brasilia – which are not just those in the Monumental Axis, but mainly those in and around its Superquadras - is a unique chance for having an experience, that cannot be replaced by the ones found in historical cities or parks.

This consideration is not unimportant on evaluating the significance of private actions that are progressively but radically altering the balance between built and empty spaces in Brasília – a balance which is fundamental in Costa's design.

This unique balance sets the pattern, which enabled to reshape and reintroduce communal life in the planning of big cities in Brazil, by means of setting the basis upon which other social systems could be planned and developed. In this sense, enabling the experience of another citizenship.

The plan of Brasília was the clear statement of values mainly concerned with broadening the frontier between public and private realms. Blurring the consciousness of this frontier has been mostly a way to conceal public sphere in favor of different private interests. In Brasilia urban planning appears as an instrument for strengthening a consciousness that could never emerge in other developments of urban life in Brazil.

The permanence of Brasilia's plan is a strong affirmation of the permanence of public realm and of its prevalence against private interests. And that sort of affirmation, through its architecture and urban planning, turned to be - in the recurrent critical political times that the capital experienced in its half century of existence – remained as the only affirmation of dignity and clarity of thoughts and values. Values that survive and prevail through the urban experience brought by a case of urban planning, that conveying a new idea of city and citizenship, resists to the everlasting recurrence of the archaic.

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Designing the city: the Modern Movement and proposals for new urban forms between the two world wars

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Introduction

In the last 30 years, we can identify two related phenomena in urban studies: the architectural dimension of the urban environment as a renewed protagonist, with an emphasis on urban projects, and the resurrection and development of historical urban studies, with the proliferation of analyses on the evolution of urban forms. All of them work from the basis of the city as architecture or as a group of large-scale architectures. (Monclús, 1995)

This is the starting point for my paper which will attempt to provide a systematic summary and synthesis[1], of the main proposals for new urban forms between 1920-1940. This analysis is based not only on designs and plans for cities, but also on theoretical proposals and studies, both published and unpublished, that were translated into concrete plans, albeit with exceptions.

The time frame focus of this paper covers the years 1920 to 1940, when the architects of the Modern Movement proposed a new urban form in stark contrast to the traditional city model. However, the ideas proposed by the CIAM (*Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne*) and the Athens Charter do not represent the only approaches in circulation during this period; there were alternative proposals for urban forms that are not identified with the Modern Movement. Some of them proposed a return to the traditional or classic form, while others searched for a new urban form which appeared to oppose urbanization or focused on a new function for the traditional urban centers. I have attempted to discover, through the works of these urban scholars, how contemporaneous proposals looked at different urban forms and structured the needs of new urban life-styles based on common problems. The starting point for the various proposed answers to urban problems was the poverty and chaos in industrialized cities. Discussions on these issues began in the middle of 19th century, the time when we can identify the ideology of modern urbanism as the confrontation between liberal myths and the misery of the proletariat (Ragon, 1986, 232). This problem was further aggravated between the two world wars.

Rational urbanism, represented by the CIAM and Le Corbusier, refers back to the theories of Tony Garnier's industrial city and the methods considered by Soria y Mata and Eugène Henard. It locates itself within socialist ideology, from Saint-Simon to Marx moving on to Charles Fourier and Etiene Cabet. In contrast, we have the no urbanism of Frank Lloyd Wrights and Lewis Mumford, who follow the ideas of Ebenezer Howard (the city garden) and Patrick Geddes (the city in evolution). Both rational urbanism and the no urbanism had to meet the challenges of early socialism (no longer theoretical but real) that materialized in the Soviet Union (URSS).

The Modern Movement urban form

The end of an era, which had begun during the Renaissance, gave rise to a new city: the modernist city. The solution to city design problems was not based on the form or on the relations between symmetry and geometric rigidity. A new geometry of relations in building design can be found in many 20th-century architect projects which spread out like a great composition.

The modernist city originated from experiences and theoretical formulations that, in the first half of the 20th century, rejected the traditional city and substituted it for a new model. These ideas came to substitute the residues of formal urbanism. Between the two wars, modern architects worked hard opposing formal urbanism and organizing the structure and morphology of the new city. Both architecture and modern urbanism attempted to counter the traditional ways of building houses and cities. This anti-historical approach rejected shapes associated with the old city, an attitude which is also illustrated by their rejection and destruction of historical centers.

During this phase, attempts were made to destroy or abandon the idea of the block, street or even the square. Instead these new proposals offered typologies of towers, condominiums and blocks, and the city was no longer structured on mixed functions to be zoned, breaking the reciprocal integration of the various morphological elements that constitute the urban structure. The new organization models for urban space rejected the forms and the morphology of the traditional city.

The period between the two world wars was one reconstructing European cities, and was thus an important moment to re-think and reorganize traditional cities. It was also a time of social tension with heavy unemployment, migrations and the lack of housing. What was needed was large-scale and fast rebuilding: new housing within planned quarters, urban condominiums, low-cost housing and a new urban ordinance programme. After WWI, the need to build cheap standardized housing became apparent. This was the new spirit proclaimed by Le Corbusier in 1920: build serial houses, live in serial houses, and conceive serial houses.

The debate about housing was the beginning of the search for solutions to combat poverty in major cities. It was necessary to incorporate advances in technology and industry into building houses, and from the solution to the housing problem, the debate extended to including the city as a whole.

Throughout Europe, legislation in the area of city and territorial administrations were under review; a fact which allowed for rethinking territorial planning for big and medium-sized cities. As opposed to the traditional city, the buildings were conceived as separate items, with a wax composition, where the pieces can be moved and repositioned. Thus, the urban form dependent on housing considerations without taking into consideration the composition of urban spaces. The new housing typologies, which spread throughout the land, according to needs such as hygiene, insulation, ventilation

and access, meant that buildings stopped being part of the superior block structure to gain autonomy. The streets no longer belonged to the physical-spatial relations of the city being reduced to transport and services lines. The positions of the buildings were based on better living conditions and not to its position in the block.

The modern city is, therefore, different from the traditional city, where housing and residential constructions were determined by lots and generated by the position and implantation determined by previous urban forms. In the modern city, construction determines the urban form and the space between constructions becomes merely a residual space that was not the object of urban design.

In Germany, after 1923, the *siedlungen*, (Fig. 1) (great separate blocks of common housing set among gardens) were constructed, which faced sunwards and also included schools and stores. They were constructed with standard materials, with the systematic use of concrete flagstones, using simple finishing techniques and takes on geometric dimensions.
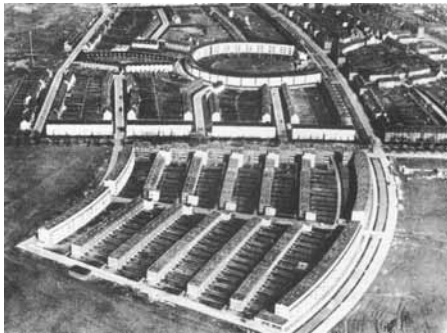
Fig. 1 – Siedlung Britz, Berlim, 1925, M. Wagber and B. Taut project.

However, the architectonic quality of the different isolated or contiguous buildings alone could not confer shape to the urban environment. Even quality condominiums emerges as disarticulated and devoid of real meaning if they are not integrated into a context. Architectonic discourse assumes that there is an interrelation between buildings and urban space which must be framed into a structure.

By means of *tabula rasa*, the modern metropolis projects rationalized building typologies, separated residential blocks from the road network, emphasized the hygiene of linear residential blocks by organizing them on undeveloped land, and, above all, separated roads for vehicles from pedestrian paths, and business areas from residential areas. According to Gravagnuolo (1998, 336), it is the "steel frame" of an anti-city abstract ideogram. In pursuit of new forms, architects announced the death of the street, negating the traditional city.

Summerson (1994) asks where the classic language of modern architecture is. To understand modern architecture, the theory describes the benefits of certain innovations, its relations in time and space and its gradual disturbance of the general trends in architecture theory and practice. The bases of modern architecture are in the

doctrines and the accomplishments that, in turn, are very closely linked to the classic traditions of their own century and those before, how far or how close it was to them.

> And not only that, but inside those consecutive traditions there are already precedents of modernist thinking dating back to the mid-eighteenth century.(Summerson, 1994, 132)

But modernist urbanism was not the only approach which proposed major changes to urban forms. There were other contemporary architects and city planners with alternative ideas about the city and its forms, so can we really classify them all as modernists, that is, as being part of the Modern Movement? What are the differences and similarities between their urban ideas and forms?

In the period covered here, it is functional urbanism, from the taste for abstraction to to the extreme essentiality of a rationalism revealed in its schematic purity, the demand for a static order and an underlying structure in the composition until the principal of the group and of the separation of the elements as a project methodology. The theory of functional urbanism presented itself as being the most advanced and progressive cultural position to such a degree that it is often identified with the same notion of "modernity". We should not confuse functional urbanism with modernist projects, as it is only part of the picture and also because modernity has a long history of diverse interpretations.

After WWI, the urban problem that had previously been seen as something that would occur in the future was now becoming an acute and critical fact. There was the functional dimension –the city was a productive organism. There was the social dimension –the working class was the strongest component of the urban community. There was the health and hygiene dimension –because the industrial city was an unhealthy environment. There was the political dimension –it must be taken from those who exploit it for their own personal profit. And, finally, there was the technology dimension –industry and construction technology. (Argan, 1992a, 263)

This radical innovation, desolating act of cultural *tabula rasa* that led to an absolute disdain for the traditional city, idealized the technology to obtain an absolute functional perfection of the urban machine when the ideogram of the new city also look for the new man, absolutely rational. Nature did not exist, only industry, the productive gearing without soul and the apparent logical-economic perfection; the metallic beauty of the machines and the technological efficiency of the assembly line. This was the new spirit that we can define through the words of Le Corbusier:

> A great time has begun. A new spirit exists. Industry, which follows its own path, brings us new instruments for this time encouraged by a new spirit (...) We need to create the spirit of the production line, the spirit to build production-line houses (Le Corbusier, 2000, 159)

This ideology is based on The Enlightenment, in other words, by the exaltation of pure reason as the only legitimate principle of "progress" and social "emancipation". The modernist city employed *tabula rasa* and kept only some monumental testimonies – according to the Athens Charter of 1933.

The CIAM, which started in 1928, broke with the past and used vanguard experiences as its theoretical basis. The block was dissolved, the simplification of formal vocabulary continued –the suppression of the differences between façades and the floor layout originated from the homogenization of spaces, translates into the equal treatment of façades and housing units that perpetuates itself and no longer expressed a dialogue with the urban space.

This re-thinking of the new city in Europe can be found in a number of examples: in Vienna, the social democrat city council constructs urban areas based on progressive models - e.g. the Karl-Marx-Hof condominium; in Germany, after WWI, Berlin became the European capital of urban architectural renewal. The social democrat Government of Saxon-Weimar wanted to set up a school that would renew the tradition. It was the Bauhaus school, directed by Walter Gropius, first in Weimar, later in Dessau. At this moment, the Bauhaus school became the epicenter of urban research. Gropius, as opposed to Le Corbusier, adopts a pragmatic approach based on immediate needs, with the relation between exterior and constructed space; the orientation most favorable for insulation and aeration; the proportion of the blocks; the study of building archetypes; and the relationship with the existing city.

The proposals

If we look at Le Corbusier's projects for the ideal metropolis, as well as other contemporary city planning projects during the period under study, what becomes clear is the rejection of the past and the traditional city. But on closer analysis, can all of them be classified as modernists?

I believe that the inter-war urban form can neither be summarized by the CIAM dictates nor based exclusively on the rules of the Athens Charter. As mentioned earlier, the great German housing condominium predates these. Urban zoning is not an invention of the CIAM: in New York, legislation was passed in 1916 that attempted to control the reigning chaos by establishing a classification for land use into three categories: residential, business and open. In Tokyo, after the earthquake in 1923 which destroyed half of the city, five zones were established for the reconstruction plan: commercial in (front of the bay), industrial to the north, industrial to the south, residential (around of the Imperial Palace) and mixed. (Ragon, 1986, 250)

In the Modern Age, fast and uncontrolled urban growth created chaos, the enemy of social harmony and here we can, identify two schools of thought that attempted to find solutions to urban problems: 1) the authoritarian and rational school, which included E. Howard, Le Corbusier, Frank Lloyd Wright, Josep Lluis Sert and the anti-urbanism of the USSR that disregarded pre-existence; and 2) the social and preservationist school,

which included P. Geddes, L. Mumford, Camilo Sitte, Gustavo Giovannoni and Gaston Bardet, which coexisted with pre-existence. In this paper I will give priority to the proposals of the first group, although here I include Werner Hegermann and Elbert Peets' manual of Civic Art, which serves as a counterpoint.

1. Le Corbusier

Le Corbusier studied the city as an architectural object which contemplated the destruction and reconstruction of the historic center and defended the use of straight lines and right angles. The city was to be projected through a spirit of geometry, with uniform details harmonious with the overall project that ensured there was a proportional average, a common scale between the individual and the streets and its buildings.

As one of the major proponents of the Modern Movement, Le Corbusier had a major influence on architects and city planners, but his urban projects and ideas about the city, with the exception of Chandigarh, were limited to theoretical exercises. Le Corbusier's way of conceiving urban areas was developed in a scenic context of advertising projects and conferences, where solutions were proposed like a narrative, and each project became literary fiction.

In 1923, the Congress of Urbanism of Strasbourg established 4 guidelines for cities: 1) relieve downtown congestion and deal with traffic requirements; 2) increase urban center density to facilitate the connectivity needed by businesses; 3) improve mobility means, thus completely changing the concept of the street that was losing it former use due to the introduction of new modern transport means such as subways, cars, trams and airplanes; and 4) increase the arborous areas, the only way to assure a healthy environment and a calm work environment demanded by the new rhythm of business.

The first Le Corbusier urban plan, the *Ville Contemporaine pour trois millions d'habitants*, (Fig. 2) was presented at the Paris Autumn Hall in November 1922, stressing circulation and speed. Its central focus envisaged the city as a machine for moving about but which now played a new role as a machine for living in and for providing services. It was in this project that Le Corbusier developed the urban connotations of his architecture.
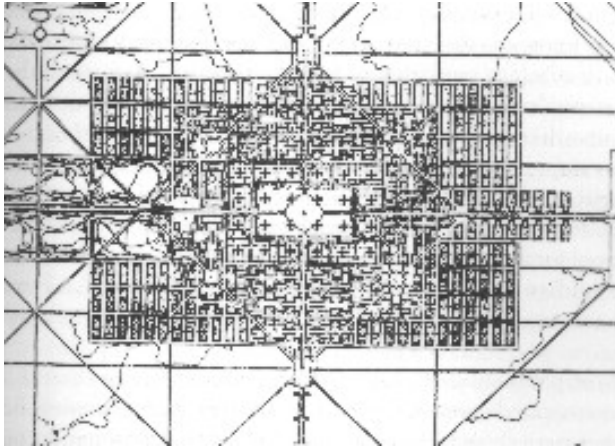
Fig. 2 – *Ville Contemporaine pour trois millions d'habitants*, Le Corbusier, 1925.

The concern for integrating architecture and nature could be found in 1925, at the New Spirit Pavilion of the Paris Exposition, where the building embraces a tree, and the tree-top rises up through the roof; nature, seen as irrational, cries out to be admitted into architecture once more.

But after 1925, Le Corbusier began to seriously criticize the city-gardens, because he believed that the underlying model was too individualistic. Most of his research efforts during the two following decades were devoted to individual housing that was not in opposition to the city, but which clearly reveals a higher population density model closely linked to public infrastructure services (transport, schools, hospitals, etc.) For Le Corbusier, the urban revolution was the only one that would restore the art of housing when the relationship between buildings and streets is lost (including the concept of road alignment). Rejecting the idea of the garden, he proposed the alternative of groups of practical housing buildings developed vertically and horizontally, and concentrated to such a degree that it freed up a considerable amount of land. He also proposed separate routes for pedestrians and vehicles: pedestrian paths had to be free from obstacles with no buildings, which explains why they were to be raised on "pilotis". So, the city is thus transformed into a park, with the ground left free for appropriation by citizens.

Turning to buildings, Le Corbusier believed that buildings for businesses should be located in a "vertical" center in the form of big towers, like the Auguste Perret city-tower, 1922. Housing should adhere to the principle of "overlapped houses", mainly extending horizontally. The great blocks of "*immeubles-villas*" are linked by catwalks forming a continuous network of "streets in the air" -this allows the inhabitants to walk from one building to another without going down to the ground floor. We find the same idea in the "*à redents*" buildings that is even more closely related with the organization of the buildings.

In the Voisin plan for Paris, 1925, Le Corbusier proposed demolishing the traditional Paris buildings, with the exception of a few important monuments and (in some cases) the relocation of others, and instead the entire area was to be replaced with 18 towers

220 meters high. This plan illustrates his rejection of the past and the historical city. But, there is also an immense square in the *Boulevard Sébastopol* area, where one could observe two elements (the St. Denis and the St. Martin Door) that recall the obelisks in the Pierre Patte plan, 1767, next to *Pont Neuf* or the proposal for the *Place Louis XV*, later *Place de la Concorde*.

Le Corbusier, in his Buenos Aires conference, in 1929, approaches the idea of a continuous "*à redents*" building, linked to a transit axis which extends uninterrupted wherever one wants. From the moment he allowed such a limitless extension of the "*à redents*" buildings, Le Corbusier was effectively proposing the possibility of an open program. (Weber, 1998, 66)

The way Le Corbusier relates his urban projects to the local geography is not always clear and an initial analysis of these projects reveals little or no relationship with the elements that belong to the place. This interpretation can be attributed to the contrast between the traditional city fabric and the one conceived by Le Corbusier, where the binomial street-house normally disappears. This geography-city relationship can be seen in the way he resolved building on uneven land or slopes. The traditional street layout goes around the hillside and the houses following the alignment of the slope, and is thus chaotic and arbitrary. In the modern urban project, the buildings are located on the acclivity and the street is located halfway up the hillside, acting as a link. (Le Corbusier, 1980, 93)

In the projects for Rio de Janeiro and Algiers, geography and city are fused elements. After visiting the slum quarters of Rio de Janeiro and taking in the view, Le Corbusier was able to establish a close relationship between the modest houses situated on the hillsides and the bay landscape. He used this experience to propose the option of rescuing the major positive feature of the slum quarters –the incredible view of Rio– to project the housing above the viaduct.

The linear structure, of the Algiers *Obus* Plan, can be likened to some aspects of the Linear City project by Arturo Soria y Mata, for Madrid, 1882, which comprised a street 500 meters wide, with no fixed length, which could be extended as required.
In Algiers, the great *redents* in *Fort l'Empereur* were attempts to integrate the local habitation culture and individual housing into a close relationship with the natural landscape.

In the *Obus Plan*, Le Corbusier proposed an arched building with different residence modalities giving freedom to the proprietors to choose the best form or style, as needed. The distinguishing feature here is the plan and its great structure, not the concrete form of the houses.

The plans for Rio and Algiers were the last of his major proposals for urbanized areas. After these, he became more pragmatic and proposed less idealized forms. The *à redents* blocks that have an Arabian form in the *Obus Plan*, later disappear completely. Later, in the "Three Human Establishments", he again takes up the idea of linearity in its

industrial suburbs, which can be identified with the ideas of the Spanish theoretician Arturo Soria y Mata and his Linear City.

In the thirties, Le Corbusier changed his position: he was losing faith in capitalists and began to adhere to the idea of planning focused through unionism where everything would be collective.

In 1935, Le Corbusier presented his new project – The Radiant City – the negation of the city which was a project only, with no name or place referent. It was a site devoid of geographic features, not even a river. It was an ideal plan that could be applied to either a new or an existing city. There is head, a business center with 14 skyscrapers and a vertebral column with functional divisions: open, hotels, embassies, housing, plants, warehouses and heavy industries subordinate to an axis.

2. Josep Lluis Sert

The Catalan architect and city planner Josep Sert was familiar with Le Corbusier's work and ideas before he met him in 1928 when he visited Barcelona. Two years later, Sert and other young Spanish architects formed the GATEPAC (Group of Spanish architects and technicians for the progress of contemporary architecture) – a group based in Barcelona. Sert and the GATCPAC fostered the development of modern architecture while at the same time tackling urban development problems and projecting a functional city. Their proposal for the "Chinese Quarter" in Barcelona was to clean up, modernize and rationalize the city by demolishing this city district. GATCPAC asked Le Corbusier to collaborate in an ambitious plan for urban reform in Barcelona, known as the Macià Plan.

The Macià Plan was a revision of the earlier Cerdà Plan, itself designed to meet the needs of the industrial city, and adopted Le Corbusier's theoretical models. Part of the Port Vell was demolished to make way for developing a major avenue, or strip, like a kind of backbone running parallel to the sea which housed administrative buildings and two tower blocks. The plan attempted to reorganize the Cerdà Plan blocks in 400 x 400-meter modules and separate road traffic from pedestrian walkways. The blocks are linear in the form of a dentate chain. (Fig. 3)
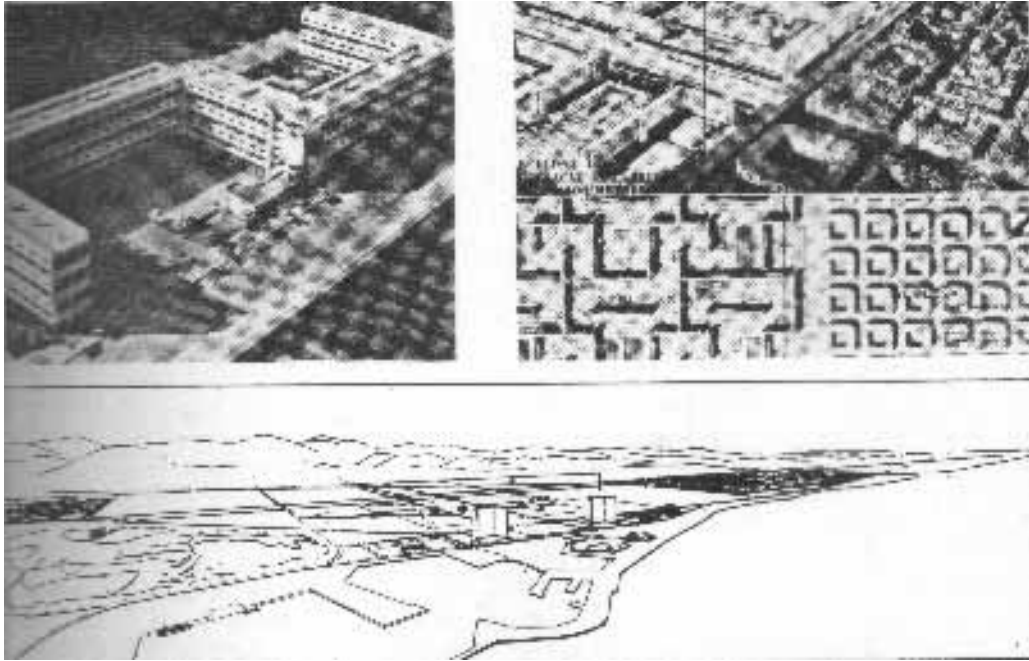
Fig. 3 – Barcelona Plan Macià, Sert, 1931.

Sert carried out a series of urban projects for Latin America in which he applied the four basic functions laid out by the CIAM (work, recreation, circulation and dwelling), where neighborhood units were the basic planning unit, and the smallest unit would house 6,000 people. But, Sert's projects respected local, autochthonous and pre-modern characteristics, and he introduced the notion of "heart": each quarter has its "heart" where the school, the day-care center, the church and the stores are located. Green areas connect the "heart" of each district to the "principal heart" of the city where the administrative buildings, library, museums, hotels, etc. are located. There is a place to arrive on foot providing a social space for the inhabitants.

Another new item we can see in his projects is the inclusion of gardens of varying sizes which act as meeting places for the inhabitants. The house garden is an open space which acts as a transition between the house and the external area; the district garden offers privacy in a delimited and open public –differing from a park in that it is limitless; and the Civic Center garden, in the "heart" of the city, is transformed into the principal city outdoor space. Size is determined by the use of different pavement levels and trees to adapt the place to the human needs.

Sert published two important books: *Can our cities survive? An ABC of urban problems, their analysis, their solutions*, in 1942, and *The heart of the City: toward the humanization of urban life*, in 1952. In the first, Sert wanted to introduce major changes and so it was important to expand on the 1933 CIAM ideas. But, his ideas also appear to further develop the four aforementioned functions: in addition to work, recreation, circulation and dwelling, he included the importance of strategic places as civic centers. Some of Sert's ideas are decisive for his future approaches and positive self-criticism of the previous functionalism: the need to recoup city civic centers, as in other European

examples; the importance of interdisciplinary contributions; and to think of the city in terms of human parameters and Keynesian ideas. (Rovira, 2005, 147)

The second book, *The heart of the City*, is also based on one of CIAM's meetings and its members' projects, but it does not attempt to be a manual on urbanism. As Sert himself states in a letter to Serge Chermayeffm (01/02/1951),

> We set out to make a 'symposium type' book, with color illustrations, something that is quick to draw up but which does not attempt to be all-inclusive. I think that the Le Corbusier criterion is the most appropriate for this type of book and, what is more, all-inclusive books on architecture and urbanism are far too boring. (apud Mendelson, 2005, 136)

In this book we find Sert's ideas about public space which were directly translated into projects in Latin America. In this document he defines the notion of civic center and urban nucleus, which meant a decisive change in Modern Movement urbanism.
In his project for the Engines City[2], an industrial city for 25,000 inhabitants, Sert applies zoning principles according to the CIAM's four functions and connected them by freeways. The project is conceptually different to the civic center, which has a major and very specific architecture not found in other parts of the city, and transforms the civic center into an important place for the city, or in his own words, "the heart of the city life". As Mumford states (1997, 55), the project comprised constructing an auditorium, municipal offices, a hotel tower block and an arcade of stores and restaurants covered with a marquee which opens on to a square, a cultural center, a technical college, exhibition halls, a library and a large stadium. In this project Sert and his partner, Wiener, attempted to create a model for other similar projects, as we can see in the Chimbote plan, on the coast of Peru, where they incorporated a civic center as the fifth function.

3. USSR Rationalist urbanism or antiurbanism

Modern urbanism, whether developed based on integrating society or on a utopia, became a reality for the first time in the USSR between 1917-1939. Early debate revolved around housing –whether it should take the form of large properties with common services or small well-planned residences. They looked for ways to eliminate the difference between countryside and city with a balanced distribution of the territory's population.

Ragon (1986, 282-3) identifies four basic points for founding new Soviet cities: 1) introducing the city garden from E. Howard; 2) total destruction of the large city; 3) a return to the Fourier idea with the construction of community housing forming agglomerations from 40,000 to 100,000 inhabitants; and 4) "*ville-fusée*" that was developed from a horseshoe-form industrial complex, with the linear center in the middle, the housing between the center and the plants, which would permit indefinite growth –with Soria y Mata's "Linear City" as a point of reference. (Fig. 4)
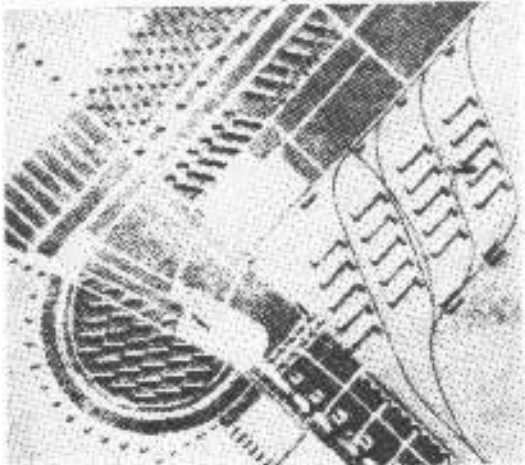
Fig. 4 – N. Ladovsky project to Kostino nucleus, 1929.

In Moscow, in the 1930's, an ambitious urban plan established a dialogue between the architectural vanguard and Bolshevik power: the Moscow master plan established a commitment to modernity and monumentality.

Around 1930, the most radical and innovative direction of Soviet urbanism was that adopted by the constructivists –the OSA productivity groups (Sica, 1981, 292) that started to move towards defining territorial structures adapted to the principles of a socialist society. This was a literal interpretation of Engel's thesis of the inevitable end of the opposition between city and countryside, rejecting the traditional concentration of urban centers to provide a new distribution of population and activities in the territory. Some constructivists (city planning) considered starting with the disaggregation of the existing cities based on the basic elements of collectivized life. The anti-urbanists proposed a more radical alternative, once the city was considered to be irretrievable: the creation of a new city in linear strips, bordering the canals, which allowed for mobility of the citizens and further territorial settlements, known as "settlement strips ".

The "settlement strips " are composed of six strips: railway, factory, green area, roadway, housing and park. These linear cities, situated next to industrial and agricultural zones, stood in contrast to the great agglomeration formations and the dispersion or isolation of the inhabited countryside nucleus.

4. Frank Lloyd Wright

In the first decade of the 20th century, Frank Lloyd Wright began an approach to space which differed from that used by the rationalists. His approach launched the conceptual bases of organic space, where architectural creation and landscape were combined without restrictions. The idea was to use construction elements as much as possible in their natural form or in balance with the nature. Wright's "organic architecture" is demonstrated in a clear and all-encompassing theory about the cities should take on, and developed in of his books: *The disappearing City*, 1932; *When democracy builds*, 1945; and *The living City*, 1958.

Wright's ideas were based on the analysis of the way cities were structured at the beginning of 20th century. These structures generated a major centralization and re-evaluation of areas, with densely built-up areas, juxtaposed constructions, small spaces, poorly ventilated, lacking in natural light and contact with the outside surroundings. For Wright, in this kind of city the citizen does not have access to property, but rather rents a cubicle in a building. Mobility becomes difficult because of a disorganized and precarious road network where the automobile generates chaos. His philosophy added the technology dimension to achieve a new agglomerative urban form, and used technology to his advantage. Not only was a new city being conceived, but also a new American society.

Wright presented his first version of Broadacre City in 1932, but he also continued working and developing a 16^{m2} model in more detail, up to 1958, when he published *The Living City*. (Fig. 5) This book was not only concerned with a proposal for city planning but also entails a reform of American society. For him, everyone has a natural right to the land. The center of the usonian[3] democracy is the family. Technology, the use of the machine, must be given a free leash and the car is the major invention of the century at the same time that distances become relative depending on time, thus allowing for a decentralized but articulate society.
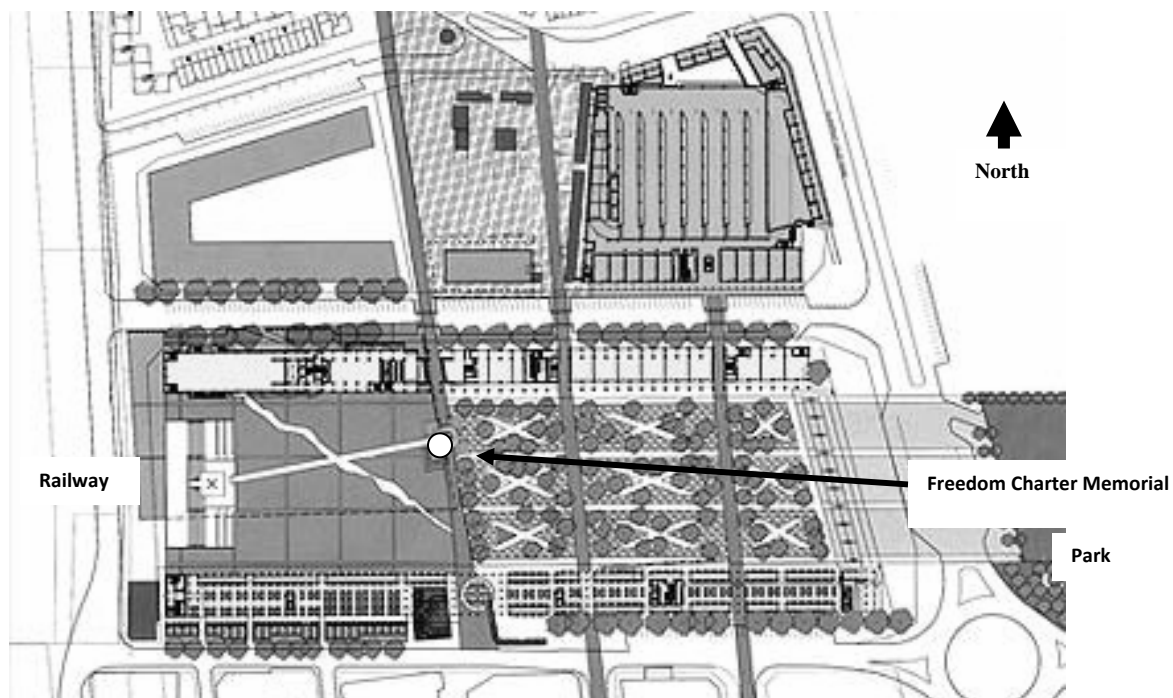
Fig. 5 - Broadarcre City Model StudioMAS, Walter Susulu Square of Dedication, Kliptown, Soweto[4].

To put his urban ideas into practice, the new usonian city had to be located on a new site and it did not have to overlap or modify existing cities. It had to be free from boundary limits so that it could spread out across the territory. To achieve this, the grid defines design parameters, allows the organization of the buildings and is responsible for the mobility orientation. The streets are no longer a place for cohabitation and begin to take on a primordial role of a communication space. The model proposes low-density population areas spread over a greater distance connected by the speed of the automobile and the new telecommunications such as the telephone.

Technology also had to be used in construction with standardization and prefabrication to build new single-family houses (the usonian house) and applying organic architecture principles.

Ragon (1986) calls this model antiurbanism. Wright, influenced by Emerson, Jefferson and Kropotkine, revised Ruskin's ideas of nature guiding humankind towards harmony, the opposite of the artificial and alienating industrial city (Ragon, 1986, 276). In his project, the city effectively disappears inside nature which provides a constant environment. He gives priority to individual houses and to the automobile, and the workplace must be located close to the home. The skyscrapers allow for agglomerations of offices, but they must be separated by green areas. For Ragon, Broadacre City was, in part, inspired by the "settlement strips" proposals for the Soviet territory (Ragon, 1986, 284).

Some ideas, but not a conclusion

As mentioned at the beginning of this paper, this is a research project in its initial phase. By analyzing and systematizing the writings and/or original plans for new cities or existing city projects, this research project attempts to understand how form becomes important when conceiving urban areas from the moment the city started to become a problem. So in this introductory paper, analysis is limited to some of the proposals for the period comprising 1920 and 1940.

After systematizing the data, theorists and their proposals are recorded and analyzed, but clearly there have been many published and unpublished studies and plans during this period which still need to be analyzed. This research is currently focused on analyzing and systematizing the ideas proposed by Patrick Abercrombie, Gaston Bardet, Gustavo Giovannoni, Giulio Carlo Argan, Eugéne Hénard, Lewis Mumford, Werner Hegeman and Elbert Peets, Marcel Poëte, Walter Gropius, Ludwig Hilberseimer and the City Beautiful movement, the critics of the Modern Movement like Team X, Smithson, Peter Cook, Jane Jacobs and Yona Friedman.

With the material that has already been classified and presented in this paper, we can see both common and contrasting points. The CIAM and the Athens Charter have not been hegemonic in schools of thought on urban forms in the period under study. In some proposals it is possible to find references to the Functional City, but one can also

find others that are totally different, where urban forms are considered the opposite of those in the Modern Movement.

Another partial consideration that can be drawn is that the European Functional City could be characterized by the definition of basic function zones each with different formal characteristics. In the American example -Broadacre City-, a more homogeneous composition can be seen.

Like Le Corbusier and Sert's proposals, Wright also believed that this was the end of the traditional street (local or urban cohabitations) and transformed it into a mobility space which connected the different parts of the city, making the car and speed the ideal features. Neither have I found proposals for buildings of a mixed character. In contrast, I have been able to identify some differences during the time that Wright proposed a non-zoning model, where I would like underline the absence of a center It is a completely decentralized proposal and, like the Soviet "settlement strips", does not consider a countryside/city approach, but rather a complete fusion of both spaces.
As I said earlier, I have not arrived at any definitive conclusions, only some early indications that still require further development in addition to other plans and texts that complement this research.

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[1] This paper is part of a research, financed by CNPq (Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico, Brazil), that is in an initial phase with the survey of the data and systematization of the first information.

[2] A new city project around the Engines National Plant to be constructed between Rio de Janeiro and Petrópolis, projected in 1943 by order of the Commission of Brazil Airplanes Manufacturers. (Mumford, 1997, 51)

[3] The Usonian term was created by Wright to mention to the United States itself, what can be interpreted as the will not to change only the American city, but all the nation.

[4] StudioMAS, http://www.studiomas.co.za/walter_sisulu.htm

Cowes to Valencia: urbanizing the America's Cup

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Introduction

The interplay between the private interests of business, individuals and non-governmental organisations versus the more public interests of the city, region and nation are epitomized in the contemporary processes for the delivery of facilities for hallmark events. The America's Cup Regatta is an event which has grown in scale from an essentially private and elitist race to an international spectacle involving all of the above protagonists. In the last 15 years the venues for the race have not only facilitated sporting and technological excellence, but they have also enhanced corporate and sovereign marketing ambitions, and the desire for regions to capitalize on the urban investment to catalyse other municipal design initiatives. The result is an uneasy tension between the creation of good public space which showcases the event, and safe camera-friendly stage sets which will provide props for a sponsor's product.

The America's Cup has traditionally been a boat race for very rich men, and for the first century of its life it was sailed principally between two nations: Britain and America. Initiated by the Prince Albert in 1851 to demonstrate British boat-building hegemony in conjunction with the Great Exhibition in London, it was raced from anchor at Cowes on a course around the Isle of Wight. The audience was principally other rich men who viewed the competition from their own luxury yachts and retired to their own exclusive yacht clubs for after-race festivities. The race was won by *America* and the cup began a 132 year residence at the New York Yacht Club. Over the course of the twentieth century the competition to challenge for the prize was opened up to other nations, and international media began taking the events on and off water seriously. In 1983 Australia II won the cup instigating a global journey for the event from America to New Zealand and ultimately back to Europe.

From Newport [1851-1983] to Perth [1987] to San Diego [1994] to Auckland [2000, 2003] to Valencia [2006 and perhaps 2009] the America's Cup has not only become nationalised and corporatised, it has become urbanized and latterly privatised. Beginning in Fremantle with national syndicate bases scattered around a working harbour, and ending with the full Port America's Cup super-village in Valencia, the event has provoked huge scale infrastructural and development investment on behalf of its hosts and sponsors. This paper will evaluate from an urban design perspective the engagement of the event and the harbours in which it has been sailed, with the cities behind, and will document the advent of mixed-use neighbourhoods, public space networks and privatised leisure precincts which have been generated in its wake.

Events urbanism

Events tourism theorist Colin Hall positions the America's Cup Regatta as a special event (Burns and Mules 1986, 7) within a matrix of 'hallmark events' (Ritchie 1984, 2) or ' mega-events', arguing that it caters primarily to an international market while drawing funding from government at national and regional levels:
The expression hallmark event therefore applies to a wide range of events, including festivals and fairs, which exhibit a broad range of economic, physical and social impacts at various scales. Mega-events, such as World Fairs, and Expositions, the World Soccer Cup Final, or the Olympic Games, are events which are expressly targeted at an international tourism market and may be suitably described as 'mega' by virtue of their size in terms of attendance, target market, level of public financial involvement, political effects, extent of television coverage, construction of facilities, and the impact on the economic and social fabric of the host community. Similarly special sporting events such as the America's Cup, or the Adelaide Grand Prix are substantially international in their market orientation (Hall 1992, 5).

The genesis of a special sports event generates a customized set of urban facilities and a deadline for their delivery, diverting public funds into large one-off construction initiatives. While such events are widely perceived as an economic windfall for the city in question they rarely deliver a net gain. Many studies of the economic impacts of stadium construction in the United States have indicated that the overall economic payback to cities is negligible, while the buildings themselves create urban 'black holes' in terms of activity and ongoing uses. For example a $276 million redevelopment of Yankee Stadium in the Bronx has not increased the number of seats at the venue and therefore will not enhance visitor spending, and the facility has encroached on local parklands in an underprivileged borough (Fainstein 2007, 72). The 1992 Barcelona Olympic Games were the first to boost the city's image and income after the event since the Tokyo in 1964 (Rowe 2007, 82). Other researchers have focused on the wider impacts of hosting such events and found the simple economic criteria for evaluating event success flawed (Barker, Page and Meyer, 2001). Timing is also a contentious issue with cities racing to deliver amenities at breakneck speed. Sir Peter Blake, CEO of Team New Zealand, who had won the cup in San Diego in 1995 delayed the 30th defense of the America's Cup until 2000 to allow sufficient time for the redevelopment of Auckland's Viaduct Basin into the America's Cup Village (Hinch and Higham 2004, 137).

The America's Cup event has emerged from the enclave of the exclusive yacht club, and increasingly engaged with urban waterfront public space as its popularity and international following has grown. While in San Diego team bases were scattered over distances measured in kilometers over the vast necklace of existing marinas and naval bases, detracting from the atmosphere created at other venues by virtue of concentration, Fremantle and Auckland integrated their venues with their cities, using the spectacle to accelerate other latent urban initiatives. In Perth the preparations for

the America's Cup were undertaken as an extension of previous projects and Fremantle experienced a gentrification and the preservation of heritage building stock as a result. The historic fabric of Freemantle was revitalised as an attractive robust mixed-use urban backdrop to a necklace of syndicate bases which supported the on-water competition. In Auckland the America's Cup provided a mechanism for giving public access for the first time in the city's history to a major section of the urban waterfront. This new neighbourhood revitalized a redundant piece of its nineteenth century port infrastructure with new buildings and public spaces.

The tenure of sports events is another matter as organizers and sponsors scan the horizon for the next hot destination. The America's Cup winner normally holds the event in its national waters. The Cup is currently held by Switzerland, a country without coasts, so Europe as a whole is deemed to be the host territory and an auction for the right to host ensued between cities such as Valenica, Sete, and Cascais prior to the 2007 Cup. The current impasse over the staging of the next regatta has seen Valencia convert its new purpose designed venue into a Formula One track for an already secured event [**Figure 1**].

Urban design and the America's Cup

While hallmark events ostensibly offer all target destinations urban design opportunities, America's Cup regattas are especially able to deliver this because of a combination of situational advantages. The locations must be coastal, and they typically comprise of upgrades to industrially redundant pieces of high value waterfront real estate. These components add two important urban design elements to the events equation. Firstly, waterfront locations have immense scope for development as public space, and secondly, under-utilized waterfront land offers great investment potential to development agencies be they public or private sector. America's Cup venues have all in some way capitalized on these advantages in the last two decades. Fremantle revitalized its waterfront and heritage precinct, San Diego extended its already enviable complex of marinas and recreational boating infrastructure, Auckland built a new waterfront quarter with promenades, squares and exhibition areas, and Valencia provided new marina facilities and extensive public parks in association with the event. All the sites created off shore yachting arenas or bluespace (Brand 2007) in their coastal waters. Urban waterfronts often incorporate existing industrial conditions which make them attractive from an urban design perspective such as heritage structures (bridges, bond stores, warehouses) and enticing edge conditions against water where there is a lot of shipping activity and movement.

The Regatta

Match racing and urban design have proved a potent mix combining waterfront proximity and sporting spectacle. Christine Boyer has identified the traditional theatrical nature of urban life and public occasion:

How many times have the city, its architecture, and the theatre been intertwined, for theatre is often a foil for the representation of public life, and public space frequently is arranged as if for a theatrical performance. Both theatre and urban space are places of representation, assemblage and exchange between actors and spectators, between the drama and the stage set (Boyer 1994, 74).

Opportunities for urban theatre exist that are particular to the staging and nature of competitive yacht racing. These include high production values (a term used in the film industry to indicate the quality of location, sets, actors and equipment), cutting edge technology, international level sponsor product placement and branding, procession to and from the courses, and ultimately a challenge on the water. The twice daily parade is a function of the fact that the yachts lack motors (to save weight) and must be towed to and from the race grounds. This enables a regular processional exit and entry from and to the cup village, with a cast of thousands of fans, support staff, media and celebrity crews as these sleek vessels are assisted from their syndicate headquarters to the water arena. People, public space, movement and the reflective surface of the water combine to enhance a pre- and post-race rite of passage from shore to sea and back again.

Canaletto's paintings of St Mark's Square in Venice are an example of this kind of pageantry in an earlier age as they highlight the relationship between the square and the adjacent water, and give a fulsome portrayal of everyday life and civic ceremony in the sixteenth century city. In painting urban Venice Canaletto recognized both the commodity value of the water city (Boyer 1994, 176) and the capacity of pageantry to enhance the impact of the image. Two paintings in particular capture the movement, the display the setting and the architecture of the place and time: *Reception of the Imperial Ambassador, Count Giuseppe di Bolagno, at the Doge's Palace* and *The Bucintoro preparing to leave the Molo on Ascension Day*. The first painting focuses on the dignitary in question while the second shows the wider water context of the event. Both images however illustrate water and land as equally important to the ceremony depicted. .

While the physical setting of the city at the water's edge adds value to the spectacle and drama of the occasion, a technical innovation introduced at the 2000 regatta gave yachting a new appeal as a mass sporting event. A small Dunedin software company, Animation Research, in association with Terabyte developed Virtual Spectator, a GPS enhanced computer graphics package which allowed competing yachts to be tracked with extreme accuracy [**Figure 2**]. Real-time on-board shots, helicopter images and sound, enhanced the commentary which followed the progress of the race. Detailed graphic enhancement and spontaneously drawn diagrams explaining the logic of match racing allowed any audience to intelligently follow the race strategies and outcomes. America's Cup yachting, an exclusive and arcane enterprise became an overnight broadcast phenomenon, raising both the profile and stakes of the Challenge series. While the technology raised the profile of yachting as a spectator sport it also raised the profile of the harbour and port as an urban arena to rival on-land stadia. While Stern and Ballentine (1987, 115) lament the compression of the event to a small screen in a

Fremantle pub as the real event takes place a few kilometers away, this is the most effective way to view the event and now not unlike other remote sports broadcasts. The mass viewer is the target audience for, and ultimately the source of advertising revenues which underpin the sponsorship of the sport.

Urbanisation or privatisation

Progress in urban design quality and the public's ability to engage with the regatta progressed with the facility built in Auckland. The concept of a cup village was extended from one with only syndicate bases, to a neighbourhood with residential and commercial uses and integrated public space at the harbor edge [**Figure 3**]. The existing configuration of the basin area, with the long narrow dead end canal called the Lighter Basin, enabled the syndicate bases to be built on the western side with public promenades and apartment complexes to the east. This enabled the public to easily view the bases and the travel lifts which manoeuvred the boats in and out of the water, thus presenting a series of working stages to the public spaces of the precinct. The Young Australia syndicate who lacked funding for a home base had their yacht craned on and off an anchored barge positioned immediately off the principal public square of the precinct [**Figure 4**]. In Valencia the configuration of the bases around a circular harbour centred on a super-yacht hub with the streets running to the rear of the bases reduced this possibility, with only one short wharf side promenade available for viewing the adjacent syndicate bases.

Both Auckland and Valencia capitalized on the ceremonial departures and arrivals associated with the event. In Auckland the procession to races occurred through the reconstructed Viaduct Basin, through Auckland's working port and out through the naturally contained Waitemata Channel to the waters of the Hauraki Gulf. Viewing opportunities in this case were afforded by the enclosing volcanic landscape of the Auckland Isthmus, and the racing could be viewed from vantage points on adjacent promontories and as well as from vessels congregated at the start and finish lines. In Valencia a purpose built canal [**Figure 5**] lined with restaurants promenades and public parks separates the boat harbour from the adjacent working port and leads directly to the courses immediately off the Mediterranean Coast.

The major difference in urban design terms between Auckland and Valencia is the relationship between the newly constructed yachting precinct and the city behind. While the America's Cup village was conceptualized as an extension to the existing city in terms of street structure, public space and residential and commercial use (albeit exclusive versions of these), in Valencia the facility is deliberately cut off from the city behind and dedicated to the event alone. The cup village at Valencia is ringed with robust steel security fences with access to the area restricted to two entry points marked by mast and tent structures [**Figures 6 and 7**]. Inside, the precinct is bristling with security cameras [**Figure 8**] and the syndicate bases present their forbidding backs to the main thoroughfares [**Figure 9**]. The only active uses are the small frontages of syndicate retail outlets. The wide promenades facing the canal are backed by fortress-like car parking structures [**Figure 10**] and the restaurants are positioned on the level

above with views not of the canal but of the cranes and containers of the adjacent port operations [**Figure 11**]. The design of the facility maximizes the amenity for the event itself in terms of exclusive access, secure parking, visible surveillance and food and beverage outlets, but as a piece of city it falls short with a lack of community and mixture of uses, vast areas of public space with inactive edges and a menacing security presence.

The problem with the America's Cup event is that while the ceremony and display of the event captivate and energise the local population and international visitor, in the longer term the venues struggle to ever again achieve the vibrancy of a short lived event, or in some cases even incorporate memories of their raison d'etre. In Fremantle the syndicate bases have been converted into a variety of businesses and only brass plaques mark the locations of the challenger's headquarters. In Auckland the America's Cup Village is now home to exclusive apartment complexes and expensive restaurants and in Valencia bulldozers erase the vast public parks and resurface them for racing cars [**Figure 12**].

Conclusion

While the facilities which support the America's Cup Regatta in the twenty-first century are urban in character, the type of city supporting the event has undergone a significant metamorphosis in its move from Southern to Northern Hemispheres. In Auckland the urban structure (streets and squares) of the precinct was fully public. In Valencia the space became quasi-public (as in a shopping mall) in response to the increasingly corporate requirements of the race organizers. Peter Eisinger encapsulates the fundamental dilemma in developing facilities for hallmark events at the expense of investing in the city proper:

> The amount of fiscal and political resources and the level of energy that local elites must devote to the realization of large entertainment projects are so great that the more mundane urban problems and needs must often be subordinated or ignored. In pursuing big entertainment projects, local elites create a hierarchy of interests in which the concerns of visitors to cities including day-trippers, tourists and business travelers-take precedence over those of the people who reside in the city (Eisinger 2000, 322).

Viable urbanism in concert with the America's Cup reached its apogee in Auckland in 2000. What remains is a viable if under-institutionalised precinct which has given the city its first significant piece of inner city waterfront public space. Valencia on the other hand has been bequeathed an empty sports venue and marina complex [**Figures 13 and 14**] with tenuous connections to the city and the adjacent urban beaches. Now a construction site for another sports event this part of the city risks becoming a public arena or showground for whatever event the municipality successfully bids for. The reasons for this outcome can be traced to the hard-nosed corporate approach the Alinghi syndicate took to staging the event. At Valencia the strategy towards site security and access was architectural in derivation and relied on technological

surveillance, controlled and limited entrances, bunker-grade barriers and security policing. An urban design solution to security would involve a vibrant mixed-use urban quarter which inherently incorporates adequate levels of passive surveillance, while contributing to the longevity of public sector investments.

Not only have the crews become multi-national and corporate in character, the space of the America's Cup has taken on the privatized and gated aspects of corporate culture. The future of the Cup in its traditional form as a high-end boat race between nations looks increasingly threatened as the denouement of the 32nd America's Cup is fought in court. In the meantime sponsors such as Louis Vuitton have jumped ship as the new aggressive globalised image of the event does not align with that of traditional, urbane sporting elites toting luxury luggage and apparel. Under such circumstances the America's Cup could not easily return to the Auckland site, as a city is no longer an appropriate place to hold a segregated barricaded and surveillance ridden corporate event. The Valencia facility was good for the event but less constructive for the sport of sailing or for the city.

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Appendix

Figure 1
Construction work on Formula One track Port America's Cup Valencia 2007
Diane Brand
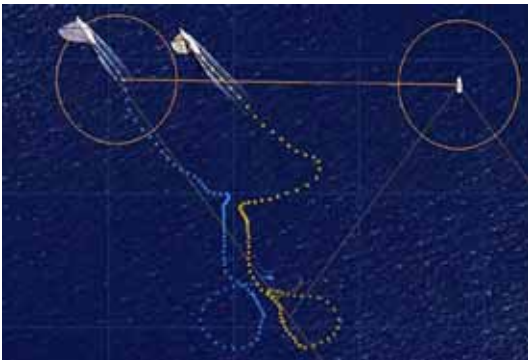
Figure 2
America's Cup race start 2003
Animation Research Limited http://www.arl.co.nz

Figure 3
America's Cup Village Auckland
Auckland City Council

Figure 4
Young Australia 'base' America's Cup Village Auckland 2001
Diane Brand

Figure 5
Canal, Port America's Cup Valencia 2007
Diane Brand

Figure 6
Perimeter security fence Port America's Cup Valencia 2007
Diane Brand

Figure 7
Entrances, Port America's Cup Valencia 2007
Diane Brand

Figure 8
Surveillence cameras, Port America's Cup Valencia 2007
Diane Brand

Figure 9
Main street, Port America's Cup Valencia 2007
Diane Brand

Figure 10
Parking structures, Port America's Cup Valencia 2007
Diane Brand

Figure 11
View from restaurant, Port America's Cup Valencia 2007
Diane Brand

Figure 12
Public space erasure, Port America's Cup Valencia 2007
Diane Brand

Figure 13
Empty post-cup public space at Port America's Cup Valencia 2007
Diane Brand

Figure 14
Empty marina berths at Port America's Cup Valencia 2007
Diane Brand

Missing the Gold Coast train?
The interaction between private development and three levels of government planning in attempting to co-locate a new railway station and a major new town centre

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Introduction

Robina is a developing regional centre on Australia's Gold Coast, in the expanding South East Queensland city region centred on the state capital, Brisbane. Robina has been gradually developing, over the period from the 1980s to the present, as an 1850 hectare masterplanned community for approximately 25,000 people. Currently, the major component of Robina's town centre is a large shopping centre, which opened in 1996 and is currently being expanded. 700 metres straight-line distance to the north-west is the Robina Railway Station, which was designed and developed simultaneously, and which opened in 1997. The pattern of streets and pathways established at the time, makes the walk from Station to town centre a 900 metre walk – a considerable distance in a subtropical climate, and perceptually daunting while the land between the two remains largely undeveloped.

The railway station is surrounded by 600 commuter car parking spaces, and the Town Centre has over 3000 parking spaces for shoppers. The current emphasis on the car, together with the present separation of Station and Centre, appear at odds with contemporary ideas of Transit Oriented Development (TOD)[1] and with longstanding planning ideals of integration of transport and land use. The separation of Station and Centre has attracted much anecdotal criticism over the decade since their development, but there has been little or no analysis of how and why this separation occurred, and little available analysis of whether Robina may in fact ultimately develop into an example of TOD as its development continues. One barrier to understanding has been that the major shopping centre known as "Robina Town Centre" is in fact only one element of what is intended to be a major regional centre. This perceptual issue is important, as Robina Town Centre has always been intended to be much more than the current major shopping centre.

Aim of this paper

The main aim of this paper is to show how a major regional centre in a masterplanned community has been driven by private sector development initiative, and how this private planning has been both supported and frustrated by public sector planning by local, state and federal government. The particular focus is on efforts to create an integrated Urban Transit Oriented Development (TOD) centre. In this focus, the integration between a publicly planned new Railway Station and the new privately developed centre is critical.

Research methods

The methods for this research have involved triangulation between key informant interviews, documentary research and literature review. Limitations of the research include the limited number of key informants for the in-depth conversational interviews, and the inability to contact Queensland Rail (QR) informants who were involved in the planning but have either retired or moved on to new positions outside QR. A consultant who evaluated proposals for both QR and the private development company unfortunately was deceased in 2006. These limitations are offset by the fact that the four interviewees were intimately involved in the planning and development of Robina at critical periods. An additional limitation is that some key documents were unexpectedly unavailable in public repositories, and there was insufficient time to retrieve them from government and private archives.

Robina overview

Robina was planned as a master planned community in the 1970s and '80s, a time when cars were thought of as the main transport consideration. Its earlier developed areas manifest the planned sprawl characteristics of mid-twentieth century suburbia,[2] such as separation of land uses, large areas of mainly low density detached residential dwellings on large lots, road hierarchies, streets designed more for individual cars rather than for pedestrians, cyclists and public transport, and local centres and a major shopping centre designed primarily for access by car, with other modes of transport being secondary. The developers looked to the USA for models of urban development. They engaged Moshe Safdie as design consultant, and made 70-80 trips to new and established American cities to view exemplars for the type of town they sought to create.[3]

One long term Robina resident tells of how his son attends a high school located just one kilometer straight-line distance from his home, but has to walk 4.5 kilometres to get to school due to the disconnected street pattern of crescents and culs-de-sac.[4]

Robina's place in time is most visible when contrasted with the adjacent 1990s master planned area known as Varsity Lakes, which incorporates mixed use, mixed densities, employment close to homes, and connected street patterns.

Robina town centre has been envisaged as a major regional centre since the earliest planning for Robina by the Robina Land Corporation in conjunction with the then local government, Albert Shire,[5] and later recognised as such by Federal Government initiatives, State Government regional planning, and current local government planning.[6] The long development time frame of such a centre has been beneficial, as those planning the regional centre have benefited from changes in planning ideas from the mid-twentieth century to the turn of the 21st century.

The rise and fall and rise of Gold Coast railways

Queensland's Gold Coast developed as a collection of coastal tourist resorts by the late 19th century. The early seaside resorts on the coast south of Brisbane, at Southport, Burleigh Heads and Coolangatta, were initially accessed primarily by boat. A coastal horse-drawn coach service, using the hard sand on the shoreline as a road, was established by a hotelier in 1888.[7]

Private development was later stimulated in the conventional way, by State government provision of transport infrastructure. The main resort areas flourished due to easy public access via a railway line from the State capital Brisbane. The first South Coast rail line, from Brisbane to Southport, was opened in 1889, providing convenient access for weekend beachgoers.[8] The line, primarily to support the farming industry, was gradually extended further south, reaching West Burleigh in 1901, and the twin towns of Tweed Heads and Coolangatta, at the southern end of today's Gold Coast, in 1903.[9] These rail lines were closed in the 1960s, with the last train service to Southport occurring in 1964.[10]

During the 20th century a much larger network of Gold Coast holiday resorts and retirement suburbs was created due to the greater mobility allowed by increasing car ownership. Major public investments were made in roads and bridges, assisting Surfers Paradise to assume primacy as Australia's most fashionable coastal resort for most of the 20th century. After the original Gold Coast railway line was closed in the 1960s, its corridor was gradually redeveloped for a mix of private development and publicly funded motorways. By the 1990s, the Gold Coast was well advanced in its transformation into a largely car-dependent city region, as a major part of the rapidly urbanizing South East Queensland region.

Less than twenty years after closing the original South Coast railway line, the Queensland Government commenced feasibility studies for a new Gold Coast rail link in 1983.[11] The government's commitment to the project was announced in State Parliament by the Premier in 1988,[12] but no funding or commencement date had been announced before the Federal Government's Building Better Cities (BBC) program allocated funds and coordination assistance to bring forward the $280 million project in the early 1990s. The contribution of the BBC program is outlined below. The new railway line to Robina was opened in December 1997, and is being extended further south in 2007-2009 under the State Government's *South East Queensland Infrastructure Plan and Program* (SEQIPP).[13]

Robina as an outcome of private sector initiation and later collaboration and support by public sector planning

The Gold Coast has been described as a city designed and developed by the private sector, by "the creative leadership and extraordinary 'can do' vitality of incredibly

courageous and creative people, with big risks at stake, but with room to move."[14]   The author of ten local histories of the Gold Coast depicts the 1950s to the 1980s as a "Golden Age of energetic entrepreneurs and colourful characters", when "visionaries and promoters" established a city that was very different from the Australian norm.[15] A tourism academic argues that this entrepreneurial character was significant to Gold Coast development throughout the 20th century.[16]

Integrating planning and private development by public sector leadership: Australia's Building Better Cities program, 1991-1996

> The Federal Government initiated the Better Cities concept in 1991 as a means of reforming urban management processes by creating model partnerships between the three tiers of government, the private sector and the community.[17]

The federally funded Building Better Cities (BBC) program of 1991-1995, which was discontinued by the conservative national government of 1996-2006, sought to introduce an integrated approach to the planning and development of transport, infrastructure, and urban development. The means for achieving this, in established and newly developing urban areas across Australia, was the development and support of "area strategies" for 26 demonstration projects.[18] As well as fostering higher quality urban development, for the social, economic and environmental well being of Australians, the program was important in countering the severe economic recession that Australia experienced in the early 1990s. The Federal Government contributed $816 million over the five years, with State, Territory and Local Governments bringing the total public sector investment to approximately $2.3 billion.   The Federal Government estimated the multiplier effect of this investment on private sector investment as 1.6 to 1.8, generating an increase of about $4 billion in Australia's national income associated with the program.[19]

The Gold Coast Corridor project, focusing on integrating urban development and transport infrastructure around a 43 kilometre rail extension to Robina, was the largest of the six Queensland BBC projects. The new Gold Coast Railway was intended to service the rapidly expanding suburban areas behind the coastal resort strip. The new rail line was seen primarily as a commuter link to connect the expanding outer areas of the South East Queensland city region to the main concentration of workplaces in Brisbane's city centre. As discussed by key informants in this research, conceptualisation as a commuter link offered both strengths and limitations. Given that the rail line connected one of Australia's leading holiday destinations directly with Brisbane International and Domestic Airports at its northern terminus, and was intended eventually to connect at its southern terminus to the Gold Coast Airport, a major node for domestic tourists, the commuter focus seems even more limiting in scope. Despite the emphasis on commuting to Brisbane, there was some concern by the BBC planners that there was a need to encourage more intra-Gold Coast travel via the rail line.[20] The author of this paper, as a regular commuter on this railway line, observes that there is now considerable local travel by school students, university students and workers.

The Federal Minister responsible for the BBC program, then Deputy Prime Minister Brian Howe, claimed that public investment in the Gold Coast Railway was "directly responsible for massive private sector economic investment at Robina with its sound centre development,… showing the complementarity of public and private investment"[21]

Status of Robina Town Centre in regional planning by State and local government

By the 1990s, the Gold Coast was a rapidly expanding urban sub-region of Australia's fastest growing region. In response to this rapid growth, the Queensland Government in 1990 initiated SEQ2001, a non-statutory regional planning exercise involving voluntary cooperation between the State and the then 18 local governments in the region. [22] With input from the South East Queensland Organisation of Councils (SEQROC), the community and business, a "Regional Framework for Growth Management" was introduced in 1995 and updated in 1998 and 2000. The voluntary regional planning process was widely considered to be ineffective in managing the rapid urban growth, so the State Government commenced a statutory regional planning process in 2004.

The statutory *South East Queensland Regional Plan 2005-2026*[23] (SEQRP) designates Robina as a Principal Regional Activity Centre, one of two in the Gold Coast sub-region, and one of 14 in the SEQ region. Such centres are intended to "provide the key focal points of regional employment and in-centre residential development" and to be "key nodes in the regional public transport system"[24] These centres are intended to be supported by net residential densities of 40-120 dwellings per hectare or greater. In addition, development in all regional activity centres is required to conform to transit oriented development (TOD) principles, and to become mixed use high density residential and employment areas "designed to maximize the efficient use of land through high levels of access to public transport [… and] a walking and cycle-friendly core…."[25]

Implementation of the SEQRP will be through local government controlled Local Growth Management Strategies (LGMS) and the draft Gold Coast LGMS supports the Principal Regional Activity Status of Robina.[26]   Implementation involves major infrastructure provision by the Queensland Government, statutory planning by local government, and extensive urban development by the private sector.

The following sections discuss the main reasons for difficulties in co-locating Robina Railway Station and Robina Town Centre.

Design and siting issues

Robina Town Centre is located adjacent to a large floodplain, across which the new railway line runs. The Centre's designers reconfigured low lying land to create an attractive town centre site and focal point by developing lakes along the creek line. Fill

was provided by removing 60 metres from the elevation of a hill approximately 300m to the south of the town centre site.[27]

The waterway between the existing Town Centre and the Railway line was a barrier in terms of engineering and construction considerations, as well as the urban design aspirations of RLC.[28] Movement of the railway alignment further east, to allow the track to run either under the Town Centre or immediately along its western side, would have caused engineering problems and additional railway construction costs by lengthening the viaduct across the floodplain.[29]

Robina's designers were impressed by a visit to San Antonio's Riverwalk,[30] a well known urban design success story with its intimate scale, many crossings, and proximity of commercial development and medium-high density housing. The Robina team saw this as something they could recreate in their reconfiguration of the creek along the western side of their town centre site. Taking into account the unpredictability of the final design and timing of the railway line and station development by the State Government planners, they felt this Riverwalk vision was a good reason to keep the railway more distant from the centre. Robina's Riverwalk precinct, on the western side of the major shopping centre, is the outcome. Although not directly replicating the small scale intimacy and enclosure of the San Antonio exemplar, it does create a water oriented precinct that would not be possible with a railway line in that location.

Railway operational considerations

According to key informants, and to the anecdotal reports of urban designers and planners at the time of construction, the operational requirements of the trains were QR's main priority. These operational requirements included park-and-ride capacity and a consequent preference for non-urban station locations. In the 1980s and early 1990s, when car dependent 20th century urban patterns were rarely questioned, and the term 'TOD' was unknown in Queensland, the railway was conceived as a commuter link for patrons accessing stations by car. The planned railway route therefore generally avoided existing and planned urban development, and stations were required to have at least 600 car parking spaces.

To facilitate rapid journey times, and to minimize loss of time at stations, the stations were required to be relatively evenly spaced. To maximise train speeds, large radius curves were required. Where possible, stations were to be located on top of a rise, to save power and time consumption by trains stopping and starting.

Informants from both public and private sectors state that an early intention was to locate the station directly beneath the Town Centre, and that this location would facilitate the later southward extension of the railway to Gold Coast Airport. A range of barriers to the under-centre proposal cumulatively led to a decision by the State Government to unilaterally "pull rank" and abandon that integrated location.[31] Locating the station beneath the centre would have incurred prohibitive costs in additional rock excavation, despite the location on a rise.[32]

QR was allegedly also reluctant to locate the station under the town centre as the slight increase in track length would disturb the evenness of the intervals between stations. When the decision was made to locate the station west of the town centre, separation was increased to the 700 metre straight-line distance north-west, in order to avoid locating the station on a curve or an incline, as would have occurred if the station were sited directly to the west.[33]

Shopping centre operational considerations

The option of locating the station beneath the town centre also presented operational constraints for the shopping centre. The principal concern of the developers was that siting of the station beneath the shopping centre would impose additional construction costs associated with dampening train-generated vibrations and reducing noise.[34]   It was also argued that a railway line bisecting the centre's undercroft would interfere with the building services and servicing requirements.

As one of the Gold Coast's two largest shopping centres, Robina Town Centre attracts considerable car traffic to the 3000 car spaces servicing its car-based retailing which includes two large supermarkets, as well as a national chain department store and two discount department stores. The developer and centre management argument, as put by Tony Winter, is that long term commuter parking would compete with shorter term shopper parking if the station and centre were closer.

The difficulty of coordinating private and public sector timelines for planning and development

Although the new Robina rail station and town centre were built almost simultaneously in the mid-1990s, their integration posed major challenges for all parties. Coordination of timelines for design and development – by private developers and State and Federal Government agencies - is identified by key informants as the most difficult issue. On the basis of the limited number of key informant interviews undertaken, it is inferred that this was the most significant factor precluding the integration and co-location of the Rail Station and town centre development.

The Queensland State Government began planning for the new Gold Coast Railway in 1982, reinforced its commitment to planning it in 1988, but still had not committed funds for its construction prior to the Federal Government allocating the BBC funds in the 1990s. Planning for major transport infrastructure takes a long time, as indicated by this delay of over ten years. By the time the Federal Government initiated its five-year BBC program, the State Government had already 'set in stone' its assumptions on the best route alignments and station locations. The five year timeline for the Federal funding, together with the political need to demonstrate outcomes on the ground within three-year electoral cycles, meant that there was little scope for major revision of prior positions.[35] For example, all of the key informants for this study mentioned Queensland

Rail's steadfast preference to enable fast trip times by minimizing the number of stations and, where possible, by locating stations at the top of rises or hills.

The Masterplanned new town of Robina had been conceived and masterplanned by private sector interests since the early 1970s economic boom, with planning continuing by a single consultant on behalf of successive national institutional owners and their receivers through the booms and busts of the 1970s and early 1980s.[36] Following the 1980 purchase by what became the Robina Land Corporation (RLC), Robina was gradually developed during similar economic cycles during 1980s and 1990s. Its town centre, conceived from the outset as a regional centre, was in the planning from the 1980s, and RLC involved the local council in its masterplanning, in what the then senior local government planner described as a precursor to today's PPPs.[37]

According to a former senior member of the Robina Land Corporation (RLC) team,[38] timing was critical to the RLC attitude to whether the rail station could be incorporated within the town centre. Because RLC could not control the timing of Queensland Rail's masterplanning and construction, the company was very wary of the potential for the new centre's image and viability to be damaged by delayed construction of the railway and station.

If the train won't come to Robina, Robina will have to come to the train

As part of the regional planning exercise, the State Government commissioned a "key centres study" which noted that by 2000, Robina Town Centre was a major regional centre with a large shopping centre (with just under 70,000 square metres of retail floor space and 4,330 square metres of office space), a hospital, a State High School, retail showrooms, and service industry areas. Employment was projected to reach 7,500 by 2011.[39] The study noted the inconvenience of the separation of Robina's Town Centre and Railway Station, but commented that this separation would diminish as additional town centre uses became established along the 900m pedestrian route through the "land bank" between the two.[40] In order to hasten this consolidation of the centre, this study advocated six priorities.[41] These are set out below, with the current author's 2008 observations on implementation added in brackets:

1. locate government offices at Robina (some State Government offices have leased space in the centre, and Gold Coast City Council is considering developing its new headquarters between the Town Centre and Railway Station);
2. improve road linkages to the east and south (completed in 2004-2006, and undergoing duplication in 2007-2008);
3. extend the railway further south (construction underway, with the next station to the south due to open in late 2009);
4. attract IT and telco offices to Robina town centre (this has occurred to some extent, for example with major office buildings being occupied by Foxtel and other ICT firms);
5. develop high density residential development in the centre (much high density housing has now been developed, and more is proposed); and

6. improved visibility of the centre, such as by development of high-rise buildings (a 16 storey office building, "The Rocket", commenced construction opposite the Railway Station in 2007).

Although progress is being made towards achievement of all these priorities, the most significant contribution towards centre consolidation and TOD realization will be the necessary infill of the 12 hectare 'land bank' between the station and the existing Town Centre. Curiously that is not included in the priorities in the above report.

Prospect: catching the Gold Coast train

Rather than 'missing the train', Robina is still making its way to the station. Although Robina is intended eventually to be a Principal Regional Centre with a comprehensive range of urban services, the large building now known as Robina Town Centre is effectively a shopping centre supplemented by cinemas, commercial space and some community facilities. The still largely vacant area between the current Town Centre and the Railway Station has long been intended to accommodate more regional centre 'CBD' uses, high density housing, civic functions and community facilities, linked by walkable streets. Contemporary informal criticisms of the 900 metre separation between existing centre and station are arguably unfair in this context. Infill of the area in between, if carefully designed and executed for walkability, and if combined with improved street-based public transport (buses or light rail), promises to ultimately deliver an "Urban TOD".[42] With the car based shopping centre at the eastern end, and the major transit node of the station at its western end, flanked by Robina Hospital and the 3000-student Robina State High School to its west, Robina when fully developed as a regional centre appears set to exhibit TOD characteristics. At the very least, the existing siting decisions for the station and "Robina Town Centre" retain this possibility and likelihood.

Prospects for TOD to come to fruition at Robina town centre are enhanced by preliminary 'new urbanist' master planning by the major land owner in the vacant 12 hectare site between station and 'centre', as well as by the current construction of a 16 storey office tower with active street frontages, adjacent to the station. In addition, this area is reputedly on the shortlist as a potential site for Gold Coast City Council's new headquarters.

The Gold Coast's major stadium opened adjacent to Robina Railway Station in early 2008, and the land surrounding the stadium is proposed to be developed as a mixed use Stadium Village with a fine grained street pattern. In fact, existing development trends appear to be moving towards the gradual achievement of both TOD and Principal Regional Centre status.

Conclusions

It is far too early for Robina to be dismissed as a failure in terms of contemporary planning ideals of TOD. Continuing anecdotal criticisms of the existing separation of

Railway Station and Town Centre are based on a limited conception of what a town centre is, and an under-estimation of the type of Robina Regional Centre planned by the private sector initially in close association with local government planning and more recently supported by the South East Queensland Regional Plan. Additionally, such criticisms suggest a lack of understanding of the implications of the long time frames for major developments of master planned communities and their associated infrastructure.

The author intends to conduct further documentary and additional key informant interview research, including feedback on this paper (in a modified Delphi style), following the IPHS 2008 conference.

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The role of foreign experts – Robert Moses and the International Basic Economic Corporation – in transforming the Latin American modern city

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"Brazil is a country which will be heard from in the future and my hunch is that before long, Sao Paulo will be one of the world's great industrial cities"
Robert Moses, April 28 1950[1].

Introduction

In 1950, Lineu Prestes, then mayor of São Paulo, commissioned a study to *International Basic Economic Corporation, IBEC*, a company headquartered in New York and owned by Nelson Rockefeller. Urban planner Robert Moses[2] was appointed director of studies and another ten advisors worked in the "Program of Public Improvements,"
The improvement plan for São Paulo was not an isolated initiative among those developed by IBEC, but,it was very different from the other planning studies that had been conducted up to then. It was actually a consulting assignment in the sense that, while performing technical studies, IBEC also identified opportunities for American companies to operate in Brazil. The plan aroused great controversy in the technical and political milieus since its According to the contract, it was to be a detailed report to inform the local administration's planning of works.

IBEC had been operating in Brazil for some years by then and had undertaken a consulting assignment for *Light Tramway and Power* Canadian electrical energy and transportation company, about the use of certain areas after the opening of the Pinheiros River canal.

The very foundation of IBEC attests to the potential of Brazil as a market for American companies. Considering the business intermediated by IBEC, this potential was found mainly in innovation-driven industries. In the farming industry it focused on farm equipment, seed production, fertilizers; in the agribusiness industry, on soluble coffee and powdered milk; in the financial industry, on the creation of mutual funds and in the retail industry, it focused on the organization of the industry through the establishment of supermarkets.

The reading of the contracts and of the correspondence between the parties shows that IBEC worked also as a channel of information about the local political and technical spheres. One example of this is the information it conveyed about the integrity of local top authorities.

The ways IBEC operated, through contracts for intermediation of business between Brazilian and American companies and government agencies reveal the new rationale underlying its operations: the arena of economic interests.

From the point of view of urban planning, there is continuity between Moses's Plan and the Plano de Avenidas (The Plan of Avenues), developed by Francisco Prestes Maia[3], in 1930, since the solution proposed by Moses for São Paulo emphasized road transportation in a system of expressways. IBEC's plan approached two issues: it advised on the purchase of buses to meet the needs for mass transportation across the city and proposed the formation of a corporation together with *Light Tramway and Power* to urbanize the land tracts alongside the Pinheiros River canal. These two items reveal that the plan dealt not only with urban planning but also with the opening of business possibilities between foreign companies and the municipality. However, among the activities developed by IBEC, both the consulting assignment for *Light* and the plan for the local administration of São Paulo seems of little importance, as they were not mentioned in the case study written by Wayne Broehl in 1968[4].

This paper seeks to establish how the Program fits into the political and economic context of the post-Second World War period amidst the activities developed by Nelson Rockefeller in Latin America and Brazil. From the point of view of urban planning, this paper analyzes the role played by the Program of Improvements in the planning and development of the city of São Paulo. This study considers not only the interventions proposed by Moses for São Paulo but also his proposals for New York City and highlights the anachronism of the proposals included in the Plan in view of the criticism that his proposals had given rise to in the United States.

The political and economic conditions for the metropolization of São Paulo

São Paulo is a city that grew very sharply in recent times. In the early 20th century, it was just a small city with a little over 200,000 inhabitants. In fifty years the city's population grew to top two million, one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. The city spread to occupy a larger area, with no equipment or services such as water, light and sewages, and with low population density. The city, which in 1930 had not yet reached a population of one million over an area of 130 sq km, grew to occupy an area of 420 sq km in 1950. São Paulo grew thanks to the industrial development of the municipality. The transformation of the industrial base into a manufacturer of durable and capital goods took place in new locations, by the roads, in conurbation with neighboring municipalities thus initiating a process of metropolization.

The end of the Estado Novo[5] period introduced a new political period, with elections for the Executive and Legislative branches. However, São Paulo, classified as a "military base of exceptional importance for the country's defense" then underwent a period of political transition where the City Council was elected by the people whereas the mayor was appointed by the state governor. Adhemar de Barros, first governor elect of São Paulo after the redemocratization, in response to political pressures, changed the city

mayor five times during his term. Lineu Prestes, who hired IBEC to conduct a study on São Paulo, was the fifth mayor of this very turbulent period.

Creation and operation of IBEC

When studying Nelson Rockefeller's actions in Latin America in the post-Second World War period, it becomes apparent that he established very complex relationships in different fields: political, economic and cultural. The formation of IBEC was one of the results of his policy.

The origin of IBEC dates back to the post-war period as part of an economic development policy for Latin America with a view to "fostering industrial development and raising the population's standard of living". He founded the company *American International Association for Economic and Social Development* (AIA) in 1945. It was designed to be a non-profit company established with American and Latin American capital. The new company started operating in Brazil in the field of seeds. Given the success and the activities developed, an association with a Brazilian company was proposed. It soon became clear that it was impossible to be at the same time a philanthropic organization and a commercial, for-profit company. This fact led to the creation of a new organization, a genuine for-profit organization: IBEC.

IBEC therefore was created to support the development of associations of American and Latin American companies. The basic philosophy of this new enterprise was the employment of United States capital and technical skills where they could provide the greatest service. The founders believed that other private companies in the developing world could be persuaded to follow this example and that the multiplier effect of IBEC would then be felt.

IBEC was founded in 1947[6] and started operating in Brazil and Venezuela. In two decades it founded[7] two hundred companies in thirty-three different countries which operated in areas such as supermarkets, agriculture, industrialization of dairy products, mutual funds, housing for the middle class, cattle raising and manufacturing.

In its first phase in Brazil IBEC[8] chose a comprehensive approach to address the food problem. Among different activities, the company provided specialized services to make farmers increase production. Four projects were implemented: one in the production of seeds; another in enterprises relating to the fostering of farming and ranching; the third one in the transportation industry, in association with *Standard Oil* and the fourth involved a company investing to purchase land in the Bocaina Mountains Rang. Only one company was directly linked to the *American International Association for Economic and Social Development* (AIA) and operated a program in the area of nutrition.

But soon it became necessary to create another enterprise, the IBEC Technical Service Corporation, a company specialized in provide technical assistance to Latin American Countries. The memorandum[9] from Rafael Oreamino to Nelson Rockefeller exposes the conversations taken in Washington to make the Rockefeller Corporation known as an

available means of carrying out technical services on other countries. One of the activities carried by the new enterprise was to provide technical assistance to Latin American countries for the presentation of loans requests. The necessity to provide technical services to Latin American countries was a result of discussions held in a conference in Bogota, Colombia with the participation of the US Department of Commerce. They were concerned with the many economic and ethic limitations presented by the Washington lending institutions, Export Import Bank and International Bank, to provide at the same time technical assistance in connection with an application of loan which the Bank subsequently makes.

The role of Nelson Rockefeller and IBEC in São Paulo. .

In the early 1950's an important event in the visual arts – the creation of the São Paulo Art Museum (MASP) – had the support of Nelson Rockefeller. In the Museum's opening, Rockefeller made a speech in which he sought to link democratic freedom and the development of the arts and culture as a reaction in the context of the cold war and the criticism of Brazilian intellectuals of American presence.

In his speech, he stated that in view of what had been said by the previous speakers the mission of the museum was clear: it was dedicated not only to peace but also to the pursuit of peace, and he added that the arts, which dignify and enhance life, can only flourish in an atmosphere of peace.[10]

This network of relationships in different fields became clear in the first contacts made by Robert Moses through letters of introduction written by Nelson Rockefeller. Letters of the same tenor[11] dated October 19, 1949 were addressed to figures of the political milieu such as General Gaspar Dutra, President of Brazil, and Raul Fernandes, Foreign Affairs Minister, and of the business community such as Ary Torres of Companhia Brasileira de Materiais Ferroviários (a railroad supplies company).

According to a memorandum by Robert Moses[12] that was addressed to Nelson Rockefeller in August 3, 1949, a letter of agreement between IBEC *Technical Services Corporation*, IBEC's technical office and the *São Paulo Tramway Light and Power* was firmed for consulting services focusing on the recovery and use of land tracts alongside the Pinheiros river canal extending from the confluence with the Tietê River to the Rio Grande dam. Robert Moses came with his wife at the end of October and stayed in Sao Paulo until December[13].

These land tracts were included in the contract between *Light* and the government of São Paulo State for the construction of an energy system. Under the contract, the Company was expected to dispose of all the excess land within the original flood *limits* of the Pinheiros River after the completion of the deepening and widening works of the canal required for power and flood control purposes.

The first and major issue of this project involved the title to the land where the canal was to be opened. According to Moses, most of the land belonged to *Light*. The opening of

the canal required five thousand hectares of land, of which eight hundred had been purchased by *Light*, four hundred were being used by *Light* through a contract with a clause providing for the redelivery of the land to the previous owners upon payment of the improvements made and another six hundred were to be acquired later by the company subject to certain rights of the previous owners. *Light* had also purchased four hundred hectares for its own use. The remainder of the land was owned by private and public organizations with no link with the Canadian company.

These land tracts, according to Moses, had a great potential for industrial facilities, offices, housing, leisure and other public and private purposes.

> "Here are some twenty thousand acres of reclaimed lands forming a wide belt around and well within a tremendously energetic and strategically located City of rapid growth, with a mixed population of extraordinary ambition and energy, a City needing nothing more than an integrated, long range program planned in the public interest, and the intelligent cooperation of public and private enterprise to insure its success"[14].

IBEC's assignment was to design a plan to occupy the area, and it advanced some proposals for use, such as the Jaguaré industrial district, with its division into industrial and intermediate residential zones, adjoining the University of São Paulo and located in the area close to the Jockey Club "a continuous space for public and quasi public parks and playfields. By quasi public I mean the kind of sports clubs and associations of working people, civil servants, unions etc which flourish in Buenos Aires on the reclaimed land between the Plata River and a the *avenida* flanking it. (..) I would suggest that not less than two miles be set aside on this side of the Canal for these purposes"[15]. He also added that any plan for such area should also include the elimination of the sewer running from the Tietê River into the Pinheiros River[16].

He also stressed that the plan should be accompanied by a zoning initiative, an urban planning tool that existed in a rudimentary and unsatisfactory fashion. "The Canal could serve as a forerunner and model for a general zoning system for the city[17]."

He produces a cost estimate that included: the purchase of land (from US$80 to US$100 million), the dredging and disposal of land to enable the opening of the canal (US$ 4 million), the cost of railroads, expressways, bridges and other improvements (US$ 10 to 12 million.)

To carry out these works, Moses stated that the Canadian company and other interested parties were considering the possibility of organizing a company that would acquire the rights of former owners and owners to implement the plan and develop the area flanking the canal. This proposal articulated the consulting services provided to *Light* and the Program of Public Improvements developed for the São Paulo Administration as we will see below.

The program of public improvements for São Paulo

On July 14 1950, a contract[18] is signed between the São Paulo Administration, represented by the mayor, Lineu Prestes, and IBEC for the conduction of the following studies: a general map and zoning study; a proposal for a system of expressways; a mass transportation system; a system of parks and playgrounds; the canalization of the Tietê river and the use of the land tracts flanking the river, sanitary engineering and suggestions regarding the funding methods for the execution of the public works and services proposed.

The report was to be ready and printed in six months. The contract also specified the amount payable by the São Paulo administration.[19] In October, a letter from *IBEC Technical Services Corporation* addressed to IBEC International Basic Economy Corporation established the terms for the services provision and the engagement of the services of Robert Moses and Frederic Collins who would oversee and direct the services.[20]

The report forwarded by Moses[21] added two objectives to those defined in the contract: by initiative of the American team, the plan of improvement and urbanization of the Pinheiros canal was added; and upon the request of the mayor of São Paulo, the issue of solid waste elimination was included. The report began by recommending an aerial photogrammetric survey of the urbanized areas in a 1:2000 scale. Based on this survey, the official plan of the city was to be developed.

The consultant team drafted a zoning proposal that was not different from the one that was being developed by the São Paulo administration, which defined zones of use so as to protect property rights.[22] They defined nine categories of use (industrial, commercial and residential) which were combined in zones according to a spatial model of concentric circles.

In the central area, a zone of commerce, services and light industries. In the area surrounding this central area, light industries and warehouses would be allowed. Alongside the Tietê river, near the city's eastern border, and in the vicinity of the Pinheiros canal were the industrial zones and the remainder urban area was a residential zone. They suggested that the zoning decree should be developed based on the New York zoning, and attached a copy of the New York zoning legislation.

The problem of mass transportation system in the city was thought to be an urgent one to solve. They proposed the replacement of the bus and tram fleets and suggested the immediate purchase of 500 new, large and spacious buses. Another hundred buses should be purchased yearly over the next ten years to complete the fleet. These buses, equipped with diesel engines manufactured abroad, could be assembled in Brazil. They also included recommendations on repair shops and bus routes and changes in the road system.

An important point of the report was the proposal of an expressway system[23] and bus routes with estimates of the cost of the land that would have to be expropriated and the cost of building the system. A new design proposed for the Anhangabaú Avenue cut through the Ibirapuera Park while replicating, with 9 de Julho Avenue, the "Y" design of the Plan of Avenues. The major novelty was the articulation between the roads heading to Rio de Janeiro and the Anhanguera road, forming the Tiete expressway. The Anchieta road would head to the city center and cut through the Ipiranga neighborhood as an expressway. In the East region, parallel to Celso Garcia aveny, only a single new expressway was proposed. There was great difference in the solutions proposed for different quadrants of the city with the West and Southwest quadrants having a greater number of roads and articulations between existing and proposed roads.

São Paulo Tramway Light and Power would play a key role in the proposal of forming a company to urbanize the land flanking the Pinheiros canal. As has been mentioned earlier, this company was in charge of dredging the river, and therefore had land available and had acquired land that was to be returned to the municipality and the previous owners once the canal works had been completed.

In the plan developed for the São Paulo local administration, Moses completed the *Light's* consulting assignment and proposed that the new company should be the proprietor of the area by the canal and should be in charge of developing activities there. The municipality then would hold the right of way to build roads, railways, bridges, transmission lines and other public services on that land.[24]

The American consultants also suggested that the State should hand traffic control over to the Municipality. The issue of shared tasks and lack of coordination between the State and the Municipality was also approached by Moses as regards the water supply, the sewer network and waste collection.

Specific recommendations were made as to the need to build a treatment station and enlarge the sewer network. The report also pointed out the need to mechanize waste collection, to have a landfill program and to build incinerators. As regards funding, they studied the possibility of increasing the municipality's indebtedness levels by issuing municipal bonds. Four municipal engineers were invited to visit public works in New York thus further cementing the relationship between the local administration and IBEC[25].

The repercussions of the program of improvements: criticism and negotiations.

On December 14, 1950, the governor of São Paulo, Adhemar de Barros and mayor Lineu Prestes presented the Program of Improvements to a large audience made up of city councilmen, municipal technicians and the press. The first repercussions were reported immediately to Moses[26] and reflected the bitter criticism it aroused. Among the editorials published in the mainstream press and in specialized journals, the major criticism which caused immediate repercussion, according to a letter send by IBEC to

Nova York [27], was that made by the São Paulo Chapter of IAB, the Brazilian Institute of Architects.

Architect Oswaldo Bratke, president of IAB's São Paulo Chapter was harsh and emphatic. IAB had recommended the design of a plan for São Paulo, but "The report presented by the foreign specialists is definitely not the plan which the IAB has been demanding, although the publicity given to the report calls it the overall plan.

The report does not substitute, in any way, for an overall plan, in spite of the declarations to the contrary made to the press by the president of the Public Works Council of the City Government.

The report presented by the foreign experts is not satisfactory even as a simple program of improvements because, in spite of being based on studies made by our specialists, who understand the local problems, it is absolutely impracticable for it contains elementary errors resulting from the fact that its authors do not know us, do not know our city and did not even have contact with its more superficial aspects as they themselves declare."[28]

IAB's criticism influenced other criticism such as that made by Leo Ribeiro de Moraes in a meeting of Sociedade Amigos da Cidade, (Society of Friends of the City)[29] . But there were favorable remarks also. The most favorable ones were published in the newspaper Diário de São Paulo, owned by Assis Chateaubriand, and were made by engineer Henrique Neves Lefevre and Ranulpho Pinheiro Lima, editor of the Revista de Engenharia, the Journal of the Engineering Institute[30].

Prestes Maia's reaction to Moses's Program of Public Improvements attests to his adherence to the same tradition of urban planning based on the execution of public works, but his criticism marks an anachronistic approach relative to the thinking of local urban planners. He ironically observes that those who expected "fantastic perspectives, green areas, huge Corbusier-style skyscrapers and English-style gardens" had forgotten that Moses belonged to the school of urban planning that "executes [public works] and is not inconsistent as is the case of some urban planners who spend their lives preaching about utopias and die without ever designing a mere set of streets that could be their legacy".

Prestes Maia distanced himself from theoretical concerns, and did not believe the transforming potential of utopias, whether the modernist or the garden city models. He once again took the opportunity to show his deep knowledge of the city's physical structure, of every detail of the road system and of the functioning of the water, sewer and drainage infrastructure. He was the only one who demonstrated knowledge of the scope of IBEC's activities in Brazil. "The first absurdity was the way the consultation was requested. It was through a very well reputed organization, but a predominantly commercial and agricultural one, that imports farming machinery, seeds, fertilizers and stud-horses as well as technicians and urban planners who are brought to Brazil without knowing why or what is expected of them"[31].

Prestes Maia, in 1930, in Plano de Avenidas (Plan of Avenues), had already criticized those "passing-by, inquisitive experts", but this time his criticism was fiercer. He considered the American report as a pre-technical report with general recommendations, whereas urban planners working in São Paulo such as Victor Freire, Ulhôa Cintra and himself had already moved from the realm of ideas into executing works. As regards the recommendations, he thought that the report brought nothing new and "merely confirmed what had already been diagnosed, solved or was being implemented." He claimed that urgent issues had to be addressed such as the need for "proletarian housing" in view of the growth of *favelas*, and the issue of fast collective transportation, a surface light railway network. His criticism reflected urban planning principles that were in sharp contrast with those advocated in the Program of Improvements.

Soon after the report was delivered, mayor Lineu Prestes started negotiations to obtain funding to implement it.[32] However, in February, Lucas Nogueira Garcez was elected Governor of São Paulo, and he appointed Armando Arruda Pereira as mayor. A CV of the new mayor was attached to one of the letters exchanged between Henrique Dumont Villares and Moses, with praises to the new mayor and highlighted his Master's from the NYU and his ties with the Rotary Club. Although he was apparently more in tune with the American technical and political milieus, there was no further news on the negotiations to fund the plan.

But the activities of the IBEC in São Paulo continued.In 1956 there were references[33] to the studies conducted by the corporation about land purchase options to open supermarkets, a key business in Latin America.

The critics about Robert Moses.

Criticism and strong reactions to his projects had always been part of and fueled Moses political and professional career. In New York, in the early 1950's, the reaction to a highway that cut through Washington Square attested to the growing importance and strength of the opponents of his urban planning proposals. Robert Fishman[34] takes us back to that key moment and reminds us of the role played by local activist Shirley Hayes, leader of the movement that challenged Moses for six years. But it was Jane Jacobs's book Death and Life of Great American Cities that turned this local movement into a new and critical theory of modernist urban planning and created an international movement against this form of urban planning of which Moses was the most important representative: a current that advocated the demolition of entire neighborhoods to build bridges and expressways.

Robert Moses's career has been the object of recent studies and reassessment. Following the devastating criticism voiced by Robert Caro[35], Hilary Ballon and Jackson Kenneth's new book[36] "Robert Moses and the modern city: the transformation of New York" proposes a new perspective about the impact of Moses's urban renewal program for New York.

Robert Moses conceived and set into motion one of the largest slum clearance –urban renewal programs in the United States as Chairman of the Mayor's Committee on Slum Clearance, the entity through which he ran Title I from 1949 to 1960. Moses was forced to resign his post as the head of the Committee and his methods encountered harsh criticism. He was accused of secretive selection of sites and sponsors, privatization of relocation, and opposition to preservation. His antidemocratic methods and indifference to community values had incited a citizen planning movement that he did not comprehend and could not accommodate.

Hilary Ballon though observes[37] that despite this criticism, we should recognize that Moses had a coherent and clever plan and a strategic and pragmatic vision for New York's future. His aim was to strengthen the city center in an era of decentralization, suburbanization and urban decay. With this purpose in mind he pursued a threefold strategy: his first objective was to prevent the polarization between rich and poor. In order to provide housing for the middle class, the alternative chosen was to establish cooperatives that allowed the reduction of down payments, low cost, long term financing and tax deductions. This policy allowed Moses to have a mechanism to control the land market and to increase the share of middle-class homeowners. His second objective was to expand higher education – he designed projects to benefit private universities such as New York University and NYU Medical Center, Long Island University, Pratt Institute, Fordham University and Juilliard School, in addition to academic institutions such as Morningside Heights, Yeshiva University and Cooper Union. His third objective was to give national prominence to the city by establishing new institutions such as Colisieum and Lincoln Center so as to lend prestige, international recognition and cultural prominence to the city.

I would like to take the remarks made by Hilary Ballon and Robert Fishman regarding the impact of Robert Moses' ideas on Nova York to illustrate the complexity of this analysis.

The impact of ideas and proposals regarding urban planning on the processes that transform Sao Paulo.

In previous papers[38] I approached the issue of the circulation of urban planning ideas and some statements seem to have been the object of consensus. Firstly, urban planning has to be considered as a movement of international reach in which some key ideas change once they circulate in different countries and acquire new characteristics related to the local urban planning milieu and political, economic and social context. There is also consensus about the understanding of urban planning as an arena for exchange of experiences, and that the professionals involved change as a result of these exchanges. And lastly, the changes that occurred in the forms of appropriation of urban planning ideas and models in the 20th century should be interpreted as indicators of the growing consolidation of urban planning as a field in each country.

The first references to American ideas and urbanists for the urban planning of São Paulo were made by Victor da Silva Freire[39] when he proposed a new street system design. The article "Melhoramentos de São Paulo [Improvements of São Paulo]", published in 1911 on Revista Politécnica, a journal of the School of Engineering, is a seminal article in the history of urban planning in São Paulo, as it presents key concepts and theories on urban planning. The article's main objective was to put forward a proposal to redesign the street system on the city's central hill. To support his argument, Freire drew on two different and even antagonistic aesthetic conceptions: the ideas of Austrian urban planner Camillo Sitte and those of the American urban planner Mulford Robinson, who some authors identify as one of the followers of *City Beautiful* current. Freire's proposal to redesign the street system in the São Paulo central area transpired a synthesis of his perception of these ideas: the aesthetic aspect, under the influence of Sitte's ideas, and the functional-aesthetic aspect, influenced by the principles upheld by Robinson.

Twenty years later the Plano de Avenidas (Plan of Avenues) developed by Prestes Maia proposes the design of the avenues flanking the Tietê river as a system of parkways in line with the most recent American urban planning current. The road system design proposed in the Plan included three ring roads articulated by means of a radial avenue system. The first ring road was inspired by the inner *boulevards* of Paris. It was called Perímetro de Irradiação ("irradiation perimeter") and encircled the downtown area and the new commercial district located on the slopes of the Anhangabaú valley. Integrating both centers and going beyond the valley was very important at that time. The more sophisticated commercial areas, headquarters of companies, and cultural activities had been moving to the other side of the valley. The new avenues and bridges projected signaled the importance that this new center was going to have to the municipal administration.

The second ring, the outer *boulevard*, was designed to partly overlap the beds of the Såo Paulo and Sorocabana Railways and cut through the neighborhoods of Barra Funda to the north, and Higienópolis, Cerqueira Cesar, Paraíso and Ipiranga to the south. The railroads were to be removed to the area alongside the Tietê river in order to, on the one hand, improve the circulation of vehicles thus preventing crossovers, and, on the other hand, unify and rationalize the railroad service. The third ring encircled the area urbanized at that time and was called the Parkway System. It encompassed the roads flanking the Tiête and the Pinheiros river (the *marginais*), and continued to the source of the Ipiranga river, then down the Tamanduateí river valley up to its confluence with the Tietê river. The right margin of the Tietê canal was reserved for the reallocation of railroads and the setting up of a new Central Station. The marginal roads should be built on the left margin, and should interconnect the parks that had been proposed in the plan. These three rings would be connected by a set of avenues that departed from *Perímetro de Irradiação* towards all the quadrants of the city.

This radial-perimetral system would allow the city to extend limitlessly while ensuring a more efficient integration between different neighborhoods. The predominance of cars and buses relative to other means of transportation was evident in the Plan. The

argument of traffic flow is used to justify the displacement of railways and to impede the traffic of trams on avenues.

The idea of a system of parkways in São Paulo had first been proposed by the English architect Barry Parker to the mayor of São Paulo in 1919, as a way to contain the expansion of the urban area. But the parkways system proposed by Prestes Maia in the Plano de Avenidas had completely different purposes. They allowed the expansion of the city, occupying an area subject of successive inundations. Inspired by the sinuous design of Northern State Parkway and Grand Central Parkway the first avenues proposed by Robert Moses for the region of New York, the parkways of Sao Paulo evolved to give rise to more complex systems with more varied elements.

The Program of Improvements for São Paulo, coordinated by Robert Moses, was completely different from the previous consultancies, either from the point of view of its comprehensiveness – the whole territory of the city - and also for proposing initiatives to establish economic relations and open fronts for new investments and partnerships. The Program of Improvements for São Paulo, coordinated by Robert Moses, was completely different from the previous consultancies, both in the point of view of its comprehensiveness – the whole territory of the city - and in the proposed initiatives to establish economic relations and open fronts for new investments and partnerships.

The Program was the first comprehensive plan made by a foreigner urban planner for Sao Paulo. Though it is difficult to establish the actual effects of an urban plan on the urbanization process of a city, two aspects of the Program proposed by Moses seem to have had a permanent and definitive impact on the development of the city and on the urban planning milieu: the proposal for a system of expressways and the mass transportation system by buses. These two interlinked propositions confirmed the option for a main car system and delayed the studies and proposals for underground or surface mass transportation for the city. This was a very strong point made by the architects and urban planners of Sao Paulo against their critics and arguments against the Plan. The proposed express way system represented a new street system for Sao Paulo. The new avenues were planned to be larger and built independent of the preexistent system, under or over it.

In regard to IBEC's role and its importance to Sao Paulo, I also reflected upon the relationship between the proposals for urban interventions and the economic and political scenario in the post-war period. In this sense the urban impact of IBEC's Program of Improvements for Sao Paulo cannot be understood solely from a technical point of view. It must be analyzed also as part of more complex context formed by the initiatives of the Brazilian and American governments and the respective business communities which established economic relations and opened fronts for new investments and partnerships.

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[1] Letter from Robert Moses to Neal T. Childs. Robert Moses Papers, box 36, New York Public Library, Manuscripts and Archives division,.

[2] Moses's actions "as building maestro in New York extended from 1934 when Mayor Fiorello La Guardia appointed him the first city wide commissioner of parks, to 1969 when the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority merged with the MTA and Moses was ousted as chairman. During that thirty four year period, Moses output was remarkable by every measure: the number of public works completed, the speed of their execution; their geographical scope across five boroughs, their exceptional quality and most especially, their range including beaches, swimming pools, playgrounds, parks and golf courses; bridges parkways and expressways, garages and a conventional center."

[3] Francisco Prestes Maia, civil engineer and architect was responsible for developing the "Intrdução ao Estudo de um Plano de Avenidas para a cidade de São Paulo"(Introduction to a Study of a Plan of Avenues for the City of São Paulo), in 1930. When he was mayor of São Paulo, between 1938 and 1945, he conducts the works devised in the Plan and builds many roads that became the backbone of the road and transportation system of São Paulo until the 1960's.

[4] We base our remarks on the study by Broehl, Wayne G. "United States Business Performance Abroad: the case study of International Basic Economy Corporation", 1968, National Planning Association .This study is the 13th study of the National Planning Association about the performance of American companies abroad. The information has been supplemented by research carried out in the Rockefeller Foundation Archives.

[5]In the period from 1937 to 1945, known as Estado Novo (the New State), Brazil was governed by Getúlio Vargas, who had a dictatorial style. The Brazilian Congress was closed, political parties were suspended, and there were no elections. Governors and mayors were appointed by the president.

[6] Broehl, W , opus cit., p XVI

[7] Broehl's book was published in 1968 and covers the period up to 1967. The RFA archives contain information on IBEC's operations up to 1974.

[8] According to Kenneth Kadow's Progress Report memorandum (IBEC's headquarters in Rio de Janeiro) to Morrison Tucker (IBEC New York, 24 April 1947, Folder IBEC Brazil Progress 1947, box 12, AIA IBEC series, RG 4 (NAR Personal), Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.)

[9] Memorandum to Nelson Rockefeller from Rafael Oreamino, January 12, 1949.(Folder IBEC Technical Services Corporation 1942-1953, box 5, AIA IBEC series, RG 4(NAR Personal) Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

[10] "Citadels of Civilization", a speech by Nelson Rockefeller was published in Revista Habitat, 01, out/nov, 1950, p 18, 19 according to Salvi, Ana Helena "Cidadelas da Civilização: políticas norte americanas no processo de urbanização brasileira com ênfase na metropolização paulistana nos anos 1950 a 1969 " Tese Doutorado FAU-USP, 2005, p 189. [Citadels of Civilization: North American policies in the process of Brazilian urbanization and especially in the metropolization of São Paulo from 1950 to 1969 – Doctoral thesis]

[11] It is a pleasure to write this letter introducing The Honorable Robert Moses, New York City Construction Coordinator and Commissioner of Parks. Mr Moses is the one who is responsible for the great parkways systems in this state and a pioneer in this field throughout the United States. He is also associated with IBEC in an advisory capacity.
Mr Moses is visiting Brazil for the first time and is very anxious to see at first hand the public works, parks and similar development there. I know he will appreciate the opportunity of meeting you and anything you might do for him will mean a great deal for me personally. (Rockefeller Archive Center, Rockefeller Family Collection Record Group III- 4 series Project Robert Moses Box 118, Folder 1158.

[12] A *letter of agreement* between IBEC and *Light* was dated August 3 1949 according to a memorandum by Robert Moses addressed to Nelson Rockefeller on January 20, 1950, Folder IBEC Technical services , box 5, AIA IBEC series, RG 4 (NAR Personal), Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC

[13] In different letters Robert Moses refers of his trip to Brazil. In fact he writes about a vacation trip with his wife " Our trip was most successful from the point of view of a vacation and rest . Whether we accomplished anything in Sao Paulo is another matter ." letter from Robert Moses to Archibald B. Roosevelt December 13th, 1949 Robert Moses Papers, Box 36, New York Public Library Manuscripts and Archives Division

[14] Moses, Robert, 1947, p4.

[15] Moses, Robert, 1947, p8.

[16] Moses also observes that the cost of installing a sewer system had been estimated by the *Metcalf & Eddy* firm of Boston upon request of the São Paulo administration.

[17] Moses, Robert, 1947, p8

[18] Translation of contract for the engaging of technical services. Folder IBEC Technical services, box 5, RG 13 Public Relations), Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

[19] Six installments of US$15,000 were to be paid on account of the team engaged. The total should not exceed Cr$ 2,000,000 which was the credit approved for the contract. However, if this amount were not enough, the local administration would request supplementary funds to the City Council. Another Cr$ 400.000 would be paid upon the delivery of the report. In Translation of contract for the engaging of

[20] technical services. Folder IBEC Technical Services, box 5, RG 13 Public Relations), Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

[20] Letter from ITSC to IBEC dated October 1950. Folder IBEC Technical services, box 5, RG 13 Public Relations), Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

[21] "Program of Public Improvements for the City of São Paulo. Program of Public improvements "IBEC, Robert Moses, director of studies, New York City, November 1950.

[22] On page 23, the plan stated that zoning included a series of rules about the use of city areas so as to best protect both the interest of the community and of individual proprietors.

[23] Expressways proposed: Anhangabaú Road, 9 de Julho, Anhangabaú Expressway, Airport Expressways, Southern Expressway, Água Funda Expressway, Penha Expressway, Anchieta Expressway, Tietê do Pinheiros Expressway

[24] According to page 61 of the report.

[25] Luís Carlos Berrini from the Department of Urban Planning; Mário Lopes Leão from the Department of Municipal Services; Paulo Sampaio Whitaker from the Department of Public Works and José C Borroul from the Department of Public Works.

[26] Letter from Henry Bagley to Francis Jamieson dated December 15 1950 reporting on the presentation of IBEC's plan to the public and to the press. Folder IBEC Technical Services , box 5, RG 13 Public Relations), Rockefeller Family Archives ,RAC

[27] Letter from Henry Bagley to Francis Jamieson dated December 21 1950. Folder IBEC Technical Services, box 5, RG 13 Public Relations), Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC

[28] Letter from Henry Bagley to Francis Jamieson dated January 26 1951 Folder IBEC Technical Services, box 5, RG 13 Public Relations), Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC

[29] Letter from Henry Bagley to Francis Jamieson dated January 30 1950 Folder IBEC Technical Services, box 5, RG 13 Public Relations), Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC

[30] On the same letter from Henry Bagley to Francis Jamieson dated January 26 1951 Folder IBEC Technical Services, box 5, RG 13 Public Relations), Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC

[31] Maia Francisco Prestes , "O Programa Norte Americano de Melhoramentos para São Paulo [The North American Program of Improvements for São Paulo]"in Revista Digesto Economico, abril, 1951 pp 5-27

[32] As suggested by the letter from Palmgren to Robert Fulton, dated December 22 1950, the mayor's intention was to have Nelson Rockefeller coordinate the obtainment of funds – the suggested sum was five billion cruzeiros, for a five-year program – for the execution of the public works. A letter by Lineu Prestes dated January 24 1951 to Nelson Rockefeller approaches the possibility of funding. Folder IBEC Technical Services, box 5, RG 13 Public Relations), Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC

[33] Folder Supermarkets – Brazil Letter to Mr Bradford from R. Greenebaum.May 11, 1956.Collection NAR Personal Folder. AIA-IBEC

[34] Fishman, Robert "The revolt of the urbs" in Ballon, Hilary and Jackson Kenneth (editors) "Robert Moses and the modern city: the transformation of New York". New York W.W. Norton & Company, 2007. pp122-129

[35] Caro, Robert The Power Broker …….

[36] Ballon, Hilary and Jackson Kenneth (editors) "Robert Moses and the modern city: the tranformation of New York".New York W.W. Norton & Company, 2007. The book was published concurrently with three exhibits: "The road to recreation" at the Queens Museum of Art; "Remaking the Metropolis" at the Museum of the City of New York and "Slum Clearance and the Superblock Solution" at the Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Art Gallery of Columbia University.

[37] Ballon, Hilary "Robert Moses and urban renewal. The Title I Program" in Ballon, Hilary and Jackson Kenneth (editors) "Robert Moses and the modern city: the transformation of New York". New York W.W. Norton & Company, 2007pp 94-115

[38] Text presented at the IPHS Conference, Barcelona, Spain, 2004

[39] Victor Freire was born in Lisbon, studied at the Polytechnic College in Paris, and took the course of the *École des Ponts et Chaussées*. He graduated in 1891. In 1895 he moved to São Paulo where he taught at the Polytechnic College which he directed between 1932 and 1933. In 1899 he was invited by the mayor of São Paulo, Antonio Prado, to head the Department of Municipal Works, a position he held for 26 years. He played an important role in the establishment of Companhia Imobiliária City and was one of the first to sponsor the visit of Joseph Bouvard in 1911.

The Brazilian new democracy and local participation in public urban policies of local heritage preservation

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Introduction

The present work deals with an important local public policy of urban planning also responsible for the formation of the identity of the Brazilian cities: the public policy of local heritage preservation. That policy is fundamental because many of the urban development plans should take into account the protected properties and their environment. The properties under protection in many occasions are located in valued areas, which creates a conflict among three groups of interest: the local government, the real estate market representatives and the ones favorable to the preservation of the local heritage (some non-governmental organizations for example).

In a lot of important Brazilian cities (Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Belo Horizonte and others) those conflicts are solved in Municipal Councils, which combines participation by representatives of the State and the organized civil society. Those local institutions, responsible for many issues, are considered one of the greatest institutional innovations recently occurred in the local Brazilian government, and only possible after the return of the democracy

It that way, new decentralized forms of participation appears, beyond the traditional ones as the vote, or the filiations in political parties. But that over all, it is relate to a new form of relationship between local government and society, where the Brazilian democracy search new forms of accountability, that impute more responsibility the local governments in its action, and a permanent communication channel between the Estate and civil society not only in the electoral periods.

This democratic transition stared in 1985, the Brazilian Electoral College elected president a civilian, Tancredo Neves, after 21 years of authoritarian military regime, finally accomplishing the "opening policy". This delicate transition moment of a country, whose democratic experience during the whole XX century manifest itself in few and distinct moments, made plain the difficulties of consolidating the new regime, especially the need of a long process in order to settle down democratic institutions, culture, and legislation (MOISÉS, 1989, p. 120).

The Brazilian democratic transition process took place under arrangements between the principal political forces. The militaries and their political support group were already worn-out due to the suppression of the legitimate political mobilization forms, and the lack of communication between the government and the demands of the society. But they were still strong enough to impose a passage of government that did not conflagrate the regime's defeat through the popular vote.

On the opposite side of the military group, there were moderate democratic political sectors, strengthened by a campaign on behalf of the popular vote for the Republic President's post, called "Diretas Já". Those democratic sectors were satisfied by the idea of obtaining future political gains from the agreed transition that could guarantee the institutional stability and the rules of democracy.

In this context, searching to solve such institutional democratic consolidation dilemmas, a Constituent Assembly was formed in1986 and, even troubled by the shock of the conservative forces and the left-wing sectors, achieved to promulgate a Constitution with democratic character in 1988.

In fact, the Brazilian constitutional text raises, in the very first chapters, the fundamental rights. The topic of State organization, typical object of the constitutions, is included in its subsequent chapters.

Constitutional defense against State's abuses were also guaranteed, with some juridical instruments such as the writ of mandamus, the writ of injunction, the habeas corpus and the habeas data. The mechanisms of a popular and direct participation were contemplated in plebiscite, referendum, among others.

Check and balance mechanisms were established. The Public Prosecution Service was raised as a regulator State organ charged with the inspection of the democratic regime. In this sense, Brazil formally qualifies itself to be included in a democracy.

However, among this constitutional-legal set of measures, which contribute to the Brazilian democratic formation, some had a special role in the development of participative local management public policies, also including the Municipal Councils.

1. The municipality role in the Brazilian federative form

It was the decentralized federalist form that Brazil started to assume, after 1988, the responsible for some of its largest transformations. The new Constitution, besides the Union and the States-Members, also started prioritizing Municipalities' administrative and legislative autonomy. The degree of competence that the Municipality has to collect and allocate its tributes demonstrates the degree of its autonomy in the Brazilian state.

It means that the Municipality is able, through a law (political autonomy) to organize the entities and organs of its direct or indirect administration in the way it considers the best, respecting the constitutional limitations (administrative autonomy).

Is that connected autonomies that allow the local institutional democratic innovations, as the creation of organs of the direct administration, such as the Municipal Councils, or innovatory experiences of management, such as the Participative Budget.

It is valuable to understand how the competences of the federated members in the Federal Constitution of 1988 are established. In this aspect, some considerations about the political-administrative decentralization are necessary. It is important to emphasize that the relation between federalism and political-administrative decentralization is not obvious. The Brazilian federation design, originated from the Federal Constitution of 1988, opted to maintain the Central Government responsible for a series of activities that put it in an advantage political position regarding the States-Members and Municipalities.

The privileged position of the Union regarding other federation members is easily observed. It is enough to check article 21 of the CF/88, which stipulates the private competences of the Union, among them the legislating on Civil Law, Commercial Law, Criminal Law, among so many others, meaning that it is prohibited to the States-Members and to the Municipalities to legislate, for example, on penal conducts or on civil responsibility.

However, it is possible to affirm that the political-administrative decentralization is one of the outstanding characteristics of the Brazilian federalism, considering that the attributions and competences of federative members do not come from a Central Power, but from the Constitution itself (DI PIETRO, 2004, p. 349)[1].

The bonds that exist between the federative members are different from the hierarchical bond. In other words, in what refers to the original constitutional attributions, there is no subordination of a federative member regarding the others (MELLO, 1997, p. 97).

This is the key to the question: political-administrative decentralization transfers the relations between the federative members to other spheres than the hierarchical one.

> "Under this perspective, the basic problem of the federative question is finding the appropriate institutional drawing to the resolution of the conflicts between the government levels, without destroying the autonomy of each member and the inherent conflicts of federative pacts" (ABRUCIO and COSTA, 1999, p. 19).

State federative relations are ruled by the cooperation and competitiveness, being possible to think "the intergovernmental relation in the federalism as a problem of collective action, in which more than one answer is possible" (ABRUCIO and COSTA, 1999, p. 21).

Among other constitutional competences, the local management of federal funds reveals the competence of the Municipality to manage the health, social assistance policies and urban policies, among others.

2. The compulsory creation of Municipal Councils to manage federal funds

The institution of the local management of federal funds was a basic factor that helped introduce Municipal Councils experiences in Brazil. These Municipal Councils were born

as an institutional innovation from the Federal Constitution of 1988 and the infraconstitutional laws. They "became compulsory in several levels of policies definition, they were considered legally essential to the transference of federal resources to States and Municipalities, constituting central pieces in the process of decentralization and democratization of the social policies" (TATAGIBA, 2002, p. 50).

Among these social policies, the health policy (Organic Law of Health), the social assistance policy (Organic Law of the Social Assistance), the protection to the child and to the adolescent policy (Statute of the Child and of Adolescent) and, more recently (2001), the urban policy (Statute of the City) are outstanding.

All these policies and respective legislation would set the principle of the popular participation as something needed, representing, thus, significant profits for the social movements. "Each one of these legislations established the participation in a different way, but since the 90´s, all these forms of participation became known as councils" (AVRITZER, 2006, p.38).

The introduction of the universal character Brazilian Health Care System (SUS – Sistema Único de Saúde) was "resulted from an intense social mobilization that began in São Paulo, in the middle of the year 1970, getting national visibility in the beginning of the year 1990" (TATAGIBA, 2002, p.51) and it has, in the article 198 of the Federal Constitution of 1988, among its directives, the decentralization and the popular participation.

With this intention, aiming at allying this participation to a more effective form of control over the federal resources, without, however, keeping in check the autonomy of the Municipality granted by the federative pact, the Transitory Constitutional Provisions Act (ADCT) stipulated that these resources would be handed over through a fund (Health Fund) managed by a council (Health Council).

In the same sense, it is possible to find, in CF/88, in the article 88 referring to the policies of protection to the child and to the adolescence, and in the article 204 related to the policies of social assistance, the principle of the participation and control over the federal funds: The format of the Councils incorporated the interests of the most conservative sectors, as an instrument of control and regulation, as well as the interests of the left-wing sectors worried about the popular participation.

The Municipal Councils do not need to be linked to a federal fund, or to any other type to exist, since the Municipality has administrative autonomy. However, those councils that tied themselves to funds, principally to those of health and of social assistance, were the ones that served to the expansion of the model in several thematic areas, as the urbane policy, protection of the cultural heritage, tourism, carnival, environment, transport, among others.

Also, according to data obtained by Avritzer (2006, p. 39), the traditional Municipal Councils (health and social assistance) are the most spread across Brazil. According to

the Municipal Basic Information Research of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), carried out in 2001, there were health councils in 98% of the Brazilian Municipalities, 93% have social assistance councils, while 77% and 73% of the Municipalities present, respectively, councils of the child and adolescent rights and education councils.

Though the methodology used by the (IBGE) is questioned by Avritzer, as there are merely formal councils, which do not work in fact, the author himself concludes that this statistic "leaves no doubts on the proliferation of councils in democratic Brazil" (AVRITZER, 2006, p. 39).

Finally, other factor that stimulated, and may come to stimulate the councils in subjects connected to the urban management, was the competence conferred to the Municipality to manage urban policies.

3. Municipality competence for urban policies

The municipal competence to deal with urban policies, granted by the Federal Constitution of 1988, in its article 182 and 183, was also a conquest of social movements.

The National Movement for the Urban Reform (MNRU) originated in the discussions carried out in the beginning of the decade of 1980, but its formation was consolidated by social movement organizations connected with the subject in order to act at the Constituent Assembly of 1986. The draft of the Constituent Assembly, of 1987, predicted the participation of different society organized sectors through the presentation of constitutional amendments. There were two presuppositions for the legislative initiative: a) the amendment should be presented by three associations; b) the amendment above-mentioned should have at least 30.000 voters' signatures (SANTOS JUNIOR, 1995, p.43).

After the amendment, the National Forum of Urban Reform (FNRU) was founded. Orientated by the principles of the urban property social function and democratic city management, the Forum was able to articulate discussions and actions that became responsible for the introduction of several of these principles in State Constitutions and Organic Municipal Laws, besides disseminating this ideal in national and international forums, congresses and seminars (DE GRAZIA, 2002, p.18).

> "Amid its activities and struggles, the FNRU was the only actor that, in constant and efficient form, opted for the pressure / negotiation with deputies, government sectors and property sectors to conquer a legislation of urban development that fundamentally was regulating the articles 182 and 183 conquered in the Constitution. The international articulations carried out around the conferences also had the objective to make public the concept of the social function of the property and of the city, a difficult notion to be dealt with in these spaces" (DE GRAZIA, 2002, p. 18).

The resistances and negotiations were many, principally regarding the sectors of the real estate market and the Foundation to the Defense of the FamilyValues and of the Property (TFP), which, besides sending insistently documents with criticism to the Congress, was passing petitions in public squares and in the centers of some capitals like São Paulo, Rio of Janeiro and Belo Horizonte against the urban reform.

> "The opposition parties, principally PT, and part of the Federal Government guaranteed the defeat of the appeals by one vote in February, 2001. The FNRU, the IAB (Institute of Architects of Brazil) and other entities handed over the petition to the Chamber of Deputies Presidency and to parties leaders in the previous days, action that has truly collaborated for this victory" (DE GRAZIA, 2002, p. 32).

Finally, the project was approved in 2001, being today known as the Statute of the City (MOREIRA, 2002, p. 41).

The approach of the policies for cultural heritage protection, carried out in this work, reconciles its cultural and urbanistic aspects, with distinction to the last ones.

The previous report on the Statue of the City submission process was necessary once the controversy of interests and values displayed in the project approval process represents basically the same arguments presented by the different sectors around the public policies for cultural heritage protection

In one side, there are articulated sectors of the organized civil society, they defend an urban project that takes into account the inclusion of urban plurality, the social function of the city and urban property, as well as the democratic management. In the other side, there are sectors of the real estate market, and, in the case of the cultural heritage, sometimes, the owners of the properties nominated as cultural heritage.

The principles approved in the Statute of the City outline somehow the policies of protection to the local cultural heritage once the Statute of the City expressly mentions this policy as the following legal devices demonstrate**:**

> "Art. 2nd. The urban policy's objective is to organize the full development of the social functions of the city and of the urban property, by means of the next general directives: (...) *XII - protection, preservation and recuperation of the natural and built environment of the cultural heritage, historical, artistic, related to the archaeological and architecture landscape.*

Two important propositions can be affirmed from this article. First, the policy of cultural heritage, besides being a policy properly stated, is also an urban policy. Second, cultural heritage protection, preservation and recuperation represent one of the city and urban property social function's premises. Hence, one enters in the fragile discussion between the individual rights and the social ones or between the civil and civic spheres of the citizenship.

Another important legal instrument for the cultural heritage police is the article 4 of the Statute of the City, which deals with the urbanistic instruments for the urban policy, having as the most controversial institute of the heritage protection: the so called "tombamento".

The Statute of the City enables the creation of new instruments turned to the urban policy; that happens because the roll of instruments is an exemplifying and not a categorical one.

The connection between the Statute of the City and the policy of cultural heritage protection in the municipal extent seems to be clear. It is necessary, however, to establish how the use of the councils happens as managers of the cultural heritage policy and the Statute of the City.

When observing the policy of cultural heritage also as an urban policy, it is necessary to follow the kind of management that the Statute of the City determines, that is, the democratic management. The second article from the Statute of the City gives the directive of this type of fulfilled democratic management "through the participation of the population and of the representative associations of several community segments in the formulation, execution and attendance of plans, programs and projects of urban development".

It is noticed, so, that the democratic management is the instrument that enables the participation not only of representative associations of several community segments, but also of the population. This is the directive of a democratic management; it must be participative, in the formulation, as well as in the execution of the urban policy.

According to Avritzer, the Municipal Councils are "hybrid institutions in which there are participation of the Executive and of civil society actors connected with the thematic area in which the council acts" (AVRITZER, 2006, p. 39). It is noticeable that, because of its characteristics, the Municipal Councils have multiplied themselves across Brazil as managers of several policies and as a synonym of democratic management.

4. Municipal councils

4.1. The Municipal Councils and participation

Summarizing the main arguments previously exposed, it is possible to affirm that:

a) the brazilian federative form was a important factor for the Municipality administrative and political autonomy, so the direct and indirect local administration may be constituted in an independent way from a Central Power, also opening space for institutional innovations, as the Municipal Councils, to deal with competences designated by the constitutional and infraconstitutional legislation;

b) the compulsory creation of some Municipal Councils to manage funds originated from federal resources, aiming, on the one hand, at higher efficiency and, on the other hand, to guarantee the principle of the participation, and constituted the model to the councils forms that were spread across the most varied issues;

c) the urban policy competence transmitted to the Municipality for the Federal Constitution of 1988 and for the Statute of the City made the policy of cultural heritage protection, besides a cultural policy, an urban policy, thus, necessarily significant to the city and urban property social function, with the need of being managed according to a democratic management and collegiate organs.

In the Brazilian redemocratization scenery, the Councils to be constituent of a set of institutional innovations that:

> "(...) refers to the improvement and to the solidification of the democratic institutions, aiming to allow its operation in the electoral interstice, connecting to the classic mechanisms of the institutionalized representation forms of political participation, which enables the enlargement of the right of vocalization of the citizens preferences and the public control over the exercise of power" (ANASTASIA; AZEVEDO, 2000, p. 03).

Among the important characteristics observed in the Municipal Councils for the expectations fulfillment, it is possible to quote "its deliberative or advisory function, its internal composition and its degree of flexibility to incorporate new collective representations" (CUNHA, 1997, p. 96). These suggest bigger or smaller chances of success for the democracy challenge. Under this perspective, the participation and the representation can be seen as two faces of the same coin; these are the two variables around which the other questions gravitate.

Conceptually, the municipal councils are public organs of the local Executive (GOHN, 2001, p. 11; AVRITZER, 2006, p. 39). Consequently, the Municipal Councils, regarding the result of its deliberations, make their wills, the aggregated or consensual interests of the participants inserted in the arena of discussion, the will of the State itself.

The peculiarity of the management Councils, at least those of deliberative nature, regarding other organs of the administration, consists in the fact that its acting is not hierarchically linked to the local government. The municipal secretariats, the local advisory bodies, the public foundations are controlled by the central organ of the administration, i.e., by the power that this one has of nominating, dismissing the leadership posts and establishing the directives of acting of the administration as a whole.

How would be possible the enlargement of the vocalization of the participant' preferences and the public control over the exercise of power if the Municipal Councils were an object of the hierarchy originated from the Municipality's Administration? The needed constraints to produce the feeling of unity of the government would obstruct the autonomous action of the civil society's representatives in front of the local Executive,

damaging a participative development of the public policies directives and the public control over its actions.

What appears original in these Municipal Councils experiences is the interaction between State and society showing a new way of the political power use, i.e., a democratic government that involves "besides the political-institutional questions of making decision, the forms of interlocution of the State with the organized society groups, in what refers to the process of definition, attendance and implementation of public policies" (ANASTASIA an AZEVEDO, 2000, p. 02).

The Municipal Councils have modified the political functioning and the identification of civil society sectors with the government. Previously excluded from the institutionalized political life, these sectors begin to demand each time more its apparition in public space. This claim is linked, in its origin, with the new associativism, represented by a new standard of collective action and occupation of public space, appeared in the beginning of the decade of 1980, that, with new associative forms, privileged the plurality that was formed through affinities, identities or sharing of values, whose examples are the movements of gender, ethnic groups, environment defense, protection to the childhood, among others (AVRITZER 1997, p. 163; BOSCHI, 1987, p. 41).

The change of standard of the collective action also happened in the forms of popular participation, the typology of limited or instrumental participation and of enlarged participation or neo-cooperative carried out by Azevedo and Prates has already become a reference on the understanding of the participative models in Brazilian reality.

The limited or instrumental participation takes place when the organized society of low income, in districts associations and other types of communitarian groupings, enters into negotiation with the state power to provide a punctual demand of collective consumer goods, in a short term. The State stimulates such population organization and, through it, employs a policy of "partnership" in which the population participates with free or sub-paid labor, while the State, in counterpart, offers a sum of resources greatly below of the existent demands.

The criticisms to this type of participation are several: first, it assumes the traditional forms of clientelism, and, perversely, demands from the part of the population with less acquisitive power a counterpart that should be a responsibility of the State itself. Finally, great part of the population would not be involved in this type of participation if the State apparatus served the society within its basic functions.

Nevertheless, these criticisms must not commit the fault of going to a Manichaean analyses of public programs that use this form of participation, because they can present, also, several positive aspects, outstanding among others: the possibility of delivering resources in areas extremely deprived of public services; the public power subsidy the resources allocation in subjects recognized as priorities for the population of

that area; and to allow sometimes citizenship profits (AZEVEDO and PRATES, 1991, p. 137).

On the other side, the Municipal Councils would be fitted in the so-called enlarged or neo-cooperative participation. This second model refers to the interest groups and social movements' capacity.

> "(...) to influence, direct or indirectly, in the formulation, restructuring or implementation of programs and public policies. It refers to, similar to what takes place in the scenery of the capitalist central countries, an effective direct involvement of the organized society sectors in the decision State arena" (AZEVEDO and PRATES, 1991, p. 136).

The Municipal Councils focus their acting in the claiming for the inclusion of new actors in the process of participation and in the demand for the insertion of new topics in the political agenda. The democratization of this process enables some issues, as the cultural heritage protection and urban planning, which do not have a great collective appeal, as it is the case of health and education, to get a space in public discussion.

> "The processes of liberation and the processes of democratization seem to share a common element: the perception of the possibility of innovation understood as an enlarged participation of social actors of several types in taking decision processes. In general, these processes implicate the inclusion of themes, up to that time ignored by the political system, the redefinition of identities and entails and the increase of the participation, especially at the local level" (SANTOS and AVRITZER, 2002, p.:59).

It is presumed that a change of paradigm of this nature, which produces a complementary relation between the representative democracy and the participative democracy, recognizes in the government approval one of its legitimacy bases (SANTOS and AVRITZER, 2002, p. 76), as the Municipal Councils act in the public space, firstly engaging in determining the general directives of a specific public policy and, subsequently, in making the Executive hand over the power of decision, of deliberation, to its area of acting.

The democratic participation is enlarged while conjugating the traditional forms of participation, as the vote and the pressure so that the elects one are responsive, to the deliberation popular forms.

4.2. The Municipal Councils and the representation

The transference of political power decision to the Municipal Councils means that political decisions became collective choices, and also made those decisions compulsory to the group issues related. In this manner, **it** is possible to identify what Sartori (1994, p. 291) denominates the two spheres of the collective decision: a

deliberative organ that defines the political rules in the name of all group issue related; and that extern group exposed to deliberations and the risks originated from them.

While the extern group is exposed to the risks of the deliberations, the deliberative organ must deal with the procedural decision cost, related "to low productivity, inefficiency, immobility and paralysis" (SARTORI, 1994, p. 291).
The equation between decisive costs and extern risks is given in the following way: as the extern risks reach only the extern group, the bigger the number of members of the deliberative organ, less the effect of the extern risk, however with higher decisive costs.

Decisive costs increase in this equation, considering that deliberative process cannot be aggregative, whereas the aggregative processes only ratify what has already been decided. The deliberative process must take into account "independent, and auto controlled, free to express" political actors (SARTORI, 1994, p. 291). Concluding, the bigger the number of subjects expressing in the same arena, the higher will be the decisive costs.

> "The key is the representation: since only the drastic reduction of the universe from the represented ones for a small group of representatives allows an important reduction of the extern risks (of oppression) without aggravating the decisive costs" (SARTORI, 1994, p. 298).

The author demonstrates the importance of the representation level regarding both the extern risks, and the decisive costs. Nevertheless, Sartori´s answer to the collective political choices equation returns to the Municipals Councils in the brazilian experience the problem that it came to solve, which is the problem of the representativeness, since the key dilemma of the representativeness is the legitimacy of its representation.

Municipal Councils present themselves as an alternative to the insufficiency of the electoral representative systems, guaranteeing a minimum representation normative, in which the representative should "act on behalf of the interest of the represented one" (LAVALLE, 2006, p. 58). This insufficiency originated from the complexity of the modern society, which makes unrealizable the preferences transitivity by the simple electoral aggregation (Arrows Theorem), brings up other questions connected to the legitimacy of the representation or the representativeness.

Though Municipal Councils don't typify classic representation instances, as the Legislative and the Executive Powers, in a similar way, they face representativeness problem, as rules start to exist to establish who can participate in the deliberative process and how it must be carried out. The representativeness is a guarantee that the collective decisions in the Councils will be legitimized, otherwise the damaged sectors will look for other alternatives for the attainment of its objectives.

> "The solution propitiated by the representative method caused the production of new problems, followed: (1) the bonds nature that join represented and representatives; (2) the represented capacity to call the attention to their

preferences before the representatives, and their capacity to supervise and to monitor their actions and omissions; (3) the representatives will and capacity to effectively act in the name of the citizens and in the defense of their best interests" (ANASTASIA and NUNES, 2006, p. 18).

Thus, the more consensual and democratic the representativeness, fewer distortions will take place in the political representation (ANASTASIA and NUNES, 2006, p. 28).

There are basically four commonest ways of establishing an entity as integrant of a council: a) by the law; b) by a plenary assembly with their peers; c) by the choice of the mayor; d) by the mixed form, which conjugates more than a form of choice.

The idea is to make the entities the more representative as possible of the society sectors connected to the Council issues.

The choice by the law occurs by the fixation of a categorical roll previously determining which will be the society representative entities in the Council. In this case, there is a freeze in the formation, as the listed entities cannot be altered but by decree. The choice by the law, even originated from a huge discussion, presents two main disadvantages regarding the representativeness: the impossibility of the representation enlargement through the choice of the representatives in the Council; and the possibility of a possession feeling of the Council chair by the representative entities, which gives it a power of bargain to defend its interests to the detriment of the representation of the sector to which it is tied.

Now the choices carried out through a plenary assembly among the peers have several advantages: the first one is that meeting act as a space of sociability of strategies position among several social sectors, increasing the representation level, as the choice of the representatives depends on the effective participation of all the interested ones.

A second advantage is that the plenary assembly can work as a way of control over the entities that are representing the others. However, the plenary assembly sessions are not a guarantee of the biggest possible representativeness presupposition, since they can have a perverse effect, which is sending a major number of entities that share the same values, leaving out of the process entities that think differently from the majority, but represents strong and important interests in the dynamic of the city politics.

The free choice of the organized society entities by the mayor is the least democratic practice, as, if all the entities subject themselves to this type of choice, there will not be space of prior interaction between the several entities. The mayor can, in these circumstances, rule the Council, choosing only the entities that engage with his way of acting and thinking.

However, in the type of mixed choice, the possibility of the mayor to indicate some entities can be a improving cause of representativeness, when representation is

attributed to a minority that represents a important interest excluded from other processes of choice.

The mixed form of counselor' choice has the advantage of handling, case by case, but also can produce distortions of representativeness, thus, the most important thing is to observe how the choosing formats are built, in order to give efficiency to the Council functioning.

Finally, it is useful to think whether the direct participation and the representation can be complementary. There is no way to deny the dimension of the direct participation in the Councils; however, the actors that participate are collective. It is prominent to see that it does not concern with the population participation, case in which the democratic dilemma that the Council aims at solving would be reproduced. However, because they are collective actors that represent a interest group, the more representative the collectivities of the city connected to the issue, the less the external risks.

However, a specific extern group, the owners of real estates nominated as a cultural relevant, as a rule, have no representation, as the administrative act happens individually, what is similar to say that, for the defense of their interests, they usually use a derived representation, it means, they look for, among the varied interests, the ones that are closer to theirs.

The normative purpose that asserts that the public policies will be better formulated and the State action more responsive if the several interests of the organized society are represented, and they, by the State side, deliberate about the political directives of the determined issue, caused several Municipalities to opt for the Municipal Councils to deal with the urban planning, including the protection of the cultural heritage policies.

In conclusion, the Municipal Councils of Cultural Heritage Protection is crucial to the Brazilians city planning since several of the protected real estates are usually situated in noble areas of great interest to the real estate market. The Councils, in this sense, can be shaped as instruments able to make real clear rules for urban planning and negotiations.

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[1] All the citations had been translated by the author

Reimagining civic art in the postwar boom: Christopher Tunnard, Kevin Lynch and the aesthetic genesis of 'Imageability'

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A significant portion of what is now falls under "urban design" emerged, not in architecture schools but in American schools of urban planning in the 1950s, particularly at Yale and MIT. The 1960 publication of Kevin Lynch's, *The Image of the City*, in foregrounding the visual aspects of urban form, seemed to produce something like a rupture within American planning discourses. In his introduction, Lynch gave the impression that he was entering into a little-explored terrain. "Giving visual form to the city," he wrote, "is a special kind of design problem, and a rather new one at that."[1] In fact, however, Lynch did not invent the visual design of cities out of whole cloth, nor was the problem entirely new to American urban planning. Lynch's renewed interest in urban aesthetics had strong conceptual links to the earlier City Beautiful Movement and to what had long been called "civic art." While modernist architects in the 1950s continued to critique the tradition of civic art, with its figural monuments and axial perspectives, a key group of American planners had already begun to reinvent the aesthetic techniques of civic art within a modernist framework of urbanistic pluralism and visual abstraction. In 1953, Lynch's friend and city planner at Yale, Christopher Tunnard published *The City of Man*, in which he had called for a revival of a civic art tradition that he traced back to the Italian Renaissance and to the American City Beautiful Movement.[2] While Tunnard stressed the historical continuity between his aesthetics of "creative urbanism" and earlier versions of civic art, Lynch deliberately repressed them. However, it is only by examining both authors in the context of a larger planning conversation that one can begin understand reasons for the surprising revival of civic art in the 1950s and well as its transformation into Lynch's cognitive model of "imageability."

This essay investigates the interconnected work of Christopher Tunnard and Kevin Lynch in the early 1950s, arguing that their theories effectively revived but also transformed an older civic art of monuments, streets and squares into contemporary paradigms of urban design. In the 1950s the phrase, "civic art," commanded little consensus among planners and architects, either in terms of its relevance to city planning or in terms of its theoretical underpinnings.[3] As an area of professional concern, civic art had come to hold an increasingly marginal position within urban planning. Not only were aesthetic issues difficult to define as a public good, but it was also domain over which few could claim professional authority. As urban planning became increasingly dominated by various applications of social science, civic art had become increasingly marginalized as a specialization attached to "physical planning." Rather than being seen as a central organizing device for urban reform, civic art was seen increasingly as an aesthetic supplement to planning, even a superfluous one.[4] Tunnard's revival of civic art, in particular, contrasts with the better known Urban Design Conference of 1956, whose organizers continued to reject the terms 'civic art' and 'civic design' for their association with City Beautiful aesthetics and ideologies.[5] In beginning to spearhead a movement for civic art, therefore, Tunnard had to reassert its coherence

and relevance for contemporary urban planning in the wake, both of architectural modernism and of an urban planning increasingly dominated by social science. In doing so, he laid some of the foundations for Lynch's apparently new and scientific understanding of the city as a visual form and for environmental design as an emerging interdisciplinary profession. Thus, the reinvention of civic art in the 1950s constitutes one of the significant but little-studied moments in the history of urban planning.

I.   Reviving the City Beautiful in the 1950s: Christopher Tunnard

Christopher Tunnard first began to turn to City Beautiful aesthetics against the grain of his earlier modernist convictions. He had started his career in Britain as a landscape architect closely associated with the British modernists of CIAM. His first book, *Gardens in the Modern Landscape*, published in 1938 and based on a series of articles he had recently written for the *Architectural Review*, attempted to strip landscape architecture of all its historical preconceptions and romantic associations. Tunnard's main thesis was that landscape architecture had failed to keep pace with the other arts, particularly with architecture. It was this close alliance with European modernism that initially brought Tunnard to the United States in 1939. He first arrived as a lecturer in landscape architecture at Harvard's Graduate School of Design, having been invited there, along with Bauhaus founder Walter Gropius, by the dean of that school, Joseph Hudnut.[6] As dean, Hudnut was perhaps best known for having purged Harvard of its Beaux Arts tradition in architecture. At the same time, however, he had remained ambivalent toward the modernist urbanism developed by CIAM in the 1930s.[7] Whereas Gropius continued to push the teaching urban design as an extension of the Bauhaus method of abstract form and composition, Hudnut had begun to teach a series of civic art courses, using historical cities such as Rome and Paris as case studies.[8] Arguing more generally against the modernist placement of buildings as isolated objects in park-like settings, Hudnut proposed "that the walls of the buildings should follow the lines of the streets."[9] Thus, the questions of visual scale, enclosure and continuous street fronts turned, not only on a continuity with an earlier civic art, but from a metaphor of street-as-theater derived from Renaissance humanism. As Tunnard switched from landscape architecture to city planning in the late 1940s, he also increasingly became an advocate of Hudnut's version of civic art.

By the early 1950s, Tunnard was beginning to apply classical principles of urbanism, including the use of axial vistas, to contemporary urban planning and was soon calling for urban planners to reconsider, not just civic art in general, but the City Beautiful Movement in particular. The City Beautiful Movement seemed useful for two reasons. In narrative terms it represented the most recent historical moment in which architecture and city planning had been firmly united, and thus it framed a 'usable past' for theorizing a large-scale visual planning. In aesthetic terms, the City Beautiful principles of axial views and monuments suggested a method for visually coordinating postwar American cities, especially central city areas that had suffered from physical neglect, obsolescence and economic abandonment. When Tunnard first explicitly advocated a return to City Beautiful principles in an article in 1950, he did so tentatively, almost

apologetically: "My excuse for discussing somewhat familiar material is based on a conclusion that the City Beautiful movement stood for more than its official title implies and that the most important contributions to American planning have been obscured in recent years by a fashionable denigration of its architects and their ideas."[10] Tunnard did not immediately tackle the more controversial issue of the movement's Beaux Arts classicism, but focused instead on its visual coordination of the city and on its proto-regionalism, points on which many modernists might agree with him, at least in principle.

For a city planner to actively advocate a revival of the City Beautiful principles in this period would have been seen by most planners and architects as extremely regressive and anachronistic. For most experts, the City Beautiful Movement was both aesthetically and functionally obsolete, and even probably misguided in its own time. Echoing a common opinion of the period, the planner Henry S. Churchill wrote of City Beautiful aesthetics in 1945: "Fortunately, little of it came to pass, except in Washington and an occasional place that got out of control like Harrisburg."[11] Although City Beautiful advocates, such as Daniel Burnham and Charles Mulford Robinson had attempted to treat the city as a functional whole, especially in terms of transportation and zoning, the movement had become mainly associated with expensive, classically inspired civic center groupings, either partially realized or remaining, as in Chicago, only a fantasy on paper.[12] In pragmatic terms, its formal model of monuments, boulevards and public squares were increasingly seen to be at odds with contemporary functions, such high-speed automobile traffic and newer patterns of housing. Most notably Le Corbusier, whose writings on urbanism increasingly displaced earlier civic art theories, had called for the death of the traditional street, or *rue corridor,* and thus the possibility of forming street pictures, the traditional perspective views, or *veduti*, of civic art.[13] If the City Beautiful forms were considered functionally obsolete, its aesthetic principles were beyond the pale, both in its use of Beaux Arts classicism as a unifying theme and in its use of grandiose monuments to act as visual focal points along major axes. With the ascendance of architectural modernism in the United States in the late 1930s, many found civic art treatises, such as Werner Hegemann and Elbert Peets' 1922 *American Vitruvius: An Architect's Handbook of Civic Art*, not only historicist but visually outmoded in its emphasis on classicism and perspective views. Beginning already in the early 1920s, modernist critics such as Lewis Mumford had derided, as aesthetically false and pompous, the classically derived forms of civic centers that had been the urbanistic crown jewels of the American City Beautiful Movement around 1910. Modernists had critiqued both the meaningfulness and usefulness of traditional urban monuments, especially figural monuments.

Tunnard, however, was not advocating a literal revival of City Beautiful plans; rather he was attempting to adapt its pictorial modes of representation to contemporary urban conditions. His 1951 article, "Creative Urbanism," functioned as a manifesto for the type of pictorial urbanism that he envisioned. The article set out first to define the role of the creative designer as a professional who would be equal in status to various planning experts, such as social scientists and engineers, and whose proposals for visual form of the city would take the advice of such experts into account. The visual designer, he

wrote, must replace the technocrat as the coordinator of planning decisions. At the same time the tools of civic art must expand to account for new social patterns in the city: "Questions of scale and proportion, apparent size and other relations must be thoroughly studied… especially in relation to problems of density and economics suggested by the social scientist."[14] The modern city, accordingly, could be mapped by "strategic points" of high functional significance, to then be designed in three dimensions by the visual designer to enhance and frame views of these strategic points. Thus existing urban monuments might be scenographically framed as the visual focal points for distinctive urban districts, thereby making the city, as a whole, socially and functionally visible. Part of Tunnard's project, which would later become central to the work of Kevin Lynch, was to identify "related areas" of the city that already contained some social or historical meaning and, using their aesthetic qualities as "starting points," develop a comprehensive three-dimensional urban form: "The actual urban form is variable and of patterns on the ground there are a thousand possibilities, but the forms will already have a quality stamped by variety in height, in vertical and horizontal emphasis, in looseness or compactness of structure."[15] (Figure 1.) This particular passage, which combined elements from the picturesque theories of Townscape as well as modernist formalism, spoke to the eclecticism of Tunnard's aesthetic sources. It was only in linking such related areas within a visual totality that City Beautiful strategies explicitly emerged. However, where City Beautiful theorists, following the older Baroque tradition, had proposed linking significant monuments placed axially on major avenues, Tunnard proposed that the linkages would be mainly visual ones. High speed traffic, according to modern requirements, would then be accommodated separately from the arrangement of axial vistas.

Despite Tunnard's somewhat abstract and partial adaptation of City Beautiful principles, his increasingly strident polemics soon branded him as a classicizing reactionary. In his 1953 book, *The City of Man*, Tunnard attacked the modernist architectural establishment while also advocating the metaphor of the city as stage scenery. European modernist urbanism, in his view, was a failed experiment. Architects today, he claimed, should not look back to the utopian urban schemes of the 1930s, rather their "new urbanism" should restore the visual principles of "Grand Design," distinguished by "an emphasis on scale and proportion, on *ensemble*, on ornament, on humanism."[16] More generally repudiating modernist methods of extrapolating urban forms from functional zones and circulation patterns, Tunnard proposed a visual conception of the city as a series of integrated viewpoints, urban backdrops, whose functions would continually shift: "We must learn not to create space patterns from space-flow diagrams for people to follow in their daily lives, but to create *space* in which people can form their own patterns… a secret known formerly to urbanists of the Renaissance."[17] The seeming humanism of the Renaissance city had lain in the mediation of the artist between the city as a functional aggregate and the viewer in the street.

In April 1953, Tunnard co-curated a small urban design exhibition, entitled *Ars in Urbe,* that took place in the Yale University Art Gallery. The exhibition presented urban scenes and fragments in what it called the "style image" of ancient Rome. A triumphal arch at the entrance had been painted for the occasion by students in Yale's drama

department, which had also lent an engraving of Serlio's "Model Scene for Tragedy." (Figure 2.) After passing through the canvas arch, visitors saw recent photographs of Roman ruins, architectural fragments, a copy of the 1551 Bufalini map of Rome, and various painted views, including two Canaletto depictions of the Piazza San Marco. For most observers trained in modernism, the challenge posed by *Ars in Urbe* was less the fact that it represented the past, as it was the particular *way* in which it represented that past. The objects in the exhibition combined various perspectival views with sculptural artifacts and devices clearly associated with an older Beaux Arts pedagogy.[18] For example, the section on "Roman Ornament," displayed plaster casts of the "classical orders of the column" next to a Pannini painting of the Pantheon and a portrait statue of Caligula.[19] Critics were particularly provoked by the last section of the exhibition, which focused on American Beaux Arts images from the early 1900s: A Jule's Guérin painting from the 1909 plan of Chicago; an interior view of McKim, Mead and White's Pennsylvania Station; and a 1902 sketch for Edwin Austin Abbey's allegorical painting, "The Apotheosis of Pennsylvania."

The fallout from *Ars in Urbe* quickly took on the quality of a scandal both within Yale's School of Architecture and among a wider public. Various Yale faculty and administrators expressed their concern or alarm over the *Ars in Urbe* exhibition, particularly the last section on the "Persistence of the Style Image," with its Beaux Arts imagery and its suggestion that in such images lay the future of American civic art. In August 1953 the dean of the School of Fine Arts, Charles H. Sawyer, in congratulating Tuunard on the publication of *City of Man*, nevertheless expressed his dismay over what he saw as Tunnard's anti-modernist interpretation of civic art: "Beauty is an active rather than a static concept to my way of thinking and while I can respect the Fair of 1893 for bringing a sense of order or oneness into a larger an monumental composition I shudder at the thought of re-enacting it in the mid-twentieth century in any similar dress."[20] From the dominant modernist position of the period, Tunnard's version of the classical urban past, consequently, seemed to be embodied in an all-too-literal way. "It is surely true that there is much to be learned from the past," wrote the architectural critic Aline Louchheim, who reviewed *Ars in Urbe* for the *New York Times*, "But it seems defeatism to hanker longingly for the scale, the ornament, the vocabulary, which another age evolved to express itself."[21] What annoyed Louchheim was the consequent failure to differentiate between an authentic classicism and its stage-like simulacrum.[22] In response to a caption praising the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, Louchheim asked: "Hadn't the [Classical] style become then in meaning what it was in actuality – plaster facades like movie sets?"[23] *Ars in Urbe*, if not quite a movie-set itself, nevertheless encouraged the metaphor of city-as-scenery. After 1953 Tunnard's advocacy of the City Beautiful would be increasingly marginalized within the mainstream of American planning and architectural discourse. His continued interest in classicism would find outlets mainly in such antiquarian venues as *Classical America*.[24] However, some of the more general problems raised by Tunnard's City Beautiful polemics, especially questions of visual scale, axial views and "related areas," would reemerge in the works of other planners, notably forming a significant part of the theoretical background to Lynch's *Image of the City*.

II. Crisis of scale – the Civic Art Conference of 1952

If Tunnard's idea of reviving the City Beautiful Movement in the 1950s proved quixotic, the public discussions of the topic spurred a fresh wave of creative rethinking about the postwar city. In spring of 1952, Tunnard had organized the Civic Art Conference, which was attended by a broad cross-section of architects, urban planners and art historians. Tunnard divided the conference into three sessions, according to what he considered the most pressing issues: Urban Esthetics; Monumentality and Modern Architecture; and Patronage and Civic Art.[25] It was an eccentric theme by mainstream standards of American urban planning in that decade. Conceived by Tunnard as means of reconsidering the great tradition of civic art, spanning from the Italian Renaissance to the American City Beautiful Movement, the conference was intended to reinsert what Tunnard explicitly called "beauty" into the center of urban planning concerns. To set the mood, he invited historian Fiske Kimball, the once prominent promoter of American classicism to deliver the keynote address on the topic of "Jefferson and Civic Art."[26] If the conference had been intended at the outset as a kind of provocation against modernist architecture and 'scientific' urban planning alike, it also served as a catalyst for a rethinking of modernist aesthetics and visual planning that extend far beyond Tunnard's intentions or expectations. The conference brought together planners, architects and historians, many of whom were embroiled in the upheavals of urban redevelopment and highway building and thus who viewed the matter of civic art through a distinctly contemporary lens.

Narrow questions of style and ornament soon led to more general questions of visual perception and subjective alienation. One of the discussants, Anthony Garvan, a professor of American Civilization summarized the sense of perceptual crisis underlying the desire to revive civic art: "There is another question here – not only of ornament, not only of moving at speed- but the important one that buildings before our time were designed for men and the individual observer. That is the utterly terrifying fact about modern architecture- that so many buildings are not designed for individuals, walkers, drivers, or anything else; but in fact they divide men, push them out (a complete misreading of early writers on functionalism)."[27] This was an issue quite apart from the particular forms of City Beautiful aesthetics. To the extent that modern buildings no longer seemed even to direct themselves to an individual observer in the street, the city itself seemed to have become opaque, out-of-scale, indifferent to its inhabitants.

This comment, in fact, echoed a much wider discussion that had gradually been emerging over the previous decade. By the time of the Civic Art Conference, American planners and architects, holding a wide range of aesthetic and ideological positions, had begun speaking of the need to "humanize" the city. This discourse of humanization focused on an imaginary, average viewer who was thought to be alienated and disaffected by the physical appearance of the city. Many described American cities as being out-of-scale, visually chaotic, overly mechanized, and hence also, "inhuman." Architects, in particular invoked public art and their corresponding urban spaces, now as a means of overcoming the twin deficiencies of rigid functionalism and an aesthetically

indifferent "social" planning. Others spoke of the need, not only for planners and architects to transcend functionalism aesthetically, but also to make functional forms visually meaningful to individual perceivers. Thus, a 1945 conference, entitled "Planning Man's Physical Environment," which brought together leading planners and architects from the United States addressed "the philosophy and the psychological effect of form," including "the necessity for architecture's transcending its utilitarian functions" and "the relation of significant form to experience and purpose."[28] In each case, there was a sense that urban dwellers needed meaningful urban forms, either through symbolically important monuments or through forms that communicated some level of social function. Hoping to reintroduce a conscious aesthetics into city planning, they claimed for urban aesthetics a corresponding social need. Likewise, the British Townscape writings of the mid-1940s, which became widely known in American architectural circles, addressed a theoretical "man in the street," who had become alienated by modernist urbanism and who needed to be addressed in an aesthetically accessible manner.[29]

When Kevin Lynch attended the Civic Art Conference, he was thus also participating in this wider conversation. Writing to Tunnard in early May, Lynch described the Civic Art Conference as having been "a very stimulating affair," adding: "My only regret is that we did not have more of our students sitting in, but to make up for it we are staging a review and discussion of the conference here this evening."[30] The great conundrum raised by a number of the speakers, namely how traditional theories of civic art could be reconciled with the expanded scale of the metropolis and mechanical upheavals, proved to be a fundamental starting point for Lynch's work. More specifically, the conference helped him to focus on two particular issues that would increasingly converge in his thinking: the problem of visual scale in viewing cities from the ground and the question of mentally forming an overall picture out of a series of views. In the spring of 1952, when he attended the conference, Lynch was about to embark for Italy on a Ford Foundation grant, and it was in Italy, especially in Florence, that he would begin to extend the questions of scale and perception into a discourse of memory and consciousness. Tunnard, who had helped Lynch to secure the grant, had been steadily advocating that Americans go to Europe to study its historical examples of civic art, to observe these cities directly rather than relying only on their pictorial representations.[31]

One of the papers delivered at the conference by a German émigré planner named Hans Blumenfeld spoke precisely to Lynch's interest in Florence.[32] For Blumenfeld the expanded form of the metropolis posed a perceptual crisis for the observer on the ground, for whom buildings, streets and the city as a whole were no longer in scale. The perceptual problem extended to professional urban planners, who, caught as they were in the mediations of specialized knowledge, were unable to see in their minds the physical cities that they were planning. In his paper, entitled "Scale in Civic Design," Blumenfeld began with one of the basic conundrums that this issue of scale had raised for city planners. It sometimes seemed, Blumenfeld remarked, "that the designer has only the choice between attempting to master the metropolis by blowing up all the elements of design to a gigantic scale, or renouncing any attempt to master it as a whole, and being satisfied with decorative embellishments of this or that part."[33] The more architects and planners tried to deal with elements scaled to the views of

individual observers in the street, the more they lost track of the relationship between these parts and some larger urban whole. However, the more architects and planners designed large scale schemes or structures that might formally unify the urban whole, the more such elements appeared to be inhuman, or as Blumenfeld described it, extra-human, simply beyond the scope of ordinary visual perception. A city such as Florence, according to Blumenfeld, could either be seen from the inside as series of streets and squares, or from the outside as a silhouette. From either perspective, one could still perceive the entire city, or, as Blumenfeld phrased it, form a "mental image" of it. (Figure 3.) "The desire to grasp the city as a mental image," Blumenfeld stated, "is deep seated and powerful."[34] He made these remarks on the "mental image," almost parenthetically, suggesting that it was central to the whole problem of urban aesthetics but without explaining it further.

III.   Cinematic optics and the "mental image": Kevin Lynch

In some ways Kevin Lynch seemed the least likely candidate to take an interest in Tunnard's apparently regressive idea of civic art. Like many architects and planners in the late 1940s, Lynch had been engaged with the problems of urban obsolescence and design flexibility. How could the urban infrastructure keep up with the rapid pace of social and technological change?[35] Moreover, when Lynch joined the MIT faculty just a year later his closest associate, György Kepes was an avowed modernist in the Bauhaus tradition of László Moholy-Nagy. Although Kepes was not himself an architect, he strongly favored a Miesian aesthetic of glass-and-steel buildings and light, modular assembly. As he became increasingly involved in visual issues of urban planning, moreover, Kepes clearly envisioned some version of this modernist aesthetic extending into the built environment as a whole. Nevertheless, Lynch soon found common ground between the aesthetic positions of both Tunnard and Kepes. Despite their overwhelming differences of approach, Kepes and Tunnard were equally committed to problem of connecting the visual impressions of the individual observer from the scale of particular views from within a street to the scale of the city as a whole.

Kepes, who joined the School of Architecture and Planning in 1946, had from the beginning been dealing with the question of subjective orientation, framing it as a crisis of the individual amidst an uncontrolled expansion visual scale and complexity in the urban environment. Kepes saw the chaotic, visually fragmented, modern city partly as a subjective failure to assimilate such phenomena into perception and partly as an artistic failure to coordinate the city visually. He repeatedly described the modern city as having become too fast and complex to accommodate subjective orientation. The speed and discontinuity of the visual environment was thus out-of-scale with subjective consciousness. In his 1947 essay, "The Creative Discipline of Our Visual Environment." Kepes called for consciously ordering the new forces of technology, and then giving that order an environmental, visual form.[36] The contemporary built environment, Kepes claimed, prevented the individual from establishing mental connections to the larger social world, in a way that would allow visual subjectivity to encompass wider and faster sequences of visual impressions.

When Lynch began to collaborate with Kepes in the early 1950s, one their central questions was the relationship between visual impressions of the city experienced over time and the cognitive structures of meaning and memory. Both saw an obvious analogy with film, in which a flashing sequence of images might add up to a meaningful narrative. In the fall semester of 1951, Lynch led an "Experimental Seminar in the Visual Form of the City," in which he and Kepes began to investigate the question of visual subjectivity in urban form. The annotated bibliography that Lynch prepared for the seminar is instructive, for it reveals the types of visual materials that Lynch found most compelling in studying this problem. Many of the writings in the bibliography, drawing on both well-known civic art treatises, such as *The American Vitruvius* and British Townscape writings, directly or indirectly suggested a cinematic analogy. [37] Raymond Unwin's 1909 *Town Planning in Practice*, included in the bibliography, echoed the City Beautiful theory that streets and roads should be arranged, not only for traffic flow, but also for the provision of effective sequence of street pictures, as produced by effective groupings of buildings. At the same time Unwin provided a proto-cinematic approach to urban views. Of Oxford High Street, he wrote, for example: "the curved road affords to those passing along it an ever changing picture, a new grouping of buildings coming into view at every point."[38] Gordon Cullen's "Townscape Casebook," also included in the bibliography, compared the eye with a movie camera and illustrated a sequential panorama of the houses of parliament, showing the continuity of shifting perspectives as seen from an imaginary walk. (Figure 4.) On the same page a sequence of three photographs traced a visual path through an arch and toward a Gothic tower beyond.[39]

Part of the purpose of the experimental seminar was to test the adequacy of pictorial analogy by comparing it against direct visual experiences of the city. Much of the seminar was literally experimental in as far as participants were asked to produce their own subjective impressions, either from memory or during collective walks around Boston and Cambridge. Summarizing one of the discussions, Lynch described a variation on the cinematic analogy: "In most cases the individual receives his impression of the city from small bits, as a sequential series of images, loosely composed. The photograph may often falsify the true impression received by the eye, since the photo has a frame, a static quality, and lacks the small-area focus." When moving through the city attention seemed to be drawn in every direction. Lynch noted the "chaos of detail in the city and the constant exercise of selectivity by the individual."[40] Unlike the camera, the eye did not frame a sequence of organized views but moved from one detail to the next as static or ephemeral shapes came to attention. Turning to the question as to why ancient cities seemed to be more visually satisfying, the seminar addressed again the sequence of views and their visual coherence.

Such visual coherence, however, could not be entirely separated from a kind of symbolic coherence. In the various presentations and discussions of historical cities, the emphasis turned to processional, ritual spaces and monumental building groups. Edmund Bacon of the Philadelphia Planning Commission delivered a lecture on the spatial articulation of symbolically significant spaces in Jerusalem and Beijing, the latter with its "progressive series of space experiences climaxing in the throne room."[41] A

series of student presentations then focused on examples such as the medieval town of Warwick in England with "its foci of church and castle, [and] the harmonious mixture of styles on the main street." Another presentation examined18[th] century St. Petersburg, whose unity was generated by its "control of silhouette, great central square, [and] long processional streets."[42] The sequence of views in such cities, it was implied, followed a symbolic logic that linked them together. Such sequences, punctuated and made meaningful by the framing of monuments depended on the visual as well as symbolic weight of these monuments. However, for Lynch such unified, collective symbolism could no longer be attributed to modern viewers. Urban societies had become too secular and pluralistic.

Rather than seeking symbolic unities in cities such as Florence Lynch sought to apply the formal, structural principles of civic art, particularly the idea of visually unifying different parts of the city in an abstractly functional but visually dense manner. Lynch's interest in a variety formal elements and urbanistic traditions, including axial views of monuments, grid systems and picturesque contrasts, ultimately aimed at their combined effect in orienting an individual observer. Thus, when Lynch arrived in Florence in the fall of 1952, he already knew, to some degree, what he wished to find. "One of the most important features of a city" he wrote in early November, is "that it express relationships, i.e., that it have parts of specific differentiated character, which are already related, so that it is easy to move where you want to go, and so that in one spot you are conscious of the relations with all the other parts."[43] In order for these relationships to become apparent, Lynch continued, there had to be establishing views, such as the panorama of Florence from the surrounding hills or else views of dominating towers from within individual streets.[44] Relating the different parts of the city in consciousness, through seen and remembered views, amounted to having a mental image of the city. However, these parts had, for Lynch, no inherent meaning or content. They were semantically abstract forms, whose structure could accommodate multiple significations within a stable structure of relations. Lynch's primary concern with Florence was with its contemporary impact on perception, on himself and on the contemporary Florentines. If the city had a distinctive form, its possible meanings were as varied as the perspectives of its different inhabitants. Thus, the core of Lynch's theory of imageability existed, *in nuce*, before he even began the official project in 1954, funded by the Rockefeller Foundation that would lead to *The Image of the City*.

Conclusion: Imageability as abstract civic art

In *The Image of the City*, Lynch suggested that his findings emerged primarily out of a series of interviews with urban inhabitants, asking them to describe and draw their mental images of their own cities, specifically Boston, Jersey City and Los Angeles. Lynch also indicated that his theoretical interpretations engaged perceptual psychology, environmental anthropology and even animal behavior. As the archive makes clear, however, his concepts had already been fundamentally shaped by the earlier discussions of civic art, including Christopher Tunnard's revised version of the City Beautiful. Let us briefly reconsider the five visual elements that Lynch famously found to form, in combination, the mental image of the city: the path, the node, the edge, the

district and the landmark. (Figure 5.) If one substitutes the following words instead: the avenue, the intersection, the wall, the precinct and the monument – which would constitute specific examples of Lynch's more general categories – then one can find, in each case, urbanistic precedents, of which only the most obvious is the Baroque tradition of avenues and monuments, which formed part of the aesthetic core of the City Beautiful. Lynch's abstraction of such elements, however, was not merely a matter of hiding their aesthetic genealogy. It was also a matter of removing from them any specific forms or associations. Landmarks could look like anything as long as they were visually distinctive. They could carry any number of associations or meanings, even conflicting ones, as long as long as they remained embedded within a strong visual structure.

Lynch's abstraction of City Beautiful aesthetics from specific content, in fact, paralleled the moves of other planners in the early 1950s with whom Lynch actively corresponded. In his 1954 essay, "Urban Aesthetics," for example the American planner Sydney Williams described the importance of both "formal" and "informal" vistas as providing a structure for orientation and meaning: "Individually significant architectural masses, together with urban open spaces, should be linked with vistas, and used to provide an essential set of visual reference points for the orientation of the individual within the city."[45] Just as with Lynch, the axial boulevard leading to the monument, or "formal vista," becomes just a subcategory of the more general urban vista, whose exact form and meaning remain indeterminate. Thus, Lynch's conception of imageability transmuted the earlier concerns of civic art with the siting of monuments and the promotion of civic unity into a more open-ended, abstract sense of the subjectively meaningful cityscape. In an era when traditional monuments could no longer signify the same way, Lynch continued to insist that the city required interconnected, visual focal points, psychological anchors for a modern urban subjectivity. The imageable city was not merely a place in which one might be well oriented in a topographic sense. Rather the imageable city was also a place in which personal and collective experiences would imprint itself on urban form. The distinctive nodes and landmarks of would collect memories and associations, orienting the subject both spatially and narratively. It is in this sense of perspectival subjectivity that one might profitably speak of the *Image of the City* as presupposing an existential optics, in which in which the city becomes, not an object of fixed or pre-ordained signification, but rather the site of possible meaningfulness that is completed by the individual pathways of many individuals. Rather than presenting some unified or organic coherence, unifying both social and urban forms within some mythical universal, Lynch's work suggested a way in which a pluralistic urban society, characterized by multiplicity and difference might, nevertheless, share a common urban space.

Although Lynch's and Tunnard's work emerged out of the same set of discussions on civic art and urban aesthetics in the 1950s, Lynch himself increasingly suppressed this history. In his 1985 essay, "Reconsidering *The Image of the City*," Lynch recalled, "The research was done by a small group with no training in the methods they used, and no literature to guide them."[46] Lynch's discounting of the abundant literature on urban aesthetics that, in fact, guided his research resulted from his deliberate turn to social

science as a legitimating paradigm for visual planning. When Lynch asked the sociologist Herbert Gans to respond to his early research in 1954, Gans responded "Architectural ideology always makes assumptions about emotional effects of structures, but we really don't know whom they affect, besides architects, and if so, how."[47] Over the course of the 1950s, Lynch became increasingly sensitive to the charge that he and others concerned with urban aesthetics might be imposing an arbitrary, if not elitist ideology of urban form. Tunnard's model of civic art seemed increasingly out of step with theories of scientific planning and pluralistic, democratic societies. Whereas Tunnard, confident in his own aesthetic connoisseurship, advocated an enlightened patronage for civic art, Lynch increasingly avoided the term aesthetics and attempted to ground his theories in seemingly objective, scientific theories of perception. Therefore, foundational and, in fact, structurally essential sources for Lynch's theory of imageability became increasingly illegitimate until their status as sources were erased or forgotten.

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[1] Lynch, Kevin, *The Image of the City*, (Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 1960), p. v. The fact that Lynch's cited sources derived mostly from psychology and anthropology reinforced the impression that he was somehow inventing a new science, in which he needed to cobble together scattered ideas from other disciplines.

[2] For a detailed history of the City Beautiful Movement and its ideology see: Wilson, William H., *The City Beautiful Movement*, (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1989).

[3] The main opposition lay between those favoring the retention of earlier models of civic art, including the perspectival traditions of the Italian Renaissance and the English picturesque, and those who proposed adopting some form of European modernism, derived from the early 20th century avant-gardes who had posited the emergence of novel, anti-perspectival sensations of space. The 1944 collection of essays, entitled *New Architecture and City Planning*, which contained sections on civic art as well as on monumentality, set forth opposing opinions on the forms that urban aesthetics should take in the postwar rebuilding of American cities.

[4] By the 1930s already, the emphasis of American city planning had shifted away from aesthetic ideals to more purely practical and functional concerns. Histories of American urban planning have often described the shift from the City Beautiful ideal to those of the "City Functional" or "City Beneficial" after 1910. See, for example, Mel Scott, *American City Planning since 1890*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1969.

[5] The conference was organized by José Luis Sert, dean of Harvard's Graduate School of Design and was the first in a series of 13 conferences that lasted until 1970. For a summary of the 1956 conference, see "Urban design," *Progressive Architecture*, August 1956, v. 37, p. 97-112. For a historical perspective on the 1956 conference and its impact on the idea and practice of urban design, see *Harvard Design Magazine: The Origins and Evolution of "Urban Design," 1956-2006*, Spring/Summer 2006 (entire issue). In his article, "The Way We Were, The Way We Are," Jonathan Barnett remarks on the negative consequences of conference's disavowal of the "civic," *Harvard Design Magazine," 1956-2006*, Spring/Summer 2006, pp. 61-62.

[6] There are differing accounts as to who instigated this invitation. According to Lance Neckar, Hudnut was either persuaded by the landscape architects, Dan Kiley, Garret Eckbo and James Rose, or by Walter Gropius. See Neckar, Lance, "Strident Modernism / Ambivalent Reconsiderations," in *Journal of Garden History*, v. 10, Fall 1990, p. 241

[7] In many ways he had also remained sympathetic to his former colleague Werner Hegemann's approach to civic art, with its emphasis on streets, squares and monuments. The cities that Hudnut illustrated in his lectures, moreover, came largely from the very Renaissance and Baroque tradition that European modernists had soundly rejected in the 1930s.

[8] For a detailed analysis of Hudnut's struggle against Gropius' version of modernism, particularly his method of urban design, see Jill Pearlman, "Joseph Hudnut and the Unlikely Beginnings of Post-Modern Urbanism at the Harvard Bauhaus," *Planning Perspectives*, vol. 15, 2000, 201-239; see also Pearlman's

dissertation, *Joseph Hudnut and the Education of the Modern Architect*, Department of Art History, University of Chicago, 1993, pp. 225-295. Curiously, Pearlman does not mention Tunnard's role in this critique of modernist urban design.

[9] Hudnut, Joseph, "The Art in Housing," in *Architectural Record*, vol. 93, January 1943, p. 60

[10] Tunnard, Christopher, "A City Called Beautiful," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 9, March-May 1950, 31-36

[11] Churchill, Henry S., *The City Is the People*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1945), p. 69

[12] Even Hegemann and Peets' *American Vitruvius*, which included plentiful examples of City Beautiful groupings as models for civic art, had cast doubt on the idea that the principles of the City Beautiful Movement could aesthetically transform the city as a whole, noting: "It would, however, indicate forgetfulness of the sore fate of great ambitions if the American city planner should too optimistically hope for a transformation of such large cities as New York and Chicago from their present state into 'cities beautiful.'" - Hegemann, Werner and Peets, Elbert, *The American Vitruvius: An Architect's Handbook of Civic Art*, Architectural Book Publishing Co., New York, 1922, p. 227

[13] For a history of this particular issue, see John R. Gold, "The Death of the Boulevard, in Fyfe, Nicholas ed., *Images of the Street*, Routledge, New York, 1998, pp. 44-57 and Dunnett, James, "Le Corbusier and the City without Streets," in Thomas Deckker ed., *The Modern City Revisited*, SPON, London, 2000, pp. 56-79

[14] Tunnard, Christopher, "Creative Urbanism," *Town Planning Review*, v. 22, October 1951, p. 227

[15] Tunnard, Christopher, "Creative Urbanism," *Town Planning Review*, v. 22, October 1951, p. 233

[16] Tunnard, Christopher, *City of Man*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1953, pp. 233-34. Tunnard most likely picked up the phrase "new urbanism" from the title of Gaston Bardet's 1945 book, *Pierre sur Pierre: Construction du Nouvel Urbanisme* (Editions L.C.B., Paris). Bardet's book included a devastating critique of Le Corbusier's *Ville Radieuse*, which he dubbed "la Ville Ombreuse." (p. 180) In *City of Man*, Tunnard reproduced Bardet's diagram of the long shadows that would be cast by Le Corbusier's projected apartment blocks, undermining one of Le Corbusier's primary functional justifications for the scheme.

[17] Tunnard, Christopher, *City of Man*, (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons), 1953, p. 344

[18] Furthermore, the different sections of the exhibition were given such titles as "Source of the Style Image" and "Persistence of the Style Image," bringing the classical city under the signs of fashion and external appearance. Modernism, by many accounts, was supposed to have dispensed with styles, and, in its social concern, emphasized programmatic content over image. To attach 'style' and 'image' in the same phrase describing urban design was to commit a kind of double offense against such modernist sensibilities.

[19] *Ars in Urbe*, exhibition catalogue, published as volume 20, *Bulletin of the Associates in Fine Arts*, *Yale University*, spring 1953, p. 7

[20] Letter dated August 18, 1953 from Charles H. Sawyer to Christopher Tunnard, Christopher Tunnard papers, Yale University Archive, Box 3, folder 43

[21] Louchheim, Aline B., "City Planning through the Ages," *New York Times*, Sunday April 19th, 1953, p. X9

[22] In art historical terms, *Ars in Urbe* elided the modernist urbanism, whether of Le Corbusier, Frank Lloyd Wright, or Norman Bel Geddes, while elevating the seemingly historicist work of the American Beaux Arts. This art historical narrative and its implications particularly irritated Louchheim, for it seemingly contradicted all the modernist accounts of urbanistic and architectural progress since 1900.

[23] Louchheim, Aline B., "City Planning through the Ages," *New York Times*, Sunday April 19th, 1953, p. X9

[24] In this turn he was influenced, at least in part, by his increasingly close association with the architect Henry Hope Reed, an avowed classicist and anti-modernist.

[25] "Civic Art Conference," Yale University Archive, Christopher Tunnard Papers, Box 3, folder 45

[26] Letter dated December 10, 1951 from Christopher Tunnard to Fiske Kimball, Fiske Kimball Papers, Philadelphia Museum of Art Archive, box 42, folder 9

[27] Tunnard and Pearce ed., *City Planning at Yale*, (New Haven, Yale University, 1954), p. 65

[28] *The Princeton University Bicentennial Conference on Planning Man's Physical Environment*, (Princeton, 1946), p. 9

[29] Modernist planners, Townscape advocates claimed, had failed to convince most people of the livability of their schemes by having failed to provide a vivid picture: "And by the word *picture* is meant – literally a

picture – of how the town will look."Hastings, Hugh de Cronin, "Exterior Furnishing, or Sharawaggi: the Art of Making Urban Landscape," *Architectural Review*, v. 95, January 1944, p. 8

[30] Letter dated May 6, 1952 from Kevin Lynch to Christopher Tunnard, Christopher Tunnard papers, Yale University Archive, Box 11, folder 162

[31] Regarding Tunnard's support for the Ford Foundation grant, Lynch wrote: "Perhaps it was your phone call that put it over, since it had looked to me like a very doubtful chance." --Letter dated May 6, 1952 from Kevin Lynch to Christopher Tunnard, Christopher Tunnard papers, Yale University Archive, Box 11, folder 162

[32] Lynch was already familiar with Blumenfeld's writings on urban form by 1951 and cites him in one of his early articles, "The Form of Cities," *Scientific American*, April 1954, p. 61. After the conference, Lynch and Blumenfeld began to correspond on the topic of their mutual research into the visual perceptions of urban form.

[33] Blumenfeld, Hans, "Scale in Civic Design," *Town Planning Review*, v. 24, April 1953, p. 35 (published form of lecture delivered at Civic Art Conference, Yale University, April 23rd, 1952.)

[34] Blumenfeld, Hans, "Scale in Civic Design," *Town Planning Review*, vol. 24, April 1953, p. 44

[35] His own Bachelor of City Planning Thesis from 1947, entitled "Controlling the Flow and Rebuilding and Replanning in Residential Areas," suggested that entire urban districts might "be designed to wear out simultaneously at the end of a specific period: the walls, the roofs, the plumbing, the streets, the mains would all crumble away just at the end of say the 41st year." What Lynch proposed in 1947 was effectively a massive and perpetual program of urban renewal. Lynch, Kevin, *Controlling the Flow of Rebuilding and Replanning in Residential Areas*, Bachelor of City Planning Thesis, MIT, 1947 p. 55

[36] Kepes, György, "The Creative Discipline of Our Visual Environment," *College Art Journal*, v. 7, Fall 1947

[37] Of the 76 citations in the bibliography, 25 came from *The Architectural Review*, mainly townscape writings, including six by Gordon Cullen and the major townscape manifestos, such as Hugh de Cronin Hastings' 1944 "Exterior Furnishing or Sharawaggi: The Art of Making Urban Landscape," which proposed that the visual form of the city be constructed, not according to utopian schemes, but in relation to what already existed, "in the manner suggested by itself." Hastings, Hugh de Cronin, "Exterior Furnishing, or Sharawaggi: the Art of Making Urban Landscape," *Architectural Review*, v. 95, January 1944, p. 8

[38] Unwin, Raymond, *Town Planning in Practice*, (London, Ernest Benn, 1932 (1909)), p. 260

[39] Cullen, Gordon, "Townscape Casebook," *Architectural Review*, v. 106, December 1949, p. 366

[40] Lynch, Kevin, "Brief Summary of Sessions – Experimental Seminar in the Visual Form of the City," Kevin Lynch Papers, MC-208, Box 3, Boston Image, folder 3, p. 5

[41] Lynch, Kevin, "Brief Summary of Sessions – Experimental Seminar in the Visual Form of the City," Kevin Lynch Papers, MC-208, Box 3, Boston Image, folder 3, p. 4

[42] Lynch, Kevin, "Brief Summary of Sessions – Experimental Seminar in the Visual Form of the City," Kevin Lynch Papers, MC-208, Box 3, Boston Image, folder 3, p. 6

[43] Lynch, Kevin, travel notebook #1, MIT Archive, Kevin Lynch papers, MC 208, Box 13, folder 1, Florence, Italy, 29 September – 12 November, 1952, undated notes near journal entry for November 3rd

[44] "So, from outside the city it is good to be able to see it as a whole, or to see some characteristic feature that means 'city,' and from the inside it is good to have views of the surrounding country, or have a wide belt of water or movement that leads to country. Mere mixture does not produce this. But adjacent contrast may, as the S. hills in Florence, against the crowded center. Or dominant towers (Florence, Venice), or a dominant street pattern may link point. up to city center. (This does not operate in Florence except where Duomo visible). -- Lynch, Kevin, travel notebook #1, MIT Archive, Kevin Lynch papers, MC 208, Box 13, folder 1, Florence, Italy, 29 September – 12 November, 1952, undated notes near journal entry for November 3rd

[45] Williams, Sydney, "Urban Aesthetics," *The Town Planning Review*, Vol. xxv, July 1954, p. 112. Lynch became aware of Williams' work as early as 1952 when the latter sent Lynch his syllabus for an experimental course on urban aesthetics at Berkeley.

[46] Lynch, Kevin, "Reconsidering *The Image of the City*," in *City Sense and City Design*, MIT Press, Cambridge, 1995, p. 247

[47] Letter dated October 25 1954 from Herbert Gans to Kevin Lynch, Kevin Lynch papers, MC-208, Box 3, Boston Image, MIT Archive

Redefining the dual city: changing ideas of plural citizenship in colonial/postcolonial Singapore

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The dual or dialectic thesis underlies many of the histories of colonial urban contexts, where as argued by Kaplan and Holloway, asymmetrical race relations, the struggle between capital and labor, and the conflicts caused by repression and resistance offer simultaneous social, economic and political readings of the dialectic.[1] The term 'divided city,' which was used to illustrate economic and spatial divisions in Europe, typically describes racial segregation in the colonies as evident in 'orientalist' accounts by travelers and colonists such as W.H. Russel on India and John Cameron on Singapore.[2] In many colonial societies, social distance based on race and class was interpreted as spatial distance and maintained through practices of differentiation, discrimination and self-segregation, and by identifying deviance.

There have been substantial contributions to the historiography of the colonial city during the late twentieth century influenced by Edward Said's book *Orientalism*, postcolonial studies and post structuralist theory.[3] The work of Franz Fanon, Janet Abu Lughod and others, addressed specific notions of colonial urban duality, based on readings of dialectic materialism.[4] Orientalist spatial strategies, representations of power, and the production of new forms of metropolitan and colonial subjectivity were subsequently explored in the work of Anthony King, Thomas Metcalf, Norma Evenson, Gwendolyn Wright, and Paul Rabinow.[5] Similar patterns of dominance were recognizable in various cultural encounters, and numerous interpretations of the dialectic resulted; such as the gendering of colonial Algeria described in the work of Zeynep Çelik or contestation over Singapore's public spaces in Singapore, described by the geographer Brenda Yeoh.[6]

More recently, the work of a new generation of scholars focuses on the de-centered narratives of the subject populations under colonial rule, as investigated in the anthology *Colonial Modernities* by Vikramaditya Prakash and Peter Scriver.[7] The work of Jyoti Hosagrahar and Swati Chattopadhyay, included in this collection, explore indigenous constructions of modernity intersecting with elite, colonial, material culture.[8] For example, Chattopadhyay challenges representations of the colonial dual city as separate and distinct arguing that "the economic, political and social conditions of colonial culture penetrated the insularity of both towns."[9]

Southeast Asia, identified through itinerant kingdoms, migrant trajectories, and settler histories, offers a correspondingly different interpretation of colonial power relations and built environments. The conflation of immigrant and urban identities in many locales prevents the easy dissection of colonial society into 'indigenous' versus 'European,' 'black' versus 'white' and injects issues of geographic belonging and displacement into an already uneven cultural mix. Considering Malaya as an illustration of this point, pre-colonial settlers had developed an "archipelagic pattern of flexible ethnicity," which took

the co-existence of Indian and Chinese immigrants with numerous Southeast Asian ethnic communities into account.[10] Some of these groups were incorporated into existing social hierarchies while others remained distinct for cultural or economic reasons. Therefore in Singapore, while urban social divisions were planned and the structure of the economy was dialectical, in many respects, the operation of power was both politically and socially differentiated due to the racial diversity of the settler population. The structural order was imposed in order to compensate for the lack of colonial authority, due to subordinate systems of self-government. Singapore provides an interesting application of the plural social model to the dual city.

The objective of this paper is to examine how an urban system devised for duality: i.e. the separation of Europeans and natives was applied to an ethnically diverse settler population, and to explore its consequences for the plural political model that evolved in Singapore. In doing so it links specific forms of urban development to postcolonial strategies of social engineering and systems of governance, which are largely taken for granted. This paper argues that colonial strategies of ethnic division persist in nationalist urban development and inform policies on labor and citizenship that are yet to be decolonized.

Plural citizenship

J.S. Furnivall, progressive reformer and prominent scholar/critic of colonialism during the 1950s, described "tropical dependencies" as dual economies comprised of two distinct economic systems, capitalist and pre-capitalist, with a "western superstructure of business and administration rising above the native world…." [11] In the colonial plural society, "different sections of the community live side by side, but separately, within the same political unit." [12] Identified by their religious and cultural practices, each of these distinct communities encountered the others in the market place. Colonial laws categorized them according to race and organized them hierarchically according to the functions they performed within the colonial economic structure. In Furnivall's view, the colonial 'market mentality' destroyed pre-colonial social relations idealized by him around corporate tribal or village life. Institutional self-sufficiency and external forces precluded the development of 'a common social will' directed toward the general welfare of the population or territory. In short, under colonial rule, integration as a common territory was achieved through coercion.

Furnivall's critique of colonial society has shaped our understanding of the plural model adopted in contemporary Singapore and Malaysia. The model is divisive rather than integrative, highlighting a critical difference between the division of labor in a culturally homogeneous society (Adam Smith's model) and in one where cultural cleavages may be exacerbated through economic competition.[13]

A more nuanced interpretation is offered by Judith Nagata, who observes that societies labeled plural "are invariably defined politically at a maximum level…and marked by considerable social and cultural heterogeneity at lower levels."[14] In short, the assumption that ethnic reference groups take primacy over national loyalties and the

focus on social and cultural incompatibility is often used to justify political coercion (in both colonial and postcolonial periods). Nagata believes that there may be different levels of pluralism in the private and public spheres, where a society may be integrated in public life at the level of political institutions and compartmentalized in private life in the cultural arena. In such examples ethnicity operates in a domestic or ritual domain while nationality defines the public political sphere.[15]

Due to several factors, the Straits Settlements differed radically from Britain's other Indian presidencies. Because the annexation of the settlements followed peaceful monetary exchanges between the British and Malay chieftains, British authority in the region was limited. Politically, the settlements were on the periphery of the Calcutta-centered colonial administration and were neglected because the freedom of their ports severely curtailed the revenue accruable to the Company. They were dependent on attracting large groups of regional settlers who were free to travel across the settlements' borders. In fact, in comparison with the Indian subcontinent, all three of the Straits Settlements promised regional migrants greater rights to self-determination. But such freedoms, operating under colonial rule, required careful management through covert strategies that would maintain racial hierarchies and ensure British authority. The colonial solution was a divided urban landscape where migrant communities would remain segregated. In the Straits cities, experiments with racial segregation, applied over time, ultimately produced a spatial template for a plural society, a system of citizenship for those territories which were precariously placed between colonies and dominions.

The Straits Settlements

The British East India Company annexed the Straits Settlements of Penang, Singapore and Melaka in 1786, 1819 and 1825, respectively, following the shift of regional power in Southeast Asia from Dutch to British hands.[16] In 1826 they were collectively designated as an Indian presidency. However, unlike other Indian presidencies the Straits Settlements had free trade, light taxation and laissez faire government, carving avenues for private enterprise and secularization.

Writing on this early period, scholars assume, far too easily, that language, ethnic occupational speciality, custom and religion separated racial groups quite naturally, precluding any need for a 'divide and rule' policy.[17] Descriptions of colonial Singapore corroborate such assumptions by reproducing plural racial divisions in its urban landscape. Accordingly, Chinese, Malays and Indians resided in separate and spatially distinct ethnic neighborhoods outside Singapore's European Town. Although many different racial and language groups were contained within these larger categories and shared both residential and public space, they were reduced to racial stereotypes that fitted conveniently into the colonial economy. In fact, the European town was placed so as to physically divide the natives and settlers from neighboring geographies – i.e. natives –from new immigrants.

Although the Malaysian Straits Settlements, the settlements on the hinterland, had a plural society dating from the same period as Singapore, the outcome was very different. The population of the sultanate of sixteenth century Melaka, prior to colonization, was comprised of numerous regional ethnicities including Chinese and Indians. Following their colonization, ethnic groups in Penang and Melaka resided in adjacent *kampungs* or streets where racial and territorial boundaries were often blurred. Hybrid communities such as Malay-Chinese Babas, Peranakan-Indians and Eurasians of Portuguese descent were already in place, the former two from the pre-colonial period. The British dual system of government sought to reinforce ethnic divisions that excluded such hybrid categories.[18]

The term 'divided landscapes' as it is applied to the Straits context can therefore suggest divisive strategies enacted at different scales, beyond physical urban duality. There was a complex graduation of color, status and relationship to colonial authority between the predominant racial groups, and racial categories were blurred by minorities, regional migrants and hybrid identities originating from the pre-colonial period. The colonial government's desire to organize race into coherent categories comes therefore from two very different motivations: economically, to establish a race-based division of labor that can be quantified in terms of the profitability of the settlement; and politically, to prevent the different races combining for anti-colonial resistance. More importantly, racial segregation became necessary to prevent the blurring of the very different cares and conditions by which the colonial government's relationship to each racial group had been negotiated. It appears that a very different system of entitlements and privileges was meted out to each of the different racial groups and legislated by colonial laws, which Aihwa Ong has described as 'graduated sovereignty.'[19] Similarly, Malay loyalties were to chieftains on the adjacent mainland, whereas the Chinese who were relatively distant from China focused on clan loyalties. Indian sepoys and convicts were governed by different laws to those legislating Indian settlers. The plural society which was thus defined by its political and socio-economic structure demanded varying degrees of loyalty to the colonial state and was deliberately shaped and managed through its urban plan.

The urban plan

"Sedentarization," argues James Scott, was a key ingredient in the civilizing process and Southeast Asian societies that were land rich but lacking in man power tried by various means to attract peripheral populations to the center.[20] The colonial cadastral survey, perhaps the most effective device for making lands and populations visible, materialized this desire as part of a tax regime, tied to individual property ownership.[21] It also changed the perception of two elements critical for defining Southeast Asian settlements, the river and the ocean, from economic conduits to political and cultural boundaries.

Stephen Dobbs, writing on the Singapore River, argues that Stamford Raffles the Lt Governor of Benkulen, in his original plan for Singapore, used the river as a dividing line between European and native towns on the north and south banks respectively, and

emphasized its importance as the commercial life line of the settlement.[22] The European town was additionally flanked by a zone for government placed opportunistically along the river bank, where the full scope of authority could be visualized. On the annexation of the settlement in 1819 twenty or so plantations owned by Chinese and Malays were acquired, so that Singapore presented a *tabular rasa* opportunity for urban and demographic experimentation.[23] The "lower classes" were removed onto swamplands further north and south, whereas the high ground was "set apart exclusively for the accommodation of Europeans and other principal settlers."[24] The native Malay population, were relocated further north beyond the European town, thus dividing the groups of Malays into local and migrant groups and the Malay migrants from the Chinese.[25] Thus, just as in other comparable colonial settlements class distinctions produced a *de facto* system of racial segregation. Raffles added the commercial square to the by now familiar symbols of liberal government – the urban grid and the governor's residence, a neo-classical building on a hill overlooking Singapore town.

These covert urban strategies of segregation provoked the introversion of the native towns into tightly knit residential enclaves. The differentiated spatial configuration of European and native towns contrasted sharply with the "socially neutral" and "rigidly defined" public spaces of England's emerging industrial order.[26] Segregation was justified in the colonies by identifying natives as racially distinct collectivities with pre-modern practices, who were in need of colonial patronage and government.

The town plans for Singapore produced from 1822 to 1857 show the orthogonal grid used in the Straits to generate property, taxes and ensure long-term settlement.[27] The grid not only determined the size of building blocks, but it also managed particular relationships between different races and facilitated governance. In contrast with the idealized plan, an actual survey of the town of Singapore in 1836 showed a number of man-made grids competing for authority, where the market gardens, paddy fields and brickfields of the non-European population, made temporary claims on arable land.[28] Seven years later in 1843 we see the transformation of Singapore into a marked ethnic landscape with distinct building types for distinct groups of migrants.[29] The public (civic) landscape was separated from native space, integrated with the European town and catered to European citizenship concerns.

The public and private landscapes of Singapore

Colonial stereotypes of the dual city are invariably reproduced in discussions of Singapore's public landscape, positing an orderly European town against multiple chaotic native quarters. The first institutional works undertaken during the early years included religious and secular establishments. Most significant among these examples was the early introduction of modern colonial institutions, which imposed new forms of rationality, such as timetables and regulations, on colonial subjects. An 1857 map of Singapore is particularly useful for understanding the public landscape.[30]

At the highest point in the map is the Government House atop Government Hill and the military cantonment with a panoptic view of city and harbor. At the very center of the

map was the Convict Jail, the largest complex of buildings within the European town. The sheer expanse of the prison was countered by the competing heights of adjacent church spires of the French, Armenian, Portuguese, English communities.[31] On the north bank of the Singapore River was the Esplanade, the official public space, flanked by government buildings and offices. They included familiar symbols of authority, the Courthouse, Town Hall, Resident Councilor's House and Government Offices.

As observed by Robbie Goh, many of these institutions began life in vernacular style shophouses in the native quarter, entirely appropriate to their original mission, but gradually shed these associations and physical elements to emerge as over-determined symbols of colonial power.[32] They subsequently "reproduced and extended themselves through the colonial city, rewriting space into the image of [their] own Anglocentricsm."[33] Educational institutions created a comprador class sympathetic to colonial rule by fashioning European subjectivity as distinct from the native experience.[34]

As for the lower native classes, the report on the administration of the settlements noted that immigrants from "China, Arabia, Continental India, Burma, Siam, Sumatra, Java and sundry other places to the eastward of the Bay of Bengal," congregated "as on neutral ground" with "no feeling of citizenship and no common desire to co-operate for future and general benefit."[35] The desire to discipline them was evident in the public buildings outside the European town which comprised of asylums, hospitals and police stations. Public spaces, such as the Racecourse, the Botanical Gardens and the cemeteries were also located there for sanitary reasons. The Commercial Square signaled the only public activity common to both Europeans and natives.

Race and class barriers confined large immigrant communities to native districts that housed a diversity of crafts and trades.[36] Their shared poverty and interdependence forced forms of reliance on cultural and communal relationships that in turn enabled specific forms of autonomy. As described by Brenda Yeoh, property use "sought to minimize travelling and maximize the versatility of each individual locality," in short zoning was a luxury they could not afford.[37] Moreover, the migrants depended on the support of an intricate social and economic network "for none of the institutions in which they lived were capable of self-support."[38] These attributes reminded Europeans of their medieval towns where similar inter-knit moral economies had been the norm.

The public spaces of the native towns were pedestrian environments, streets and open spaces related to religious buildings, community associations such as *kongsis*, and markets. From among these, the market, a source of rental revenue for the government, was the native public sphere, the common secular territory. As observed by Anand Yang, they demonstrated the marketization of society and the imbrication of new immigrants in the world capitalist system.[39] In his view, the colonial desire to contain native commerce in designated buildings was also an attempt at surveillance and control, of imposing law and order against collective violence. Conversely, the spontaneous emergence of markets, the dissemination of goods by hawkers, and the expansion and multiplication of market space in the Straits suggested a sphere of activity that was not totally subordinate to colonial rule.

The private residential spaces were likewise differentiated with European colonial bungalows located in areas zoned specifically for residential development. They were objects in the landscape and embodiments of the Victorian garden suburb. The native towns in contrast were confined on marshy ground where a growing population was confined in contiguous mixed-use shop houses. Initially spatial arrangements in the Chinese and Malay towns were distinct and related to religious buildings and houses of chieftains.

The clan house or *kongsi* was the most important building for each Chinese clan group and acted as a commercial organization, a bank, a community center and a safe house for new immigrants. It was located within the community and often housed secret societies that protected and defended their clan members.[40] *Toa Por* (the great town), at *Kreta Ayer* to the south of the river was a tightly packed urban space of contiguous two or three story shophouses.[41] In contrast, the Malay quarter in Singapore, known as Kampung Gelam was organized by hierarchy around the main mosque and the dwelling of the Sultan.[42] Timber and *attap* stilt houses were clustered around this center in the form of a number of kampungs of various regional migrant groups. The Indian communities were interspersed among the Chinese and Malays, as evident from the location of the earliest Hindu Temples in the Chinese area. Gradually, with increasing settlement and urban regulation rural architectural forms gave way to contiguous shop houses.

The division of public and private space in colonial Singapore thus coincided with a particular interpretation of the dual city as one in which Europeans constituted the proper public and the natives operated in their own private sphere. Politics and culture were likewise divided as was the notion of modern and traditional, civilized and semi-civilized: the formula for the colonial dialectic. According to colonial travelers, the native town was busy, congested and dirty and the streets were narrow and chaotic. [43]Native domestic life was scrutinized as the generative site of non-European morality and used for justifying colonization.[44] Underlying this dialectic was a colonial economy in opium.

Carl Trocki describes Singapore as "Opium Central Southeast Asia," and the British Empire East of the Suez as essentially a drug cartel.[45] In fact, British merchants initially employed opium as one of their major forms of capital and Singapore's continuing status as a free port was only possible because of excise farm revenue.[46] Opium was a major exchange commodity for local Straits' produce; its price affected the value of other commodities; and the distribution of opium to the local Chinese "constituted the first and the most enduring link between the colonial administration and the population."[47] Marginal spaces related to this economy such as brothels, bars, opium dens and gambling houses were confined within the city's native quarters on the south side of the river. In facilitating various forms of "useful delinquency" as proper channels for economic activity the administration both exploited and produced a divisive environment.[48]

What we find in our analysis of the colonial period is a plural society that is contained within a dual city, where the dialectic is used to establish colonial authority, European

cultural superiority and to disguise the illicit economy that determined Singapore's success. In short, the plural model is not clearly identifiable either in terms of race or space because of the interdependence of cultures and economies within the confines of Singapore's native enclaves. Architectural form appears to be converging towards the Chinese shophouse template and by the end of the nineteenth century racial groups traveled across the European town blurring the segregated plan. *Sao Por*, little town which housed late nineteenth century Chinese immigrants attached itself to Kampung Gelam and Indians moved to the adjacent Serangoon area. However, Singapore would continue to be regarded as a plural society and would be identified as such through a plural political model post-independence.

Graduated sovereignty

Undoubtedly, particular forms of pluralism operated at a structural, cultural and social level in the Straits Settlements, in fact more so than in other colonial environments, and were hardened during the transformation of the region from multi-centered to monopoly economies. However, as argued by Robert Hefner, Europeans did not create a plural society. They "seized the commanding heights of an already plural civilization, expanding and expropriating its wealth while re-organizing and segregating its constituent Asian communities."[49] According to Hefner, it was in objectifying immigrants that the colonial era achieved its most enduring categorical legacy.[50] By assigning different ethnic groups to specialized positions, and offering political or economic privileges to newcomers and minorities, the distinction between indigenous communities and immigrants was emphasized. In short, the assimilation demanded of immigrants in British dominions and their selection through racist policies was not mirrored in Britain's Asian colonies.

Although notions of economic stratification, ethnic division and political entitlement thus complicate our analysis of the plural model there is a commonly held definition that in Singapore,

> Spatially, ethnic communities lived in relative isolation from each other in their respective enclaves…[and] the most ubiquitous community establishments were religious institutions such as mosques, Chinese temples, and the respective vernacular primary schools.[51]

The public/private dialectic that is raised by Nagata is evident in this definition and is one avenue through which we might reconsider the plural landscape. We are confronted with several arguments: that the model was originally one of integration, assimilation and cultural hybridity; that separation into plural categories by colonial census and nationalist structures responded to increased immigration; and that economic divisions across race rather than class effected these changes. As evident from our discussion so far these transformations cannot be traced as easily in the complex transformations of the colonial built environment. How are they reproduced in postcolonial urban processes?

National culture

The universalized systems that accompany democratic government are undoubtedly manifested in contemporary Singapore's civic district, in institutions that during their colonial history shifted in their meaning from Anglo-European cultural artifacts to ostensibly neutral symbols of authority. These substantial colonial buildings have suffered far less at the hands of developers than the shophouses in native enclaves. The Government House, renamed 'the Istana,' is the official residence of Singapore's president while Commercial Square, which was renamed Raffles Place in 1858, is an ornamental public space surrounded by corporate office towers at the heart of Singapore's financial district.[52] As observed by Robbie Goh, "the symbolism of power and justice in the postcolonial nation thus derives in many ways from the spatial forms inherited from the civic buildings of the colonial metropolis." [53] Not only are they privileged along with their historical significance and symbolism but in accruing this new layer of national authority they marginalize the "uncivic" spaces and structures of retrogressive Asian identity.[54] The Singaporean state borrows its cues from the residual and consequently a-cultural spaces of the colonial project. Historically the civic district implies the creation of citizenry that is modeled according to a European cultural template, an association that is continued by Singapore's political elites. In contrast, the most productive site of citizenship construction for the ordinary citizenry occurs in Singapore's private sphere, in an interesting yet complex inversion of public and private.

At the height of the economy, in its most privileged local geographies, elite and expatriate residents occupy landed housing, a dear commodity in a land scarce city-state, thus contributing to and perpetuating a form of internal colonialism. Their houses, in fact, often take the form of colonial or tropical bungalows and are located in elite neighborhoods once inhabited almost exclusively by Europeans. Several military encampments have retained clusters of colonial-period housing that are available on lease and these, along with their attendant life style, are particularly attractive to the western expatriate population. These secure private properties (Portsdown Road, Seletar, Changi, Holland Village) away from the hustle and bustle of city life are reminiscent of the garden suburbs of nineteenth century urbanism. Private condominiums provide a third category of housing that signifies affluence. These categories comprise eleven point one percent of the housing stock.[55]

Private home ownership of detached residences is unaffordable to the majority of Singaporeans who dwell in vast Housing Development Board (HDB) public housing estates, where private ownership is governed by public regulation. In Singapore, apartment ownership is the primary modern citizenship entitlement, and as observed by Goh, carries a "significant ideological burden of the modern nation state."[56] These residential neighborhoods of prefabricated modernist apartment blocks, which are serviced by an up-to-date infrastructure, are organized as satellite townships: dormitory settlements surrounding the metropolitan center, and are ethnically integrated. In fact, writes Goh, they have come to symbolize "the nations own path to modernity," and the socio-economic profile of apartment owners converges with the national profile for a

middle class "stakeholder" citizenry.[57] The HDB policy's responses to ethnicity are particularly revealing.

Following communal violence in 1964 and as a deterrent to its recurrence, the Singapore government used its housing policy to prevent the formation of ethnic ghettos. Racial integration was achieved by: a) allocating apartments according to strict ethnic percentages that reflect larger demographic ratios; b) requiring a member of a particular ethnic group to sell only to another of the same ethnicity within a prescribed quota; and c) artificially inflating the price of properties and thus magnifying the individual's investment in the national economy.[58] Although public housing acts as a homogeneous grid that imposes a common Singaporean subjectivity on equal citizens, it simultaneously identifies and individuates ethnic difference. The cultural neutrality of the architecture and the highly regulated and sanitized public spaces that surround them effectively strip them of ethnic associations, disciplining the stakeholder population while claiming their loyalty to the nation-state.

As observed by Goh, this strategy "removes from the heart of communal housing the signs of racial and cultural differentiation such as vernacular design elements and ritual spaces."[59] The void deck (the free area on the ground floor, which is raised on pilottis) substitutes as a communal space for religious rites and funeral rites. Ethnicity is thus disciplined and aesthetically neutralized in the grid of everyday space and reorganized to prevent physically or spatially inscribed forms of collective action. Indian - Singaporeans as a small minority within this Chinese-dominated grid often find themselves culturally isolated and socially marginalized. Meanwhile, the symbolic sites of these collectives, the metropolitan areas associated with Chinese, Malay and Indian settlement, have been converted into a form of tourist spectacle.

The gentrification and conservation of shophouse environments in the so-named 'heritage districts' has removed internal divisions converting them into exclusively residential (hotels) or commercial properties (restaurants, shops and offices) and their former inhabitants have been relocated in public housing. As designated tourist districts the 'ethnic' shophouse neighborhoods are expected to attract contemporary Western/westernized tourists. In fact, the heritage districts 'orientalize' the immigrant histories of Singapore's ethnic communities and repackage them as historic narratives of traditional, parochial and pre-modern cultures and behaviors. The tourist spectacle provided by these districts is expanded by the presence of a third social category of immigrant labor.

Singapore's foreign labor component can be divided into two categories, foreign talent and transient foreign workers who collectively contributed thirty-six point nine percent of the GDP growth from 1991 to 2000 compared to the fourteen point one percent contributed by local labor.[60] The consequent docility of an imported working class has been exceedingly beneficial to the country's rapid development. Indeed, Singapore's progress can be partially attributed to a productive politics of labor management. The 'dual economy' associated with colonialism is translated into the cohabitation of a hi-tech computerized professional class and a low wage, labor-intensive system of

production within the same economy. Unskilled labor is largely deployed in the construction industry and can be found living in temporary or vacant structures.

When compared with a transient working class, Singapore's plural society is located as a privileged site of local citizenship. The contemporary interpretation of plural citizenship, as homogeneous yet divided categories set in the vertical grid of urban apartments, expands upon the many readings of the grid we have encountered so far. The spatial distinctions between the detached housing of expatriates and the dormitory settlements in their rigidly disciplined urban landscape echo the relative advantages and treatments experienced in the dual city. Thus, the systems of entitlements and restraint through which specific categories of modern subjects were measured during the colonial period persist. However, graduated systems of 'property ownership' and the disciplining of apartment dwelling subjects into forms of 'social modernity' (hygiene, politeness, order) coincide with the creation of a stakeholder citizenry and the successful elimination of homelessness. The location of unskilled labor outside the national geography prevents the kind of political activism that may be threatening to the nation state. Chua Beng Huat also argues that the Singapore government finds the plural ideology politically useful for freezing cultural categories in a traditional model and thus suppressing the cultural critiques that inevitably emerge in a capitalist culture.[61]

Conclusion

The Singapore government's co-option of the island's colonial history and western influences alerts us to persistent postcolonial undercurrents, which as argued in this paper are reflected spatially in the country's political self-construction as city and state. As Jan Nederveen Pieterse and Bhikhu Parekh observe, "Decolonization is a process of emancipation through mirroring, a mix of defiance and mimesis. Like colonialism itself, it is deeply preoccupied with boundaries – boundaries of territory and identity, borders of nations and state."[62] The nationalist discourse is often constructed through essentializing difference."[63] Similarly, in their discussion of the Singapore government's efforts to maintain colonial period demographic quotas, Janadas Devan and Geraldine Heng argue that "An internalized 'orientalism' makes available to post colonial authority the knowledge-power that colonial authority wielded over the local population."[64]

A study of architecture and urbanism reveals that lingering colonial hierarchies do continue to influence the constitution of Singaporean subjects by the contemporary nation state and that their deconstruction is crucial to effective de-colonization. Urban spatial organizations do produce and determine contemporary social relationships. While plural race relations are defined against the secular territory of the civic district and public housing – by locating culture in the plural spaces once attributed to colonialism – hybrid identities or spaces of ethnic integration beyond the prescribed quotas, are suppressed and identified with the colonial past. Plurality in the Singapore example as interpreted by the nation- state is located in this manner within a different dialectic of past and present applied across history. Nevertheless, in a curious inversion of public and private the plural politics of cultural difference is applied externally to

organize the political subject while duality, identified as modern versus traditional or East versus West is internalized.

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8 Ibid., see, chapters 9 and 11.

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11 Furnivall, J.S., Colonial Policy and Practice: A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands India (New York: New York University Press, 1956), p. 304.

12 Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, pp. 304-305.

13 Ibid., 5. See, Furnivall, Netherlands India: A Study of Plural Economy (New York, Macmillan, 1944. First published in 1939); and Ibid., Colonial Policy and Practice, chap. 11, pp. 303-307.

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[18] Andaya, Barbara Watson, and Leonard Y. Andaya, A History of Malaysia, 2nd ed. (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001), p. 181.

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[32] Goh, Robbie, Contours of Culture: Space and Social Difference in Singapore, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005, pp. 38-39.

[33] Ibid., p. 39.

[34] Turnbull, C.M., The Straits Settlements, 1826-67: Indian Presidency to Crown Colony, University of London Historical Studies no. 33 (London: Athlone Press, 1972), p. 34.

[35] Report on the Administration of the Straits Settlements, 1855-1856, p. 83.

[36] Turnbull, The Straits Settlements, p. 22, gives the total population of Singapore in 1860, around the period when Cameron was travelling as 80,792: Malays 10,888; Chinese, 50,043; Indians, 12,971; Bugis, 906; Europeans 466 (from Singapore Free Press, 3 January 1861).

[37] Yeoh, Contesting Space, p. 246.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Yang, Anand, Bazaar India: Markets, Society and the Colonial State in Bihar, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998, pp. 159, 256.

[40] Chinese terms for secret societies and clan houses, courtesy Lai Chee Kien. Shi Hoey Tang: private group or meeting, party; tong (popular word for hoey): hallway, as in ancestral hall; kongsi: organization built for commerce, community house, banking, poor relief, immigration.

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[42] In March 1823 the Sultans village of 56 acres was located in Kampung Gelam with the Bugis village next to it. The Temenggong's village was originally at the mouth of the Singapore River and was later relocated to 200 acres at Telok Belangah. See, Buckley, C.B., An Anecdotal History of Old Times in Singapore, reprint (Kuala Lumpur, University of Malaya Press, 1965), (origin. pub., Singapore: Fraser and Neave Ltd., 1902), p. 104.

[43] Bastin, John, compilation, Travellers' in Singapore: An Anthology, Oxford in Asia (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press), 1994.

[44] Yeoh, Contesting Space, describes how sanitation projects were used to justify urban regulation.

[45] Carl Trocki, Singapore: Wealth, Power and the Culture of Control (Oxford; New York: Routledge), 2006, pp. 50-51.

[46] Ibid., p. 223.

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[48] In reference to Michel Foucault's discussion in, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison, translated by Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), p. 280.

[49] Hefner, The Politics of Multiculturalism, p. 19.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Chua Beng Huat and Kwok Kian Woon, "Social Pluralism in Singapore," in Hefner, The Politics of Multiculturalism, chap. 3, p. 88.

[52] Bogaars, G.E., "The Effect of Opening the Suez Canal on the Trade and Development of Singapore," in Sheppard ed., Singapore, 150 Years, p. 246.

[53] Goh, Contours of Culture, p. 47.

[54] Ibid., p. 50.

[55] According to the Census 2000: The distribution of population according to Housing Type in 2000 was as follows: Public Housing (HDB) 88%, Condominiums and Private Flats 6.0%, Private Houses 5.1 %. The remaining .9 % lived in Shop Houses, other private flats and attap/zinc roofed houses and others, (Singapore Dept of Statistics, May 2001, 17), http://www.singstat.gov.sg/keystats/c2000/handbook.pdf., (accessed November 11, 2002).

[56] Robbie Goh, Contours of Culture, p. 54

[57] Ibid., 54, 56; Chua Beng-Huat, Communitarian Ideology and Democracy in Singapore (London and New York, Routhledge 1995); Chua Beng Huat, Political Legitimacy and Housing: Stakeholding in Singapore (London: Routledge, 1997).

[58] There were race riots in Malaysia and Singapore in 1964 (connected with religious processions) and in Malaysia in 1969. The population ratios were maintained from the time of independence and as discussed in the introduction, the distribution of races in 2000 was as follows: Chinese 76.8%; Malay 13.9%; Indian 7.9%; Other 1.4% (Singapore Dept of Statistics, May 2001), 1-2. Because the HDB policy followed these same ratios in the distribution of housing the Indian minority have a limited choice of locations.

[59] Robbie Goh, Contours of Culture, p. 55.

[60] D. Divyanathan, "Foreigner Boosted Economy by 37%," Straits Times, 1 November, S10, quoted in Goh, Contours of Culture, p. 127.

[61] Chua Beng Huat, "Fabricating Singapore: A Politics of Cultural Anxiety," paper presented at University of California Berkeley, 1 April 2003.

[62] Pieterse, Jan Nederveen, and Bhikhu Parekh, "Shifting Imaginaries: Decolonization, Internal Colonization, Postcoloniality," in The Decolonization of Imagination: Culture,Knowledge and Power (Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Zed Books, 1995), chap. 1, p. 11.

[63] Ibid., p. 9.

[64] Heng, Geraldine and Janadas Devan, "State Fatherhood: The Politics of Nationalism, Sexuality and Race in Singapore," in Ong, Aihwa, and Michael G. Peletz eds. Bewitching Women Pious Men: Gender and Body Politics in Southeast Asia (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), chap. 6.

Urbanism, modernity and nation-building: the Agache's Plan for Rio de Janeiro, 1928-1930

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Theories of urbanism, which were developed in response to an European context of social modernization, began arriving in Brazil even before the country's actual political and social modernization. This gap provokes intriguing questions. If we accept that Brazilian modernization is incomplete, as local elites attempted to modernize the country without transforming its social structure, we can argue that urbanism– as well as factories, networks of transportation and skyscrapers – acquired a patently symbolic nature. My argument is that, in Brazil, the urbanism attempted to create spaces for a modern society that did not exist yet, reducing itself to fragmentary images suggesting modernity. However, these images suggest a way of behaving for the future Brazilian masses and illuminate the conceptions Brazilian society held for its future.

This paper reflects on these issues taking into consideration Alfred Agache's plan for Rio de Janeiro, elaborated between 1928 and 1930. This plan was a hallmark in the evolution of Brazilian urbanism and one of the best examples of the urbanism proposed by the *Societé Française des Urbanistes* (SFU).[1] Its objective was to solve the city's functional problems, to provide it with an expression of a capital, and to inculcate Rio's inhabitants with a social ideal of modern life, while still considering functional requirements, such as zoning and circulation.

One of the most meaningful aspects of Agache's plan was the emphasis on the symbolic and aesthetic dimension of modern urban centers. The two most prominent of his proposals were the Gateway of Brazil, a vast and monumental square facing the sea and surrounded by uniform classical buildings, and the Castello Square, square encircled by prominent high-rise office buildings. In both examples, urban design and architecture were unified in a stable and coherent image of city free of contradictions or disorder. During Vargas period (1930-1945), these images were suitable to an aggressive campaign to shape a national identity and to inculcate civic pride and patriotism through parades and civic commemorations.

Little known by the historiography, the figure of Agache was only studied by Catherine Bruant and David Underwood. Bruant's works are mostly focused on Agache's sociological background and its impact on his vision as a planner.[2] Underwood provides a rich analysis of Agache's plan for Rio showing how it was influenced by Edmond Demolins's sociological methods and by Gabriel Tarde and Frederic Le Play's ideas.[3] These pioneering works provided important insights on Agache's ideas. Without refusing the importance of the discipline of sociology in his work provided by these authors, my paper emphasizes the importance of Agache's background as Beaux-Arts architect. It shows how this approach informed his plan and how it was mediated with local society. In addition to the analysis of the commissioning of Agache and his

relationship with local elites, this paper explores the subtleties of this iconic plan and its meaning for local society.

The first section of this paper considers the process of commissioning Agache, while the second discusses the general aspects of the plan. The third and fourth sections deal with the two major spaces aforementioned. The following sections describes the other parts of the plan and the relationship with the local milieu, and the conclusions, respectively

The tropical faith in Urbanism: Agache and his clients

Educated in the *École des Beaux-Arts* of Paris between 1896 and 1905, Donat-Alfred Hubert Agache (1875-1959) was devoted to the new discipline of urbanism (fig.1).. He worked diligently toward the creation of laws, codes and plans in order to promote urbanism in France and worldwide. Agache was one of the founders of the Societé Française des Urbanistes (SFU) and its first secretary.[4] He worked on numerous plans for French cities, such as Dunkirk, Tours and Dieppe. His has an impressive record of publications between 1910 and 1920, most of these writings culminated in the a more systematic work called *Comment reconstruire nos cite detruites*, published in 1916, with Jacques-Marcel Auburtin e Edouard Redont.[5] The book was a complete explanation of the SFU program of urbanism, anticipating in detail an extensive program for the reconstruction of French cities after the war.

The process of commissioning Alfred Agache embodied the aspirations of a generation of Brazilian urban planners and revealed the particularities of the introduction of modern urbanism in the country. In Brazil, modern urbanism emerged among fierce debates about nationality, identity, and the future of the country.

In Brazil, from the 1920s on, a long discussion about the nature of Brazilian city and its transformation in a modern metropolis began. A new generation of professionals specialized in urbanism emerged, including figures like Ulhôa Cintra, Prestes Maia, Anhaia Mello and Armando de Godoy. This generation conveyed a new planning mentality which included: an integrated view towards cities; a conception of the city as an organism; a concern for efficiency and rationalization; and the introduction of a new vocabulary. Campaigning for zoning laws, building codes, green areas and housing, these young professionals attempted to instill in society the need of plans made on a technical and scientific basis.

At the end of the 1920s, urbanism had gained some legitimacy in political and cultural circles. The idea of commissioning a planner to design a new plan for Rio had the support of a broad coalition of engineers and architects, municipal officers and elite groups, such as the Rotary Club. If a consensus that Rio needed a plan had been reached, the debate focused on who would design it and its nationality. There was an intense debate between nationalists and the supporters of a foreign planner. Some favored foreigners due to their superior technical skills and to the fact that they were

unaffected by parochial interests. Those who opposed a foreigner believed that they would be unable to grasp the unique and complex natural setting of Rio.[6]

This was a complex moment, in which many issues intersected in the debate: engineers and architects were disputing professional roles; a new field of specialization, urbanism, was emerging in the midst of this dispute; and a more complex discussion was beginning about the identity of Brazilian society itself. What was at stake was more complex than the person of Agache or the need for a plan. The debate over foreign expertise provides important clues about the reception of urbanism by the educated elite.

When the new Mayor, Prado Junior, took office in early 1927, the need of the plan was already consolidated. Prado Junior supported the commissioning of a foreigner and initiated contacts which culminated in commissioning of Alfred Agache in the mid of that year.[7] This fact was celebrated as a hallmark of a new era for Rio de Janeiro. Armando de Godoy remarked the power of the new science, urbanism, and the positive effects that the commissioning of Agache would have particularly to the scholarship of the local professionals.[8]

Why was Agache interested in visiting Brazil? In addition to a propaganda effort for the *Societé Française des Urbanistes* and the lack of work in France, Rio de Janeiro was a privileged space to concretize ideas about modernization and to show the potential of his urbanism to an international audience. His visit was also an opportunity to grasp the commission for the future capital of Brazil, which was already under discussion.

Why was Agache chosen by the Brazilians? What did Agache represent to these professionals? In addition to his prestige earned by his plans for Camberra and Dunkirk, Agache had familiarity with different features of urbanism. His prominence in the Parisian professional environment gave him authority to represent a synthesis of French urbanism. More important, Agache, in his emphasis on both technical and artistic aspects of the modern city, summarized aspirations of both the architects and engineers. He convinced both professions that he was able to think of the city in technical, functional, and artistic terms. Although most of the architects were against a foreigner, they started to see him as a positive influence for the profession helping their search for social affirmation and recognition. His sociological background also impressed those members of the elite inclined to social reform. Agache also stood above local political disputes.

The position of Agache as Beaux-Arts architect was not an issue at this moment. The discussion transcended formal and aesthetical issues. It seems that the local professionals were more interested in a method, a new way of thinking about cities. Agache appealed to this audience, not particularly because of his style, but for his ability to rethink existing cities. His Beaux-Arts approach, however, also attracted the support of those members of the political elite, who persisted in their search for Parisian images, as in the previous decades. The figure of Agache appealed to many different audiences, most of which had different motives. Agache arrived on June 25, 1927, aboard the *Massilia*, the same ship that brought Le Corbusier two years later.

Agache's Plan: Circulation and Zoning

Agache's plan for Rio was composed of three parts. The first part is an extensive study of the city, while the second, which will be discussed with detail below, is the core of the plan. The third, "The Great Sanitary Problems", addresses environment, water supply, flooding, and used water sewage.

The first part, "The 'anthropogeographic' components and the general analysis of the urban situation", is subdivided in two sections.[9] While the first is a rather dry and descriptive historical account of the Rio de Janeiro's evolution, the second is a complete geographic study, influenced by Marcel Poéte and Patrick Geddes, summarizing the particularities of the site and its economical and demographical patterns. Agache approached the analysis of the city as a scientific experiment, first identifying problems through extensive observations in order to propose solutions. Agache understood the character of the city defined by a complex and delicate intertwining of urbanized patches of land stretching between rocky mountains, bays, forests, lagoons and the sea. Influenced by the *Musée Social's* methodology on surveys and by Demolins's and Le Play's ideas, his in-depth analysis included a complete survey of the economy and social topography of Rio. In sum, he confirmed the role of Rio de Janeiro as a regional, industrial and commercial metropolis, revealing an intricate web of relationships, and movement, of goods, people, products within the city and the region.

In the second part of the report, "The Greater Rio de Janeiro", Agache presented his plan. The Frenchman emphasized Rio's two essential functions: its political-administrative function as the capital of the country and its economic function as an important port, commercial and industrial city. Rio's problems were of two orders: function and representation. On the one hand, the city was not adequately performing its basic functions: Agache identified such problems as poor traffic flow, insufficient public transportation, the erection of tall buildings in the narrow colonial streets, and inadequate infra-structure.[10] On the other hand, the city had a problem of representation. It did not possess the appropriate appearance for the capital of a new country. The city lacked what Alberti and Vitruvius called 'decorum'. According to Agache, Rio urgently needed an appropriate image:

> Here is a capital of a country with 40 million inhabitants in which the Senate is housed in an exhibition pavilion. Although the Hall of Deputies is relatively recent, it is undersized and inadequately located between two narrow streets. Except for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Postal Services, which occupy buildings designed for them, all the other ministries are housed in inappropriate and uncomfortable places. The city neither has appropriate places for military parades or patriotic demonstrations, nor suitably designed large and wide avenues.[11]

After arguing that the city was unable to adequately perform these functions, Agache started to sketch the "skeleton" of his plan. His overall aim was to "assure the existence of the functional elements and allocate them in the city appropriately" and to "establish a

network of streets in order to provide a rapid connection between these elements and the rest of the city".[12] In the new design, the city was physically split into different sections, but soon rearticulated as a unified whole through a coherent circulatory system. Therefore, the two major points in which Agache focused his attention were circulation and zoning.

The future of Rio de Janeiro would depend on a good scheme of circulation. Agache attempted to solve Rio's traffic problems and to facilitate communication between the different districts, which were made even more difficult by the city's difficult topography. He proposed a skeleton (*ossature*) that defined the major lines of the project (fig.2). In his scheme, a system of expressways, *carrefours*, and crossings, would make the city fluid. This scheme was clearly influenced by Henard's 1903-09 schemes for Paris, whose *nouvelle croissé*'s function was to connect distant suburbs and even parts of the country.[13] The use of traffic circles (*étoiles)* was also drawn from his Parisian experience.

As in Henárd's schemes, the road system expanded beyond the city proper. Like in his native country, Agache believed that a capital needed to centralize the socio-political and economic life of the country. Rio should be the brain of a national network of communication, which included railway, roadway, and telephone systems, and each part of the city should be prepared for this new demand. Therefore, he pointed out the need of regional and national routes to penetrate the core of the city.[14]

In his scheme, two major interpenetrating avenues, Paulista and Petropolitana, crossed each other in *Bandeira* Square, where a new train station was proposed. A peripheral circular avenue, probably influenced by the Leon Jausselly's 1905 plan for Barcelona, facilitated communication between the different outer parts and the center. Agache compared this conceptual scheme to a hand.[15] Agache also proposed a comprehensive reorganization of the transportation system, which included the elimination of trolleys, the construction of a subway and the reorganization of the railway system and its terminals.[16] The new system would reach all the parts of the city transporting its citizens more efficiently not only within the city but also to other regions of Brazil.

The other major issue of the plan concerned zoning. According to Agache, the urban life of Rio depended on the proper functioning of certain elements (areas or district). These functional elements were grouped under seven categories: the post of command (the legislative and administrative center), the interchange districts (the central business district and port district), the commercial districts (retail commerce and food supply center), the production districts (industrial and agricultural center), residential districts (luxury, bourgeois and working class), university district, and recreational areas (parks, open spaces, museums, theatres, and cinemas). Each of these elements had a specific role to play in the city. It was necessary to identify the elements that made each district particular, to analyze them and to distribute them appropriately in the city, establishing correct relationships between the parts.[17]

The major questions Agache posed were how to establish the size of the districts and how to define their place in the urban structure. The creation of the plan was based on the orchestration of sizes, functions, and densities according to transportation system and infrastructure requirements. According to Agache, zoning was the essence of urbanism, a rational instrument to intervene in the city and to manage its growth. Zoning established a framework in which the urbanist can work. Each zone should have codes developed to its own specific needs. Agache distributed activities in the space and translated them in architectural forms. For each quarter, Agache fixed heights, types of buildings in order to create different images and urban patterns for the city districts, assuring a degree of hierarchy among them.[18] He was concerned with a certain uniformity of the urban parcels.[19] This conjunction of urban morphology, zoning and architectural type defined the appearance of each quarter. Zoning differentiated these districts and insured that they maintained their character: "its aim is to avoid the invasion of districts by buildings which would change completely their character."[20]

Zoning was not understood by Agache as a simple set of rules, which created the city mechanically, but as an important element to shape the plastic and spatial aspects of the city. Unlike the Anglo-Saxon tradition, which mostly focused on the exclusion of undesirable uses from certain areas, zoning for Agache was a positive instrument to define urban morphology (fig.3).[21] He was concerned with the creation of a city in which functions and districts would be associated, taking into account urban aesthetics. We believe that his urbanism was an art of composition that insured that quarters or districts had their own distinctive architectural image, but combined in a coherent and stable image of a modern city. Agache's city was composed by a morphology of solids and voids, continuous volumes and open spaces. The planning of such a city was an architectural act.

Agache's approach to the central area was informed by his Beaux-Arts education. According to him, the city should have an *echelle des types,* a gradation of types and heights, which would result in a denser and taller silhouette at the center and a less denser one in the suburbs. In his plan, the center of the city occupies the most significant position in the hierarchy and the most representative buildings were located there. The tallest buildings in the center created a coherent image of a city.

Agache's major scheme for the center had a roughly triangular shape (fig.4). The axis in the base of the triangle, the Rio Branco Avenue, and the inclined axis, *Mem de Sá* Avenue, already existed. They were the result of the works promoted by Pereira Passos twenty years before. Agache proposed a third side of the triangle, the vertical axis, a superboulevard (the future Presidente Vargas) that connected the Bandeira square to the port, crossing the densest area of the center of Rio. The Candelária Church was left intact in the middle of this superboulevard, as an importat focal element. The Frenchman also proposed a new avenue, *Santos Dumont*, which played the role of a "second base" of the triangle, and two other smaller avenues, vertical and horizontal, to complete the scheme.

Six squares concentrated the hub of activities in the center. These squares were located in the vertices of these triangles, working as a nucleus of reception and irradiation and their significance was reflected in their form, generally an *etoile*. Each square was associated with a specific function. Of the six major squares, Gateway of Brazil, Castello, Paris, Bandeira, Santo Antonio, and Candelária only the first two received a detailed treatment by Agache.[22] Although Agache himself recognized that some of these squares were important points of traffic connections there were very few details about the design of these three last squares. It can be argued that Agache's emphasis on symbolic elements directed him to concentrate on the Gateway of Brazil and the Castello Square.[23] These squares symbolized the powers of the new state and the big business community.

The gateway of Brazil: 'decorum' for an entire nation

Agache's preoccupation with symbolic elements and with the need to reassert the role of Rio as a capital was clearly materialized in the Gateway of Brazil, a vast square facing the Guanabara Bay surrounded by uniform classical buildings. With this ensemble, Agache aimed to provide a monumental entrance for Brazil, a setting for parades and civic commemorations. The ensemble would have represented the affirmation of a young nation, providing decorum for an entire nation (fig.5-7).[24]

In order to create this square, Agache proposed straightening the coastline with a landfill (using material from the demolition of Santo Antonio Hill). The semicircular square was 250 meters by 350 meters. The most representative civic buildings were located there and the entire ensemble was to be seen from a distance at sea. The central building incorporated a huge auditorium, a public hall and convention center. The building presented a pantheon-like structure, the plinth of which had a Greek temple façade facing the square and was flanked by two geometric towers. Next to the auditorium stood the identical buildings of the Senate, on the right, and the Assembly, on the left. Both volumes were masked by massive classical facades. Completing the composition and bordering the bay, was the Palace of Fine Arts (on the right side of the auditorium) and the Palace of Commerce and Industry (on its left side). Although functionally very different, these buildings would have similar forms in order to complete the composition. The influence of Daniel Burham's plan for the Chicago Civic Center is evident and can be seen in many points of the ensemble.[25]

These ten-story buildings would have heavy corners and horizontal bands acting as a single cornice, punctuated by deep windows, which terminated and unified all the buildings. Colossal paired columns without capitals supported this cornice and create a dramatic play of light as the façade receded into depth and shadows. The repetitive and uniform nature of these buildings and their architectural motifs created a unifying identity throughout the square. Everything was subservient to the norms dictated by the square; every detail submitted to the whole and no building possessed any marked individuality. The Beaux-Arts approach of the plans were shaped to fit the patterns dictated by the urban design, with façades pushed to the curb line and internal courtyards.

The square was a platform elevated 1.50 meters, with sunken gardens in front of the buildings. Two huge ceremonial pylons, toppled by powerful lights, framed the square. On this platform, orderly regiments of marching soldiers are shown, making a choreography that seemed to be related to the architectural elements. The square created a strong sense of theatricality, which contrasted with the bustling commercial center some blocks away.[26]

According to Agache, this monumental gateway was a reception space for important persons arriving in Brazil, a majestic space to show the importance of this young nation: "in this place, soldiers will parade, authorities will receive eminent personalities arriving from the sea, by ship or by seaplane."[27] This "attractive and imposing maritime façade" would symbolize values and qualities to be admired, such as equilibrium, harmony, morality and organization, as Underwood noticed.[28] There was a clear belief that the creation of urban ensembles could subordinate individuals to the national power, which represented the general interest of a modern and organized society. The role of the urban planner was to help to concretize this image, to create a vocabulary to express this order, and to make these values apparent. Like his French predecessors a century earlier, Agache firmly believed public spaces and buildings would support a modern civic life and shape a new sort of citizen.

The square, the austere facades and the orderly marching of soldiers, however, foretold tragic events: the totalitarianism that would triumph over Europe and Brazil in the following years. We cannot say that Agache and his colleagues from SFU, had totalitarian inclinations. According to David Underwood, Agache's monumental ensembles reflected his interests on sociology.[29] Beaux-Arts methods were associated with ideas of the modern sociology, particularly the Durkheiniam theory, which emphasized discipline and patriotism as values essential for the formation of a collective conscience. Military order, morality, and social solidarity formed the basis to the creation of disciplined citizens and masses. By elevating the square, Agache provided a stage, which represented a corpus of social doctrine for the formation of a modern Brazilian society. This square, which Agache eventually called "the post of command", was the place to which Brazilians were supposed to look to be instructed about modernity.[30] Brazilians would not enact spontaneous parties and carnival on this stage, but rather ordered and composed parades. The Post of Command would set an example for the rest of the country. The new ideals of urbanity and civilization were to be received from abroad, as the European shape of the square suggests, and radiate to the entire country. The square turned its back upon the masses living in the hills and opened itself to the sea, waiting for new ideas and goods, brought by ship or airplane. Like the urban remodeling of Rio de Janeiro in the 1900s, this intended to work as window, showing to foreigners that Brazil was an organized and modern nation.

Castello Square and the harmonic skyscrapers

According to Agache's plan, the headquarters of corporations, as well as newspaper offices, hotels and luxury shops were concentrated around on the Castello Square, an hexagon-shaped square which replaced the void left by the demolition of the Castello

Hill in 1922. This square was crossed by three avenues, one of them derived from the Gateway of Brazil, resulting in an ensemble of six blocks (fig.8). Six massive buildings occupy the outer limits of these blocks featuring galleries and shops at the ground level and internal courtyards. From these buildings, sixteen 100-meter tall isolated towers rose, expressing the dynamism of dynamic of the new economic forces of modern Brazil (fig 9-10). Agache emphasized the need to group buildings in order to reinforce their meanings:

> Instead of dispersing the elements of urban modern life throughout the entire city, losing their symbolic expression, why not reunite them… in an organic ensemble of buildings and public spaces, achieving great monumental centers in order to express the social and economic ideals of our time? [31]

If in the medieval city, the cathedral was the supreme expression of the soul of a community, marking the skyline and concentrating its artistic and religious aspirations, in the modern city the ensembles of new office buildings would express the major forces of modern communities.

For an architect like Agache, concerned with both formal and functional aspects of the city, the solution to the artistic problem of the city laid in the construction of appropriate architectural ensembles. Architectural ensembles represented the social ideals of modern city better than individual buildings. He promoted the grouping of buildings as a form of theatrical setting, which possessed continuity with the nineteenth century city:

> The buildings, if carefully studied and integrated in the whole, will contribute to the formation of the general 'decorum': their position, appearance, perspective are some of the elements contributing to the urban embellishment and to the expression of the civic genius. Hence, it is necessary that the urban planner works not only in the design of the buildings in the plan, but also imagines their volume.[32]

In 1928, responding to a question from a Brazilian newspaper about the appropriateness of skyscrapers in Rio, he said:

> I am not an enemy of the skyscraper if it is well built and judiciously placed in the adequate district. In my new plan for the Castello area, I reserved spaces for some skyscrapers. They are sensibly disposed in such a way to create a decorative ensemble.[33]

For the French planner, the organization of good complexes was the means of achieving a perfect city. In his approach, the smallest detail was subordinated to the whole.[34] Agache's design reflected social conceptions and demanded a certain behavior from the citizens. Like the details of a building, individuals were expected to submit to the whole, to the general interest of the society, as in the Durkheiniam ideal. This was also a means of achieving modern society that corresponds with the notion of *Economie Sociale* of *Musée Sociale*.[35] Like the Gateway of Brazil, Castello Square was supposed

to transform masses of undisciplined and lazy people in organized, disciplined and efficient workers.[36]

Industries, parks and residences

Although the construction of the Castello Square and the Gateway of Brazil would not have required large demolition, since the former occupied vacant land from the razing of the Castello Hill and the latter was built on land reclaimed from the sea, the treatment of the center city, particularly the banking district, would transform the core of the colonial urban fabric. In his attempt to improve vehicular circulation in the core, Agache realized the impossibility of street-widening and kept the street pattern, but not the buildings. He reorganized the traditional narrow and long lots into larger lots to erect twelve-floor buildings with internal courtyards following the patterns provided for the Castello Square. The architectural procedure was to be agreed upon between the many lot owners and the new entrepreneurs. These buildings satisfied the modern requirements of ventilation and illumination and increased considerably the available area for office and shops, with ample parking underground. The ordinances proposed by Agache proved to be powerful models for later urban remodeling in other Brazilian cities.

Despite Agache's attention is focused to the center city, he proposed the creation of a industrial zone, a system of parks and residential areas. He rectified the northern coastline, filled the marshy plains and channeled rivulets in order to create a modern industrial zone adjacent to a new port, which would include all the facilities for an industrial district: modern docks, warehouses, railway terminals, naval shipyards, factories, and also residential quarters for workers. Economy and efficiency of movement guided Agache in the planning of this productive sector of the city. The entire district was conceived as a network in which factories, products, warehouses, ships, trains and workers are in movement, performing their functions as on an assembly line.

Open spaces were also a significant part of Agache's strategy, since "parks, gardens, sports fields and green reserves are vital elements for the healthy growth of the city" and "essential elements for our modern lives". [37] The French planner proposed a system of interconnected parks, which would stretch through the valleys, making green areas accessible from every part of the city. Some of these new parks were formed by native forests, which were conserved and enlarged.

Agache suggested a new strategy for the residential districts, calling attention to the fragmented nature of the city, which spawned disconnected pieces of development. He opted for calculated expansion through the valleys, respecting the topography and leaving green spaces inside the urban boundaries. He proposed distinct neighborhoods composed of isolated villas, medium sized buildings of three to four floors and high-rise buildings, but provided few details about the location of residential types in the urban structure.[38] Agache was not unaware of European social housing movements and he firmly believed that the government should act to improve housing. However, it can be agued that housing was not among his priorities.

Struggling in the local milieu

The positive climate of Agache's initial reception in Brazil did not last long. After settling in the city in early 1928 and starting to work on the plan, he began to face resistance. Despite Mayor Prado Jr.'s attempts, the municipality did not involve local professionals in the discussion, except for those few supporting Agache.[39] Repeatedly, the Chamber halted payment declaring lack of results.

Due to the pressure, Agache decided to show some results, publicizing features of his plan in November 1928.[40] For his surprise, he was promptly accused of plagiarism by the Brazilian architects José Cortez and Angelo Bruhns, who had developed a proposal with similar features for the area of the Gateway of Brazil in 1921. This engendered a debate that lasted for months and made Agache's position delicate.[41]

The debate also involved political questions. Attacking Agache became a way for local opposition politicians to criticize the Municipality. In some cases even the mayor was forced to come out in support of Agache. Although most of these critiques were motivated by professional jealousy or political motives, they also addressed the plan itself and the cultural aspects of the whole enterprise. The engineer Costa Moreira criticized Agache's designs *à vol d'oiseau* and his inability and to apprehend the Rio's topography and nature and to integrate cultural aspects of an American culture. According to him, Agache was "so disoriented by our exuberant topography and nature that he had been going to Paris often to hear his masters from there."[42] Arguing that there was a "fundamental difference between the European and the American city" a local journalist criticized Agache for his inflexible European approach to the local reality:

> It is not following the model of the famous cities of old civilizations that we will build a capital representing our modern American spirit... We should not forget that the values for our progress will not be found in Europe, but in the dynamic North American life. New York and Chicago with their cyclopean skyscrapers, contain more appropriate inspirations to the needs of the new Brazilian spirit than the elegant and delicate lines of Parisian architecture.[43]

Agache was accused of being picturesque, of proposing ready-made formulas which failed to take into consideration the real possibilities and problems of the city.[44]The year 1929 was even more difficult for Agache, as provocations and attacks continued. He was constantly asked to explain his work.[45] In October 1929 the mayor asked the Municipal Council funds to pay Agache's honorarium. The request was approved, but with strong opposition and complaints. In his last speech in June 1930, the mayor ratified his position and attempted to prove the importance of the work, which was being published.[46] In the following month, during the Fourth Pan American Congress of Architects in Rio de Janeiro, Agache presented a model of his plan. His work was again harshly criticized. Even old supporters were turning against him and his position became fragile. Agache left Brazil in August of 1930, just before the turmoil of Vargas Revolution in October. At the end of that month, he sent the final version of his plan from Paris to Brazil.[47]

Agache was continually thwarted by professional antagonism and lack of funds. His plan did not create a consensus even in the beginning and he was not able to appreciate the complexity of Rio de Janeiro and its society. In addition to provincial political rivalries, he had to face a society in a process of national affirmation, which was no longer a passive receiver of imported ideas.

An efficient and beautiful city

Agache aimed to transform Rio into an efficient and beautiful city. In functional terms, each part fits each other, with its right size and shape. The plan is well ordered in its totality, having proportion and coherence in the relationship between these parts. But it was unequal, since he designed some sectors in detail, while only defining the overall shape of others. This imbalance between parts of the plans suggests that Agache was pressured to submit the final document. In addition, the plan demanding the construction of an extensive network of tunnels and bridges was completely unfeasible to Rio de Janeiro financial reality.

The classical features of Agache's design obscure the complex process by which the plan was made. His plan encompassed a wide range of subjects, including regional planning, transportation, zoning, urban design, building codes and even architectural details. The plan was so complete that, when publishing it in French, two years later, Agache dropped the mention of Rio de Janeiro from the title in order to express its universal applicability.[48] Because of its scope, the plan was used for decades as a reference work by Rio planners . Its legacy of this plan can be found either in methodology and forms. The plan, with its extensive analysis and instruments, provided Brazilian planners with a method of planning and a managing culture. On the other hand, the image of massive buildings occupying the outer limits of the blocks and presenting arcades at the ground level proved to be a useful motif for other cities.

The belief in the ability of the architect to face the challenges of a big city, the power of the technology and the search for a utopian ideal were strongly present in the work of Agache in Rio. In spite of the inclusion of a sociological approach in his background, Agache was at the end an architect and he firmly believed that architecture could shape the city. The Beaux-Arts approach, with its coherent and regular axes, acted like a matrix, organizing the formal aspects of the plan. According to Agache, beauty in the city would be achieved through the construction of classical ensembles of buildings. Representing the great French tradition, Agache employed architectural composition in order to define urban spaces and to confer monumentality and majesty to the buildings. Urban design and architecture were unified in a stable and coherent image of a city free of contradictions or disorder, which was useful later for the new centralist and rational bureaucracy promoted by Getúlio Vargas.

Agache's idea of the three-dimensionality of solid and continuous masses and textures of modern city was rooted in the nineteenth century conception of city (fig 4).[49] This approach led to some problems in the plan. Agache mediated between his ready-made formulas and local conditions, attempting, mostly unsuccessfully, to compress classical

geometries into the irregular topography. He struggled to accommodate his ordered forms to the irregularities of the site, attempting to tame the stubborn nature of Rio, to give shape to the unshaped and uncivilized. In his insistence on a unified composition for the city, Agache did not admit the adaptation and flexibility required by any urban structure. His plan was schematic and very rigid in its zoning proposal. It also promoted social segregation and lacked sensitivity to the site and to local urban patterns.

Technology was also a crucial element for defining the form of the city. Agache inserted Rio in a extensive network of communication. He thought the city in terms of circulation, improving connectivity with different means of transportation. The transformation of the street into a rapid transit motorway at the early twentieth century preoccupied not only planners, but many intellectuals observing urban life. Agache attempted to make sure that the street would remain as irreducible element of human experience. It can be argued that he attempted to reconcile the conflict between mobility and permanence. To achieve usable, livable and good quality spaces in a modern city, Agache also recognized that it was necessary to provide a sense of permanence given by a continuous city fabric, while assuring rapid transportation. This approach led to an intricate combination of city of spaces with flow and stopping. Buildings were understood as simple masses without details and were defined only in dialogue among themselves. They were also though to be seen in movement, from automobile, plane or ship. The conception was rooted in the Hénard's ideas of the great *croissé* for Paris.[50]

Agache's plan also express the long conflict between artistic form (beauty, permanence, representation) and modern forces (development, growth and technology), which was so acute in the early 1900s. In an emerging metropolis like Rio, Agache struggled to reconcile his artistic and architectural vision with the practical and technical needs of the metropolis, attempting to keep united two worlds, which were going apart. As he affirmed in an interview quoted before, he was not against skyscrapers, these symbols of modern forces, but wanted to have them integrated in decorative ensemble− forces of modernity should be domesticated. He wanted to reconcile the logically and technically oriented world with the artistic and personal view of the architect, who wished to communicate with his culture, surroundings and historical experience. Like Otto Wagner in Vienna, Agache wanted to show that the planning of modern infrastructure was still the task of the architect.[51]

The urbanism of Agache, as well as of his colleague Le Corbusier, incorporated an intense utopian component. Utopian features had always been an essential in the attempts to improve life in cities. As Françoise Choay argued, the utopian genre was, along the architectural tradition of treatises, an important element informing the thinking on cities since the Renaissance and thus influencing the formation of modern urbanism.[52]

Agache's plan implied a complete transformation of Brazilian society, but he did not present any clue on how to achieve this transformation in practical terms. The plan revealed itself unreal when facing the concrete reality and disconnected from the real city. As other planners of his time, Agache believed that he could solve complex problems simply by identifying them, proposing solutions and imposing codes. When

suggesting that deprived people from the *favelas* could move to the garden cities that he designed in the periphery, Agache naively misunderstood the complexities of a society founded on immense social inequalities. His housing solutions for the lower classes implied the presence of a strong welfare state, which was unrealistic at that time in Brazil. He aimed to create spaces for masses of disciplined citizens, but the problem was that theses masses did not yet exist in Brazil, they had to be created. In the same way, he designed offices for big corporations that did not exist in Brazil. If urbanism emerged in Europe in order to make an environment for modern society, in Brazil it arrived before the modern society itself.

This belief in the power of technology, architectural ideas and utopian features to transform cities was present in both Le Corbusier and Agache. This tripartite belief can also be found in Tony Garnier, who, like Hénard, provided a common ground for Le Corbusier and Agache. Although peripheral to the SFU, Garnier's *Cité Industrielle* proved that these three features were present in the genesis of French planning of the early 20th century.

Agache came from a cultural and professional context, with its own ideas, conventions, and practices. In Brazil, he had to face a specific local context. Agache attempted to create in the tropics a version of Paris and although the buildings of Castello Square were reminiscent of Chicago's skyscrapers, they were filtered through the lens of a French planner. In his rendering of the new center of Rio, even the intensely blue hues of Brazilian sky were turned to a gray sky typical of northern France (fig.11-12). It is quite difficult to imagine the irreverence and informality of the Brazilians in these new spaces. Carnivals and parties would contrast with the formality of the spaces Agache designed, but he cannot be blamed solely for that, as his Brazilian clients, wishing to obliterate the obvious differences between France and Brazil, were not encouraging this compromise.

* * *

Cities are places where the intentions and aspiration of inhabitants, rulers, designers, and builders meet.[53] Far from being an isolated and unbiased practice, urbanism is in the intersection between politics, aesthetics, technology society and scientific knowledge. Urbanism embodied visions that societies held for their future and reconciled intricate worldviews. Agache's plan is a complex document that reveals values and conceptions of a society. Brazilians hoped that a beautiful urban plan could provide a passport to modernity, bypassing an arduous process of social modernization. In Latin America, the qualities of urbanism as a condenser of social aspirations were even more heightened, as the Uruguayan critic Angel Rama noticed:

> The cities, before being concretized, existed as symbolic representations, through discourses, images, blueprints, drawings, which expressed a wish and a dream: that one of transforming the space as a concretization of an idea, to transform the real city in the ideal city.[54]

Just after the departure of Agache, Brazil entered into an era of profound political transformation. A complex and intricate mix of modernizing forces led by Getúlio Vargas toppled the aristocratic regime in October 1930. If the late 1920s were years of an intense discussion about Urbanism, 1930 would create an appropriate environment to put in practice these ideas. The Vargas era provoked many expectations among planners. Agache's plan was a pivotal piece in the subsequent development of Brazilian urbanism.

The attention Agache, as well as his colleague Le Corbusier received in Brazil was strikingly different from the rejection they suffered in their land. Due to the reluctance of French municipal authorities in enforcing plans, they had few chances to work in France. Both found in the tropics, an entire nation eager to listen to them, eager to be modern. They found in Brazil a chance to concretize their dreams.

Fig 1 Alfred Agache (1930)
Source: Bruant, L'architecte à l'école, 103
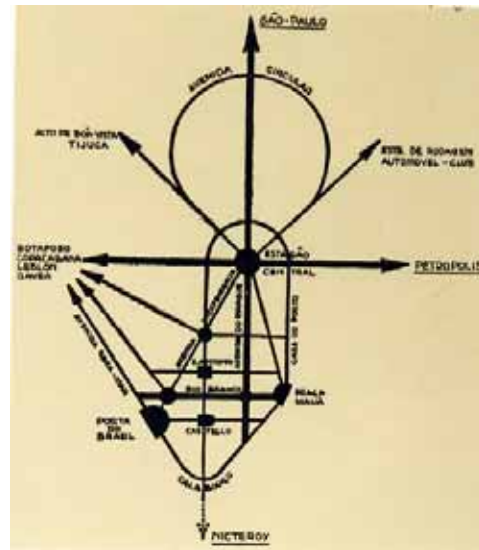
Fig 2. Agache, Rio's Plan, Circulation Scheme
Source: Agache, Cidade, 137
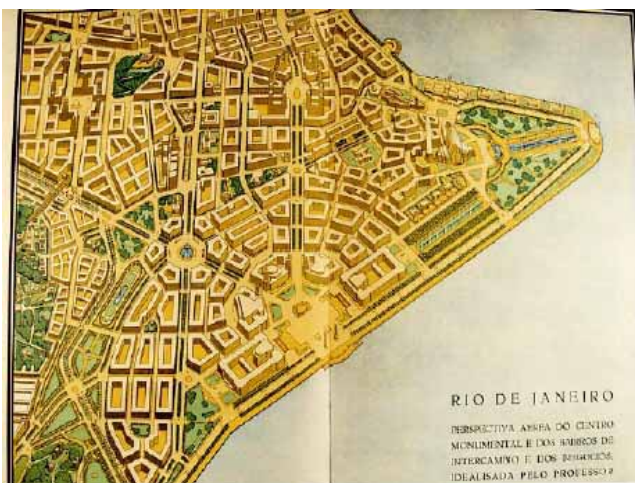
Fig. 3 Agache, Rio's Plan, Aerial view of the proposal
Source: Agache, Cidade, 137

Fig. 4 Agache, Rio's Plan, central area
Source: Agache, Cidade, 138

449
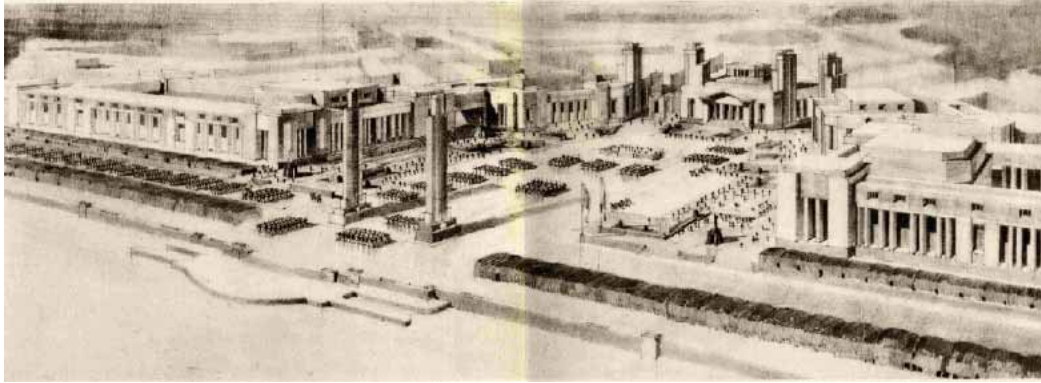
Fig. 5 Agache, Rio's Plan, The Gateway of Brazil
Source: Agache, Cidade, 210-11
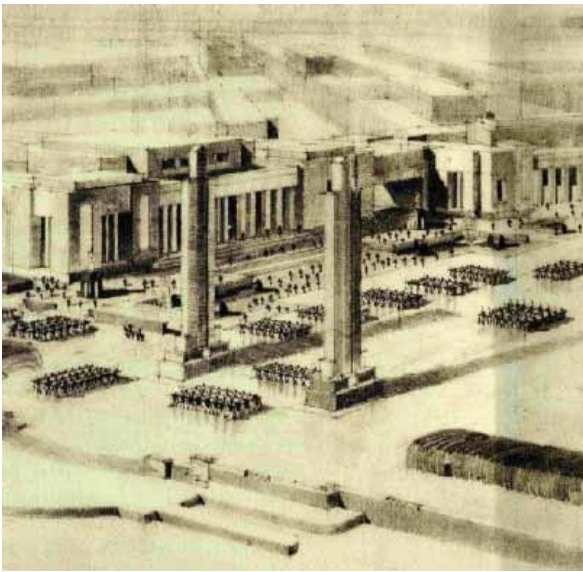
Fig. 6 Agache, Rio's Plan, The Gateway of Brazil, detail
Source: Agache, Cidade, 210
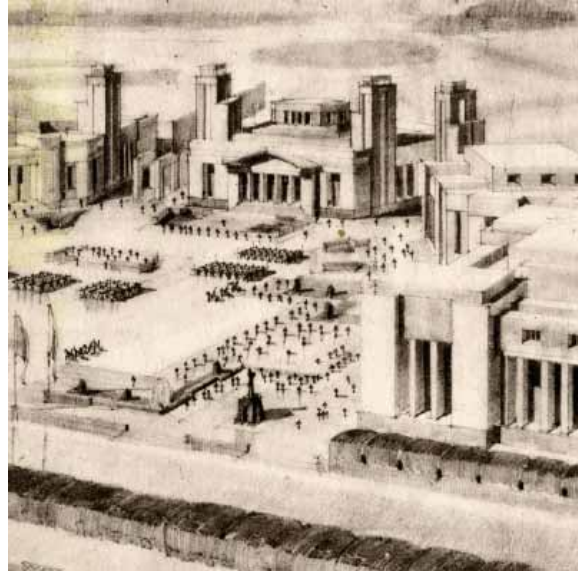
Fig 7 Agache, Rio's Plan, The Gateway of Brazil, detail
Source: Agache, Cidade, 211

Fig.8 Agache, Rio's Plan, Castello Esplanade, plan
Source: Agache, Cidade, 168-69

Fig.9 Agache, Rio's Plan, Castello Square, perspective
Source: Agache, Cidade, 170-171

Fig.10 Agache, Rio's Plan, Castello Square, model
Source: Agache, Cidade, 168-69

Fig.11 Agache, Rio's Plan, Castello Square, view
Source: Agache, Cidade, 177

Fig.12 Agache, Rio's Plan, Castello Esplanade, view
Source: Agache, Cidade, 177

Notes

[1] Alfred Agache, *Cidade do Rio de Janeiro: Remodelação, extensão e embellezamento* (Paris: Foyer Brésilien,1930).The plan was published in Portuguese in 1930 and in French in 1932. In the French publication, Agache dropped the references to Rio de Janeiro in an attempt to provide universality for his ideas. Alfred Agache, *La remodelation d'une capitale: aménagement, extension, embellishment* (Paris: Societé Cooperative d'Architects, 1932).

[2] Bruant, Catherine, "Donat-Alfred Agache: urbanismo, uma sociologia aplicada" in *Cidade, povo, nação: gênese do urbanismo moderno,* Ribeiro, Luiz Cesar and Pechman, Robert, eds (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1994),167-202; Ibid., "Une architécte à l'école d'energie: Donat Alfred Agache, du voyage à l'engagement colonial" *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Mediterrannée*, n.73-74 (1994): 99-107; Ibid., "Donat-Alfred Agache: l'architecte et le sociologue" *Les Études Sociales* 122 (1994): 23-65

[3] Underwood, David, "Alfred Agache, French Sociology and Modern Urbanism in France and Brazil" *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (June 1991): 130-166

[4] Unfortunately, there is not an Agache archive and information about his trajectory is scattered along few texts, but there is not a complete account of his life and works. For a short biographical account see Émile Langlade, *Donat-Alfred Agache: architecte, urbaniste, sociologue, Extrait des artistes de mon temps* (Paris, 1935). For information on Agache's ideas, in addition to the aforementioned articles by Bruant's and Underwood, see also: Tougeron, Jean Christophe, "Donat-Alfred Agache, un architécte urbaniste: un artiste, un scientifique, un philosophe" *Cahiers de la Recherche Architecturale* VIII, (1981): 31-48; Moreira, Fernando*, Shaping Cities, Building a nation; Alfred Agache and the Dream of Modern Urbanism in Brazil, 1920-1950*. Ph.D. Diss., Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2004.

[5] Agache, Alfred, Auburtin, Jacques-Marcel, and Redont, Edouard*, Comment reconstruire nos cités détruites; notions d'urbanisme s'applicant aux villes, bourgs et villages,* (Paris, A. Colin, 1916).

[6] While engineers opted to invite a foreign specialist, architects, more attuned to a nationalistic position, favored the commissioning a Brazilian who could better express this nationality.This debate was particularly evident in the newspapers. For details see Moreira, 2004, p. 56-61.

[7] The process of negotiation with Agache involved Francisco Guimarães, a Brazilian diplomat serving in Paris who had been campaigning for a plan for Rio since 1919, Souza Dantas, the Brazilian ambassador to France, and Otavio Mangabeira, the Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affair. A member of the Rotary and a sympathizer of urbanism, Guimarães was in contact with figures like Jacques Greber, Tony Garnier and Agache. Francisco Guimarães, "L'urbanisme au Brésil", *Le Maître d'Oeuvre*, 4, 33 (1929), 5-6; Francisco Guimarães "O remodelamento do Rio de Janeiro", *Notícias Rotárias*, 3, 49 (1926), 4-5. The process negotiation can be found in Fernando Moreira, Shaping cities, p.58-64 .

[8] Armando de Godoy*, A urbs e seus problemas*, 45, 47, 323.

[9] The first section was called "The anthropo-geographical component of the Federal District" (Agache, 1930, p, 44-73), and the second "General analysis of the urban situation", (p.77-113).

[10] Agache, 1930, p.121, 157.

[11] Agache, 1930, p. 122.

[12] Ibid.,120.

[13] Eugène Henárd, *Études sur les Transformations de Paris*, 1903-1909 (Paris: L'Equerre, Paris, 1982): 168. About his *croissée* see pages 161-174.

[14] Agache, 1930*,* p.120.

[15] Ibid.,136-137.

[16] Ibid.,140-144. After a detailed analysis, he proposed an alternative to the subway system designed by a local company, extending the lines until the distant suburbs and creating a system of navigation inside the bay.

[17] Ibid.,157-159.

[18] Agache, *Cidade*, 219. Agache divided the center city in five main zones central/commercial, industrial, residential, suburban, and green spaces/reserves. See also Jean Christophe Tougeron, "Donat-Alfred Agache, un architecte urbaniste: un artiste, un scientifique, un philosophe" *Cahiers de la Recherche Architecturale* VIII (1981): 38-39.

[19] Agache, *Cidade*, 187.

[20] Ibid., 219.

[21] Peter Hall, *The City of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of City Planning in the Twentieth Century*. (Oxford/London: Blackwell, 1988), 58-61.

[22] Paris square, for example, was an important rotary formed by the avenues *Rio Branco* and *Mem de Sá* and real gateway to the south zone, but it was not discussed with detail in the plan. Likewise, Bandeira Square although formed by the crossing of the two major perpendicular regional routes, was the gateway to the entire north zone of the city and would have the new railway station, but did not receive an appropriate attention. Its star-shape represented the convergence and radiation of traffic.Agache, *Cidade*, 138-9.

[23] It can also be agued that these squares received a summarized explanation because he was feeling pressure to complete his plan. Santo Antonio Square was excluded because, but it is implied that it has the same characteristics of the Castello.

[24] Ibid.,161.

[25] Daniel Burnham, Edward Bennett, *Plan of Chicago* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1993): 109 and illustrations CXX to CXXII and CXXIX; Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, 177-183.

[26] The motif of a vast geometrical square formed by uniform buildings with one side open to the sea had antecedents in the Portuguese and Brazilian cultures. The famous Praça do Commercio in Lisbon, designed during the reconstruction after the 1778 earthquake, and the Largo do Paço in Rio de Janeiro itself, built by the Portuguese rulers in the 1750s, were important antecedents

[27] Agache, *Cidade*, 161.

[28] "A mais bella cidade", 3. See also Underwood, "French sociology", 155.

[29] Underwood, "French sociology", 151.

[30] Underwood, "French sociology", 154

[31] Agache, 1930, p. 129. For the center of the square, he designed a monument to Estácio de Sá, the founder of Rio, Ibid., 218-9.

[32] Agache, p.1930, p.211.

[33] "A Remodelação do Rio: O que o Sr. Agache disse ao Paiz: uma sensacional entrevista sobre os arranha-céus" *O Paiz* October 9 1928: 1; "A mais bella cidade", 1.

[34] Agache provided detailed instructions for the buildings of the ensemble. Agache, *Cidade*, 168-169.

[35] Underwood, "French sociology", 139, 150.

[36] Agache, *Cidade*, 121.

[37] Agache, 1930, p.129, 203.

[38] Ibid., For the residential districts see pages 188 to 201.

[39] "A remodelação da cidade: Carta do Prefeito ao Presidente do Rotary Club" *O Paiz*, 26 February 1928, 3.

[40] "A mais bella cidade do mundo: O que será o Rio de amanhã" *O Paiz*, 11 November 1928.

[41] For the following debate: "Como se defende o Sr. Agache da accusação de plagiario. A traição dos archivos". *O Paiz* 2 December 1928 and "A Porta do Brasil: Replica dos Srs Cortez & Bruhns. Tréplica do Prof. Agache" *O Paiz* 9 December 1928.

[42] *Revista do Clube de Engenharia* n.32, 1930.

[43] A americanização do Rio de Janeiro" *O Paiz* January 20 1929:1,7

[44] Lucia Silva, *Engenheiros, arquitetos*, 71. See also *O Jornal* 15 May and 23 May, 1930.

[45] Some locals complained that they had knowledge of the plan only through his lectures in Paris and from articles published by Agache's assistants in French journals. After the ample report of November 1928, Agache let the public know about some designs during 1929. "O Rio de Janeiro futuro: O plano Agache para o arruamento da area do Castello" *Correio da Manhã* 28 July 1929:1; "O que será a Avenida da Independência do plano Agache" *Correio da Manhã* 28 July 1929: 1

[46] *Annaes do Conselho Municipal*, June/July, 1929, 37, *Annaes do Conselho Municipal*, June/July, 1930, 5. Quoted by Lucia Silva, *Engenheiros, arquitetos e urbanistas: a história da elite burocrática na cidade do Rio de Janeiro*, Ms Diss., IPPUR/Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, 1995, 72.

[47] Agache, *La Remodelation*, v. 1, 165-166.

[48] Agache, *La Remodelation d'une capitale*. Many parts of Agache's plan were published in the a local journal between 1933 and 1934. See Alfred Agache, "O Problema do plano diretor"*Revista da Directoria de Engenharia*, v.2, 5:76-82; "Ossatura do plano diretor", v.2, 6:34-45; "Elementos funcionais do plano diretor",v.2, 7:34-43, 8:64-85; "Plano de remodelação, extensão e embelezamento da Cidade do Rio de

Janeiro",v. 2, 9:55-59, 10:44-49; v.3, 11:61-66, 12:83-95, 13:195-201, 14:272-282; v.4, 15:348-357, 16:409-421, 17:495-498, 18:579-583, 19:631-638.

[49] Another traditional element reproduced by Agache is the polarity between the commercial and festive spaces and the more dignified and formal spaces, which existed in many European medieval cities, particularly in Italian cities, such as the Piazza dell'Erbe and Piazza del Consiglio in Verona, or the Il Campo and Il Duomo in Siena. This can be seen in the dual character of *Castello* and The Gateway of Brazil.

[50] Hénard, *Études sur les transformations*, 161, 174, pl. VIII; Jean Louis Cohen, "Sulle trace di Henárd" *Casabella* 532 (January/February, 1987). Margareth Pereira, "Pensando a metrópole moderna" in *Cidade Povo Nação*, ed. Ribeiro, Pechman, 371.

[51] Ákos Moravánszky, "The Aesthetic of the Mask: the Critical Reception of Wagner's *Moderne Architektur* and Architectural Theory in Central Europe" in *Otto Wagner: Reflections on the Raiment of Modernity*, ed. Harry Mallgrave, (Santa Monica: Getty Center, 1993): 201.

[52] Françoise Choay, *The Rule and the Model: On the Theory of Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1997), 202-212, 243-247.

[53] Donald Olsen, *The City as a Work of Art: London, Paris and Vienna* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), IX.

[54] Angel Rama, *The Lettered City (Durham: University of Virginia Press, 1996),* 29.

Locating power and decision-making : a case study of giving Orissa a new face-lift

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Orissa situated on the eastern sea-board of India extends from 17^0 49' N to 22^0 34' N latitude and from 81^0 27 E to 87^0 29' E longitude.[1] With a hoary past and great cultural legacy it emerged as a separate province, as states were called then in India, on 1 April, 1936 after a long travail under British colonial rule.[2] Long years of foreign rule and because of the deprivation caused by so many important factors beyond control the land of Orissa was pushed backwards and had not progressed at all till then. Therefore, it came as a great challenge to the indigenous leadership to give a new direction to the state and lift the people, whose representatives they were in the Assembly, to greater heights. And, for that quick modernization and rapid industrialization were very much needed. For this, what was needed most, was power generation. Indeed, it was a paean to nationalist desires and political figures including Harekrushna Mahtab, who became the Premier of Orissa on 23April, 1946[3] after the war years. He was crucial in setting up and pushing through Orissa's industrialization policies of the period. Thus, he took up the task and responsibility to give a new identity to Orissa and locate it in the industrial map of India.

Incidentally the nationalist movement was at the fag end of its course at that time in 1946 with the country attaining her independence very soon in 1947.[4] The 1950s were a unique period in Indian history when there was a great deal of idealism and desire to see India develop, although in hindsight it is known, many of these policies did not achieve the desired outcomes. However, the Government of Orissa under Mahtab saw to it that two important river valley projects, among others, one called the Mahanadi River Valley Project and the other, Machkund-Duduma Project were taken up in right earnest to generate hydro-electric power.

But that was no smooth affair from the very beginning. It required a lot of technical arrangements as well as financial aid and assistance. Added to it the possible displacement of people and the consequential agitations caused a lot of tension to Mahtab's ministry. The anti-Hirakud dam agitation, based on large scale displacement, lack of adequate compensation and resettlement procedures as related to *adivasi* (indigenous communities) , and other environmental problems, took a very nasty and ugly turn with political parties and vested interests opposed to Mahtab inciting the people to rise up against his government. But there was no despair either. Mahtab, the Premier, was determined and he faced the challenges successfully in a most democratic manner by putting down his political opponents while addressing the humane issues to the best of his abilities.

Here, we take up the matter relating to Mahanadi River Valley Project and how that gave Orissa a new facelift as our main case study since that was a far bigger issue than

the other one, which involved a lot of interests at that particular period of time, 1937-1957. It continues to be so, more or less, even till the recent times.

Now the moot questions: what were the needs and requirements of the time, the circumstances leading to the selection of the site, the demands of the leaders of the agitation and the possible areas of conflict between those ousted and the government and how ultimately the decision made by Harekrushna Mahtab, the Premier, stood him well and how Orissa became a power plus state ultimately that quickened the pace of industrialization besides helping agriculture to grow by way of providing irrigation facilities.

The case study of giving Orissa a new facelift is thus quite interesting as well as a refreshingly new attempt at serious research.

Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, had told on 12 April, 1948: *Our wealth lies in our rivers.*[5] True to his very words the need and requirement of the time was to harness the water resources of the river Mahanadi considered the life-line of Orissa. Originating from the Raipur district of present Chhatisgarh state, the river enters the state of Orissa from the north-west in Sambalpur district and runs a course of 533 miles towards the south-east before meeting the Bay of Bengal at Paradeep in the district of Jagatsinghpur. The catchments area covering about 51,000 square miles above Naraj in the district of Cuttack, receives an annual rainfall of about 55" on an average. As per an estimate, its mean annual discharge at that time was about 1 lakh cusecs, which on occasions rose up to 1.5 million cusecs. During rains the river generally swelled up and acquired monstrous proportions in size with water all the way and covered a vast area of 2300 square miles, considered some of the most fertile and populous tracts in Orissa. The question of controlling the swelling river and possible consequential devastations in terms of loss of life and property besides the fact that a lot of water was going waste all the time, engaged the attention of everybody. Accordingly, the idea mooted was to build up a multipurpose reservoir.[6]

In 1937-38, Sir M. Visweswaraya, an engineer of very high repute in India, was engaged by the ministry of Biswanath Das in order to make a scientific enquiry and suggest suitable measures in this regard.[7] A.V. Thakkar, the President of the Orissa Flood Enquiry Committee, also gave a favorable view in the same year. But, a storage reservoir was calculated to be too costly at that time and the matter was deferred till 1943 when another terrible flood swallowed millions of lives besides causing a huge loss of property. The attention of the government of India was drawn to the great usefulness that the Damodar Valley Project in the north and Tungabhadra Project in the south had achieved in a short time. Dr. A.N. Khosla, Chairman of the Central Water and Power Commission, Government of India, then got convinced after a visit to Orissa in 1945 that for the too many ills of Orissa like poverty, disease, drought and flood the only remedy could be the storage water dams. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the Labour Member, Government of India, the representatives of the Eastern States' Agency, the Governments of Orissa, C. P. & Berar - all acceding to such a move and course of action the Chief Engineer, Government of India, made an ariel survey of Hirakud,

Tikarpara and Naraj to locate the exact site of the dam. The final decision, however, went in favour of the site at Hirakud near Sambalpur. The model of Tennessee Valley Project, U.S.A. appeared as a bright example.[8]

Harekrushna Mahtab, the Premier, could further enlist the support of the Governor, Sir Hawthorne Lewis and Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, who in turn pressed upon the Secretary of State for India in Britain in 1946 the urgency of the matter which was pending before the public for long and thus, was regarded overdue.[9]

It was on 15 March, 1946 Sir Hawthorne Lewis, the Governor of Orissa, caused to lay the foundation stone of the dam for which the Governor-General and Viceroy of India, Lord Wavell, sent a message of congratulation. However, the real construction work started much later after the independence of the country. On 12 April, 1948 Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister of India, himself began the cement concrete work in the dam site. On that occasion, Nehru observed :

> *The Hirakud is a great project. It has immense possibilities*
> *and after a full consideration of the Central Waterways,*
> *Irrigation and Navigation Commission, I have come to*
> *inaugurate work on the dam.[10]*

The work of preparation of the design of the dam at Hirakud was, however, handed over to the International Engineering Company, Colorado, which submitted it in December, 1949. Thereafter, a lot of revisions and considerations were made and the final form of the design could come up in June, 1951 and was given to the ground staff at the project site in the month of September, 1951. The cost of the project was estimated to be somewhere around 60 crores of rupees at that time and according to a comparative analysis it amounted to twenty five years of the state's revenue.[11]

In January, 1952 the Government of India set up an Advisory Committee with three members called Mazumdar Committee which quickly submitted its report within two months in March, 1952. Its terms of reference were to find out the technical feasibility, financial aspects and the manifold possibilities of power generation, irrigation facility, the quantum of payment of compensation to those ousted etc.

However, the Hirakud dam was meant to be constructed in three important phases. The first phase would be the construction of "the main concrete dam over the two channels of Mahanadi with the two earthen dykes on both sides of the dam."[12] The transmission lines with power houses for electricity generation and distribution and also the digging of a canal in Sambalpur were to be taken up in the first phase itself. In the second phase, the building of a subsidiary power house at Chiplima was proposed to be taken up. The matter of Delta Irrigation Scheme was proposed in the third and final phase.

However, the main dam after construction is about eight miles long with thirteen miles of dykes both on its right and left. Its height is 200' and the length is 958'. As per an estimate, "it has consumed 15 . 58 lakh cft. of mass concrete and 1036 lakhs cft. of

R.C.C. and masonary of 60.25 lakhs cft. and reinforcement of 1,154,80 tons. The total cost of this work is about Rs.1.74 lakhs".[13]

Hirakud now boasts of being the longest earthen dam in the entire world of that period which was completed in 1956 with an estimated total cost of Rs.5.86 crores. It has two parts. "One is in the left bank between the left abutment and the left channel concrete dam and the other part of the earth dam is between the left channel and right channel concrete dam over the Hirakud island".[14]

The reservoir covers an area of 288 square miles belonging to Sambalpur in Orissa and a part of Raigarh district in Chhatisgarh state. It has displaced about 249 villages having 18,432 houses with 22,144 families besides inundating 1,63,061.40 acres of land mass; the actual agricultural fields amounting to 1, 12, 038.59 acres in Sambalpur. The people, on the other side of the border i.e., in Chhatisgarh, suffered a loss of 36 villages with a land mass of 4315.83 acres ; the agricultural lands amounting to 3089.38 acres.

The power generation and transmission work, which was another important aim of building the Hirakud dam, was started in December, 1956 at a cost of Rs. 16.27 crores.

Still another big objective was providing water to the cultivators and initially two main canals catered to 6.27 acres of lands in Bolangir and Sambalpur districts annually. It all started on 7 September, 1956. These were followed by some more canals beginning from 2 October, 1956. Thus, the canal system of irrigation served about 454, 000 acres of cultivable area.[15]

Now a discussion follows regarding the dispossessed people, the anti- Hirakud dam agitation and the role of Mahtab's ministry and government.

Immediately when it became known in 1946 through initial notifications that a large number of prosperous areas were going to be submerged for all time to come there were severe and loud protests all around. The anti-Hirakud dam agitation which gradually took the shape of a movement was born out of it when people in the affected areas particularly at Rampella, Mahadebpalli, Mura etc. realized that they were going to lose not only their hearth and home but also the temples and a large amount of prosperous agricultural lands for the purpose of the dam.

The failure to be consulted and informed about the proposed dam with little or no information regarding subsequent submergence of village hutments and possible shifting and displacements and apparent ignorance of compensation and rehabilitation packages for project affected population built up the right kind of material for a mass movement to grow very soon. It appeared that the project authorities were only interested in relocation and not rehabilitation or long term welfare of the people as defective and incomplete information was passed on to them in the absence of advance and comprehensive planning for rehabilitation on the part of officials in charge. The failure to provide alternative livelihoods and fishing rights enraged them further. Under the circumstances not only the tribal population but also scores of women, children,

destitutes, the uncared for aged and the disabled became the worst sufferers as they became the marginalized groups found at the receiving end. Eminent scholars like Scudder and Cernea in the recent times call for reconstructive actions on the part of the state to reverse the risks of dam-induced resettlements .[16]

Jawaharlal Nehru while inaugurating the work on the Hirakud dam site on 12 April, 1948 had told emphatically:

> *In all such projects some people have necessarily to suffer*
> *and they should suffer gladly in the interests of the country*
> *as a whole.[17]*

He further added:

> *Criticisms have been leveled against the Hirakud project by*
> *some people. Politics are important but surely a country*
> *cannot progress by politics alone. The people themselves*
> *should be in a position to march forward. A country can*
> *progress only when the people are relieved of their*
> *miseries. The Hirakud project is a work which will not*
> *cause more misery to the people but it will bring about an*
> *end to their miseries.[18]*

But the mood of the dispossessed people, who felt harassed and humiliated since they were uprooted from their mother earth for the dam site, was totally different. They did not take all these lightly. Under the pressure of the circumstance many ideological skeptics, which included also followers of Gandhi like Bodhram Dube and Sankar Prasad Mishra, who did not fully appreciate this model of development from the very start, soon challenged the government of Mahtab and the atmosphere got surcharged day by day by way of making allegations and counter-allegations.[19] Enough mud-slinging was done on the Mahtab ministry. In fact, all these had begun at the outset of the survey work. Sir Akbar Hydari, the Executive Councilor in charge of Works, Mines, Power and Labour, urged upon Mahtab to adopt certain measures in order to put an end to the ongoing agitation.[20]

The ministry of Mahtab also took up propaganda work with a view to educating the public on the possible benefits that would accrue once the dam in Hirakud was completed. The Publicity Department, Government of Orissa, also undertook measures to spread public awareness for the cause of the dam. Mahtab and Nabakrushna Chaudhury, a youthful minister in charge of Revenue Department at that time, paid many visits to different parts of Orissa, particularly the affected areas, and tried their best to convince the people on the multipurpose utility of the dam. Also very categorically they spelled out the compensation package to be handed over to the people who were to be displaced or somehow affected by it.

The anti-Hirakud dam leaders even tried to contact the Interim Government at the center in New Delhi at one point of time in 1946-47 but that did not work. Sardar Patel, who was in the party high command and generally regarded as the Iron Man of India, on the other hand, gave specific instructions to Mahtab not to bend but to go ahead in the work of construction despite the pitfalls and challenges that he might face.[21] On 22 August, 1946 Dr. A.N. Khosla visited Cuttack, met the opposing leaders like Bodhram Dube, Sankar Prasad Mishra and a host of others and tried to dispel all misgivings regarding the dam and clearly told about the merits of such a big endeavor. The ministry of Mahtab must investigate the individual cases and definitely give compensation to everybody affected by the construction of the dam, he assured.[22]

However, the leaders of the movement had called upon the people to participate in a conference which was held on 28 April, 1947 to take stock of the situation. A demand was made to abandon the dam and launch a *satyagraha* i.e., a mass movement which was to start from 21 May, 1947 at Sambalpur. Even an attempt was made to separate Sambalpur from the rest of Orissa and join the Eastern States' Federation in stead. The *maharaja* (king) of Patna was reportedly found siding with the leaders of Sambalpur on this issue. Therefore, the Governor of Orissa as well as the Viceroy of India wrote to the concerned officials in order to dissuade the king from adopting such a path of confrontation with the Government of Orissa under Mahtab over this particular matter.[23]

Harekrushna Mahtab, the Premier, made a statement in the state Assembly relating to Hirakud dam and tried to assuage the feelings and misgivings long entertained by some of the members. Even the landless people would also be rehabilitated suitably, he assured on the floor of the Assembly. The Assembly, however, took the momentous decision on 28 August, 1947 by unanimously adopting a resolution favouring the construction of the Hirakud dam for public good.[24]

The resettlement and rehabilitation work, as promised both to the Assembly and the public by Mahtab, were taken up in right earnest. A new Department of Hirakud Land Organization was created for supervising proper evacuation, resettlement and rehabilitation of the displaced humanity under the Member, Board of Revenue, Government of Orissa. The actual evacuation programme was however taken up in 1955. But before the arrangements were made for providing compensation, land for both habitation and cultivation, and to build model habitats in villages in order to accommodate the displaced people. Mahtab's ministry and government tried tirelessly to fulfill their commitments made to the people, but it was also a fact that many of those who were ousted remained dissatisfied. According to a report,[25] *only 1/3 of the compensation claims had been disbursed and 11, 341 arbitration cases were pending, when in March, 1956 people were displaced without compensation, rendering them homeless as well as resourceless.*

The anti-Hirakud dam agitation, however, could not materialize and continue to make further progress, reportedly because such early protests soon after independence were not sustainable for long. It was also … *because of their failure to attract larger alliances, under the overwhelming influence of the nationalist rhetoric of nation-building that*

accompanied the construction of large dams in India.[26] For example, to quote Jawaharlal Nehru in this regard :

> *But these constructive feats will not only change the face of*
> *India and bring prosperity to millions, but will make that*
> *prosperity endure for a thousand years.*[27]

Dedicated to the service of the nation on 13 January, 1957,[28] the Hirakud dam project took nearly ten years and eight months for completion and became a role model and good precedent before such other mega projects which symbolized breaking the colonial chains of underdevelopment in independent India.

In the recent times,[29] however, a lot of hue and cry is raised over the use of water of the Hirakud dam. As alleged by the farmers, who had their lands near the downstream and canal areas, the growth of so many industries in and around Hirakud dam site have led to the consumption of water in double speed leaving them almost high and dry. A conflict between head-ender users and tail-ender farmers has developed which has created a near law and order situation in the otherwise peaceful Hirakud region. The Government of Orissa maintains that there is specific allocation of water for the industries and for them only 0.252 M ac.ft per annum of water is allowed. They cannot go certainly beyond this limit leaving enough for the farmers, yet the later do not seem to relent and appear satisfied. Further, the collection of water tax from the farmers and non-collection from so many industries which are reportedly in arrears of crores of rupees have raised more issues.[30] Added to it, the fishermen community which depends on the water body largely i.e., the reservoir also alleges large scale pollution of water due to huge garbage discharges made by the nearby industries.[31] Under the circumstances a paradigm shift in the concept of planning and technology is required. It remains to be seen how the situation is tackled effectively bringing back the Hirakud region to normalcy by way of satisfying all interests through democratic and peaceful means based on public-private partnership.

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Notes

1.   Sinha, B.N, *Geography of Orissa* , New Delhi, 1971, p. 80.
2.   Mishra, Amal Kumar, *The Raj, Nationalists & Reforms - Land, Law and Government - Orissa : 1912-1939*, Bhubaneswar, 2007, p. 63.
3.   Patra, K. M*., Orissa State Legislature and Freedom Struggle, 1912-47,* New Delhi, 1979, p.227.
4.   Stein, Burton, *A History of India* , Oxford, 1998, p. 365.
5.   *The Hindusthan Standard*, Calcutta, 13 April, 1948.
6.   Government of Orissa, *Report on the Benefits of Hirakud Irrigation: A Socio- Economic Study,* Bhubaneswar, no date, p. 10.
7.   Patra, 1979, p. 135.
8.   Government of Orissa, p. 11.
9.   *Orissa Legislative Assembly Proceedings, 1946,* Vol. II, pp. 121-27.
10. *The Hindusthan Standard*, 13 April, 1948.
11. *Orissa Review*, February, 1998, p. 37.
12. Government of Orissa, p. 12.
13. *Ibid*.
14. *Ibid.*, p.13.
15. *Ibid.*, pp.13-14.
16. Scudder, A Sociological Framework for the Analysis of New Land Settlements; Michael M. Cernea(ed.), *Putting People First: Sociological Variables in Rural Development, 1991*, pp.25-105.
17. Gopal, S. (ed.), *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, Vol. VI, New Delhi, 1987, p.313.
18. *Ibid.*, p.315.
19. Mohapatra, H.K., *Mahtab's First Innings in Power*, Cuttack , 2006, pp. 70 -71.
20. Mahtab, H.K., *Sadhanara Pathe* (Oriya Autobiography), Cuttack, 1972, p.291.
21. Das Durga (ed.), *Sardar Patel's Correspondences*, Vol. III, Ahmedabed, 1972, pp.149-50.
22. *Orissa Review*, p.37.
23. Letter No. 94, dated 25 January, 1947, *the Governor of Orissa to the Resident, Eastern States' Agency;* Letter No. 212, dated 2 March, 1947, *the Governor to Premier of Orissa*; Letter dated 10 February, 1947, *the Ruler of Patna to the Political Agent, Chhatisgarh States. *Mahtab, H.K., *Beginning of the End,* Cuttack, 1972, pp. 230-40.
24. *Orissa Legislative Assembly Proceedings, 1947*, Vol. V, p.88.
25. Planning Commission, Government of India, *Report on Dams,Displacement,Policy and Law in India,* New Delhi*,* no date, Part-1, pp.1-12*.*
26. *Ibid.,* Part-II, pp. 25-37*.*
27. Gopal, S (ed.), p.313.
28. *Orissa Review*, p.39.
29. *The New Indian Express*, Bhubaneswar, 5 March, 2008.
30. *The Sambad*, Bhubaneswar, 25 May, 2008.
31. *Ibid.*, 26 February & 29 March, 2008.

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The city of São Paulo between private capital and public interest: 1890-1930

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Luiz I. R. Anhaia Mello – engineer-architect and urban planner. Sketch for the study of a career

In his long professional career, engineer-architect Luiz de Anhaia Mello was constantly working both in various dimensions of the local administration and the academy (he occupied important positions at the City Hall of São Paulo and taught at the Polytechnic Institute and at the Faculty of Architecture and Urban Planning) and in the private sector (son of an industrialist, he was a partner in financial institutions and a civil construction company). He was undoubtedly one of the most authoritative figures of São Paulo urban planning.

Author of many texts,[1] Luiz de Anhaia Mello played an essential role: in the academy, where he produced scholarly knowledge in the areas of civil engineering and urban planning; in associations; and at the City Council and in the public administration of São Paulo, where he created a local Department specialized in urban interventions. All Brazilian specialists agree on his importance According to architect Maria Cristina da Silva Leme, for almost half a century, Anhaia Mello was the main theoretician of urban planning in São Paulo and his intellectual production defined the trends of this field,[2] an opinion ALSO shared by two others architects, Sylvia Ficher and Sarah Feldman.[3] In a thesis that retraces the career of teachers and architects graduated in the Polytechnic Institute, Ficher offers indispensable biographic references. With regard to Anhaia Mello, she gives essential information and keeps track of his different lines of activities as a teacher at the Engineering School of São Paulo, as a local administrator, as an employee of the local Public Works Department and as a member of the *Sociedade Amigos da Cidade* (Friends of the City Society).(Ficher:143-153) Feldman, as for her, follows Luiz de Anhaia Mello's career in an excellent study of the main urban planning guidelines. She highlights his leading role in the definition of the urban planning trends in that city, since, in the 1940s, he introduced the notion of zoning for urban interventions, which he later extended to the regional plan.[4] In addition, from 1947 onwards, many of his proposals helped restructure the local administration (Feldman: 73). As an example, the Urban Planning Division of the Public Works Department became a separate Department and since "its effective operation area as a normative agency (...)" was clearly delimited, "the idea of zoning as a planning tool *par excellence* was strengthened". (Feldman: 110)

Anhaia Mello had a constant influence on various dimensions of both the academic and public lives. To defend his ideas, he often engaged in open confrontations with other urban planners, as with the author of the 1930 *Plan of Avenues for São Paulo*, Francisco Prestes Maia, who, as himself, was a former student and professor of the Polytechnic Institute and an official at the São Paulo City Hall.

Landmarks in Luiz Ignácio Romeiro de Anhaia Mello's career include[5]: he studied at the Polytechnic Institute of São Paulo where he graduated in engineering in 1913; he began his academic career in 1918 as a substitute professor at this Institute, was tenured in 1922 and retired in 1968. There, he created the urban planning course in 1926, after the 1925 curriculum reform transferred the "urban planning contents" from the Chairs of "Urban Hydraulics and City Sanitation" and of "City Architecture" to the new Chair of "Aesthetics: General Composition and Urban Planning I and II", through Act # 2128.[6] He was the vice-director and director of this Institute between 1928 and 1930 and again in 1931; He participated in the foundation of the Faculty of Architecture and Urban Planning of the University of São Paulo, which he directed from 1948, year of its creation, to 1951; he was the pedagogical director of the *Liceu de Artes e Ofícios* (College of Arts and Crafts) from 1927 onward; he created the Urban Planning Department of the Engineering Institute of São Paulo in 1928, was its president between 1929 and 1930 and a member of its board between 1933 and 1934. In 1935, he participated in the foundation of the *Sociedade Amigos da Cidade* (Friends of the City Society), a private organization that "demand[ed] improvements, regulating plans, progress, higher quality of life and the splendor of civilization", and became its president in 1945; he was a City Councilor, official at the City Hall and Mayor of São Paulo for two brief periods, between 1930 and 1931.[7] He also worked in the private sector, since, "freshly graduated, he was hired by F.P.Ramos de Azevedo & Cia Iniciadora Predial" where he remained until 1964 and was the director of the Villa Prudente Pottery, both established by Ramos de Azevedo;[8] In addition, he designed private houses and churches, as that of São Luiz, and the Institute itself.[9]

1. An example career

The present study is part of an effort to propose an alternative, complementary study that contributes to the collective task of unveiling the bases of urban planning in São Paulo. It retraces the influence of Anhaia Mello not only as a theorist, a teacher and a local authority, but also as a tireless disseminator of urban planning principles in private institutions and public interest bodies. In fact, this engineer-architect played a leading role in the creation of this field in São Paulo and in the way it was structured. Based on the assumption that "as any technique, planning is politically neutral" and therefore does not depend on political contexts (Anhaia Mello, 1945: 87 apud Feldman: 49, 81), he helped give it a professional configuration. Although Feldman's book *Planejamento e zoneamento. São Paulo 1947-1970* (Planning and zoning. São Paulo 1947-1970) does not focuses on him, the space he is given incites us to look for his main agreements and disagreements with other authors..

Feldman, Leme and Ficher stress Anhaia Mello and Prestes Maia persistently quarreled on issues crucial to the Urban Planning Department. On the one hand, Anhaia Mello was a declared advocate of the interdisciplinary conception of urban planning with a special attention to the psychological dimension (Simmell). He recommended constituting a Planning Commission with a multidisciplinary profile, part of which would not belong to the local administration (Feldman: 65). On the other, Prestes Maia, who

supported Betham's idea that space should be organized by specialists so as to induce behaviors, valued local engineers in his 1930 *Plan of avenues*. He and his colleague and collaborator, engineer João Florence de Ulhôa Cintra, followed the prevailing ideas defended by Freire. Actually, after twenty-six years working at the Local Public Works Department (1899-1926), Freire was an unquestionable authority among local engineers. In addition, he had disseminated his positions to a wide public that included his students at the Polytechnic Institute. These attended his lectures at the *Gremio Polytechnico* (Polytechnic Association), which were then published in the journal *Polytechnica*. Freire had already vehemently defended the competence of his Department team in a controversy, when his 1911 plan, designed with Eugenio Guilhem, competed with three others to define interventions in the downtown area.[10] Such position was maintained by Ulhôa Cintra and Prestes Maia in the articles they published in the 1920s. In addition, as Freire, the former had proposed a street plan with an irradiation circular avenue that the latter included into his 1930 *Plan of Avenues*.

The struggle between both urban planners was so tough that, according to Feldman, "the conception of organization and the ideas of Anhaia Mello were only accepted among the technicians of the local Urban Planning Department, where Prestes Maia's ideas were strongly rooted, from the 1930s onwards, when a growing movement sought to include planning among government functions". And probably because of the weight of his political relationships, as the author also recalls (Feldman: 76). As we have seen, while Prestes Maia advocated orderly, albeit unlimited, growth of the city, Anhaia Mello, in his reading of Ebenezer Howard's conception of garden cities, considered growth should be controlled and the city surrounded by a green belt. Actually, the very conception of urban expansion only shifted in the beginning of the 1950s. Anhaia Mello's positions reemerged in the first publication of the Urban Planning Department, in 1951, in articles by two City Hall engineers: Carlos Alberto Gomes Cardim Filho, director of the Urban Planning Department, and Carlos Brasil Lodi, head of the City General Planning. In fact, ever since he assumed office, Brasil Lodi persistently followed Anhaia Mello's ideas. As an example, in addition to separating planning and designing in different divisions, he considered planning should be in charge of a multidisciplinary team and therefore collective, as defended by Anhaia Mello in his 1928 speech at the Rotary Club.[11] (Feldman: 50, 87)

The author then describes the actions and struggles that followed the creation of the local Urban Planning Department and the adoption of these guidelines. She highlights the clear distinction between two "functions": a "line" function that should handle routine decisions and everyday problems, and a "staff" function, in charge of the planning, research, investigation, forecast, survey and data interpretation activities. The second one should be "directly subordinated to the Mayor, [as] a kind of super-department... and to the Guidance Commission of the City Plan".[12]

Feldman's book is undoubtedly strategically organized. It supplies the general reader, and especially researchers, with priceless information without resorting to Manichaean explanations. The "elites" or "bourgeoisie" are never accused of making decisions in their own benefit or of deliberately segregating the working class or low income

populations into degraded or peripheral areas. Yet, this does not mean the author assumes a "neutral" position: the ideas and practical decisions of urban planners are analyzed within the sphere of specialized trends and of opinions that prevailed at that time. They are not free of the very *parti pris* of urban planning strategies. In addition, an important element of Anhaia Mello's proposals to "humanize" the living conditions of the working class families is little explored: the creation of parks intended to offer a pleasant environment for the leisure of whoever had no access to clubs and sport associations.[13]

Another important facet of Feldman's study is that its time markers are the struggles between diverging positions or the changes intrinsic to the formation of the field of urban planning. No temporality external to her study object is ever evoked. For a historian, it is a salutary break from the most usual procedure in this area, which superposes the temporality of economical and/or political processes to sequences of constructions, architectural styles and/or changes in the way of thinking and intervening in the city.

In addition, the author always establishes dialogs with both other colleagues from the Polytechnic Institute (founded in 1893) or Mackenzie Engineering School (founded in 1894) and foreign urban planners contemporary to them. In addition to urban planning theory and its theoretical assumptions, she also mentions the legal provisions intended to regulate São Paulo's urbanization. The latter are often compared to their transgressions so as to expose the constitutive distance between law and its effective enforcement. This line of argumentation reveals her concern to expose the circulation of ideas, assumptions and ways of organizing urban planning theory and practices from different countries. According to her, these supplied models adopted by São Paulo's urban planners, but often applied acritically, as is the case of the changes introduced by Anhaia Mello at the local Urban Planning Department. (Feldman: 72)[14]

Besides, as many other scholars, Feldman thinks that U.S. references were more than an inspiration to Anhaia Mello: they are inextricably linked to his career and, in the 1930s, they marked "a decisive moment in the spreading of American urban planning among Brazilian professionals". In fact, such references began to prevail in the ideas, practices and models of institutions chosen (Feldman: 28-29). This is confirmed by the options for: the model of garden cities for the new districts; the notion of zoning to regulate urban growth; the models of "cell cities" and "neighborhood units", supposed to form "decentralizing cores" and invert the characteristic monocentrality of São Paulo; the organization of the City Hall activities; and the close relation between planning and local administration, in 1947. (Feldman: 71-72)

2. Proposal of an alternative and complementary study

This paper is part of the thematic project "Scientific and Technical Knowledge in the Configuration and Reconfiguration of the Urban Space. São Paulo, 19th and 20th centuries", in which I coordinate the team studying how the urban planning theory was created in the first half of the 20th century. Our hypothesis agrees with most studies that urban planning actually emerged during the 19th century from the interaction between hygienist doctors and sanitary engineers, knowledge fields which, supposedly,

separated in the 1930s. Nevertheless, we think the conceptual framework based on the sanitary or "aesthetical-sanitary" assumptions has never been overstepped by any wider conception.

After presenting Anhaia Mello's career according to Feldman, I propose to reassess the formulation of the conceptual guidelines of the urban planning theory by testing the hypothesis that guides our project. Based on a preliminary analysis presented in the research report *Le brouhaha des petites mémoires à la rencontre des langages savants: esthétique moderne et citoyenneté à São Paulo, 1890-1940*,[15] I assert that the sanitary base became more complex but was still a guideline of urban planning, even when its assumptions were appropriated and translated into technical devices of the specialized knowledge of engineers and architects, in the 20th century. Not only did the aesthetical-sanitary conception remain, but it expanded when it assumed "the technical and street principles"[16] intended to free the traffic flows from obstacles or interruptions, according to the image of good blood circulation. This image would also be used for water supply and sewerage systems[17], district specialization, improvement of the transports and other measures designed to ensure "the good functioning of the urban organism". Medical metaphors were associated to biological notions[18] to form the ideal/idealized picture of a harmonious city without conflicts.[19]

Another crucial issue in the study of urban planners' writings, and not only theirs, certainly regards the analysis of their language(s) from different points of view: the text structure in conceptual terms, how the arguments are developed -- with a special attention to the recurrent use of metaphors --, the public to which the speech, article, plan etc. is intended, what remains and what is modified in the conceptual field during the professional evolution of the authors or group of specialists in focus and, most importantly, the interlocutors with whom the authors dialog or among whom they find examples of experiences, be they succeeded or not, to illustrate and corroborate their theses. I follow this procedure not "to let the document speak by itself" and find formulations that go beyond the names of specialists and situations quoted. I try to reach notions and precepts subsumed in a field of knowledge, whose spreading transforms them into the common sense of a culture, in our case, the so called "Western culture".

I chose the notions of cleanliness and of regular and orderly growth, i.e. of harmonious growth, because they convey the aesthetical conception of "beautiful" in contrast with that of "sublime". The latter provokes ecstasy and the suspension of rational activity, such as re-presented by authors from the 18th century, in particular the reading of Longinus' fragments by Edmund Burke in his 1756 *A Philosophical Inquiry into the origin of our Ideas of Sublime and Beautiful*.[20] In the relationship of men to the world and their fellow men, this author gave primacy to the "image" because the contact with the outside passes through the senses and settles in the "imagination" before it is handled by wit or reason. Among the languages produced by men, Burke chose the power of architectural language – the imagetic and emotional impression produced by monumental edifications, for instance – as a strategic tool to affect people's sensitivity.[21] This conservative thinker[22] was not the only one to believe the suggestive power of

architectural language could produce effects that precede and even dispense with reasoning. In an opposite political position, the also jurist Jeremy Bentham bet on the architectural language as a means to obtain human reactions and behaviors that do not necessarily pass through reasoning.

These different forms of language also point to another important element that must be taken in consideration when instrumentalizing the notions of "beautiful" and "sublime", from the 18th century onward: the discipline obtained by the way space is organized to induce or oblige people to behave accordingly to what the designers planned.[23] Such intention is clearly defined by Jeremy Bentham and expressed in the letters on the Panopticon that he synthesized for the French House of Representatives in 1790. Later, not always devoid of its omnivident element, Bentham's proposal would even be extended from spaces intended to shelter a great number of people to workers' houses, for instance. It defined the places suited to the different daily activities and eliminated environments considered promiscuous and improper to the dwellers' bodily and moral health. In both authors –conservative Burke and radical liberal Bentham–, the notion of language is strategic to understand the action of planning space organization and the very relationship of the people to the built environment. Although they had opposite political positions –in Choay's classification, Burke would certainly fit among the Culturalists and Bentham among the Progressives–, both authors assumed the efficiency of languages that emotionally induce their interlocutors to given behaviors and can or rather must dispense with any rational activity. If, for Burke, architecture was one language among others, Bentham saw space organization as the foundation of a disciplined behavior.

I will only give an example of the resort to one of these notions – that images have a suggestive and inductive power. In his 1928 speech, Anhaia Mello quoted "Arousing the Public Interest in City Planning", presented at the 1928 National Conference on Urban Planning, in Dallas, Texas, by Harry Overstreet. This quotation helped him defend the need to create an environment favorable to urban culture – the "*urbanocultura*" -- since he considered that "the weakest link in the chain of urban planning [was] the fact that the public does not understand what it is nor what its ends, methods, advantages, costs and justifications are". "In his study, Anhaia Mello says, Overstreet stresses the advantages of constantly showing to the public the drawings, plants, diagrams, perspectives and the budget of the works to be constructed". He then quotes in English: "Seeing is easier than thinking", which he completed, in Portuguese, "And it has the advantage of interesting the illiterates, too."[24]

A second idea guides this research: the "classification" Françoise Choay proposed in her 1964 *L'urbanisme, utopie et réalités* may be a reductive classificatory model, as the author herself acknowledged, but it has not yet been surpassed. Actually, the political-philosophical bases of the observations of authors who analyzed the 19th century European cities –a period she calls pre-urban planning– remain valid. They can even be detected in the positions assumed by the authors analyzed in urban planning studies, although these sometimes mixed up opposite political-philosophical elements. Another dimension of the work of Choay should be given attention in the reading of urban

planning theory and practice: the utopian dimension that feeds the active optimism evident both in the proposals trying to configure the "good, harmonious city", and in their reverse, the pessimist criticisms to the results of urban planning from the 1950s onward, especially in the 1970s.

Finally, and it might be the most complex and polemic questioning that guides our team research, the conception of a "common domain" of scholarly and technical knowledge for the intervention practices in the urban has a patent inter-national character. In fact, all categories and concepts became more accurate through a dialog both among the specialists present in the most various congresses, exhibitions and other kinds of meetings and in different publications –books, articles, communications, administrative reports, plans, projects, manuals, etc..[25]

To show the importance of what has already been called "the ritual historians use to approach their documentation" and pinpoint that an argument must be followed in its integrality, I will give an example. In the beginning of his 1928 speech to the members of the Rotary Club, and it is worth noting that it was a non-specialist public, Anhaia Mello said:

> We can assert and easily prove with positive data that our current urban problems, which seem very far from a solution, have already been integrally solved in many foreign cities, mainly in U.S. cities.
> This is what we must copy, not only because the situations are the same but also because the model is excellent.

Detached from its context, these sentences would only partly transmit the author's argument. In fact, if we consider the very beginning of his text, they can be understood differently:

> Nothing will progress if we insist in following anew the ways already opened by others and, instead of starting our research through foreign experience, grope our way forward, looking for shortcuts to find solutions that others, older or more sagacious, have already found.
> This is a general norm in scientific research, which we must obey in the particular case of the study of our urban problems.
> It does not mean that the complex problems of modern urban planning have ever been given a perfect and integral solution. In fact, they are not definitive equations, but issues with multiple aspects and forms, which appear all the time, interlace and fit together in this capricious kaleidoscope we call a modern city.[26]

Here, two ideas are particularly worth stressing: the resort to foreign experiences because they already happened and, most importantly, the assertion that the situation of U.S. and Brazilian cities is the same or similar. Why? Because, differently from European cities, they were new and had not yet constituted an old urban fabric with much more complex problems? Because they used to be small villages, as was the case of Chicago in the beginning of the 19th century and of São Paulo in 1880? The idea

of examining foreign experiences is found in the 1909 *Plan of Chicago* by Daniel H. Burnham and Edward H. Bennett, but it was already present in Jules Rochard – *Traité d'Hygiène Sociale* (Paris: Adrien Dehaye et Emile Lécrosnier, 188) and *Encyclopédie d'Hygiène et de Médecine Publique*, Tome Troisième (Paris: Lecrosnier et Babe, 1891), and later in Victor da Silva Freire in 1911 (*Melhoramentos de S. Paulo* [*Improvements for São Paulo])*, in Francisco Prestes Maia (*Estudo para um Plano de Avenidas*, [*Study for a Plan of Avenues* - 1930]) and in countless writings by Anhaia Mello, among others. Working this way means retracing what has already been done and its results, as when we go through a bibliography on a subject we are studying. We can call an academic procedure what Anhaia Mello called a "general norm of scientific research".

It is now important to bring into the debate a text that I consider fundamental to further this issue.

In *Storia dell'urbanistica europea*,[27] Donatella Calabi asserts that the urban planning practices spread through different channels and that "the knowledge and experiences collected by the first scholars of urban problems were debated and transmitted, which ended up creating a more or less specialized disciplinary body, restricted to a small number of people, and constituted the urban planning culture of the time". A kind of international urban planning society then emerged, which is present in the propaganda of the very operational sphere and helped organize exchange and comparison situations.

Professionals, who were not always engineers and/or architects, formed people and information networks and collaborated to create this common domain knowledge. It is clear that knowing and sharing previous foreign experiences is a constitutive part of the urban planning discipline, which, as Calabi stresses, is fundamentally operative or pragmatic. Visits and travel reports gave rise to a professional community based on the circulation of experiences in an attempt to form a common language and build a consultant network, organize debate and diffusion forums to systematize knowledge, theories and postulates, and to regulate legally the professions of engineer and architect.

Accepting the international character of the common domain of urban planning knowledge, which includes its practical dimension, then converges to the position defined by this historian of urban planning:

> The international dimension becomes crucial because, for the first time, it allowed to constitute a sense of professional community that exceeded national borders by accepting the circulation of experiences in an attempt to find a common language and build a consultant network to which one may recur whenever necessary. (Calabi: p.21)

These are the questionings of theory and method that I brought to this conference and that I wished to share with you. Obviously, other questionings, especially about the different forms of "ritualizing" the way documentation is approached, concern the

different positions occupied by who delivered conferences; wrote articles in specialized journals, large-circulation newspapers and magazines, in the working class press, or even in administrative reports or debates at São Paulo's City Council or at the State Legislative Assembly; gave their witness; wrote memories, travel reports, short stories or novels; and produced etchings, pictures, statistical tables, diagrams, maps and other graphic forms. Because of their wider character, and since we are only working on one dimension of the scientific and technical knowledge, these questions will have to wait for a next conference.

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[1] In her Master's thesis, Jhoyce Povoa TIMÒTEO established that Anhaia Mello's first paper "Problemas de urbanismo: mais uma contribuição para o calçamento" (Urban Planning Problems: one more Contribution to Paving) was published in *Revista Politécnica*, n.83, São Paulo, jun. 1927, p.343-365 and the last one, "Considerações a respeito do Planejamento Regional de São Paulo" (Considerations on the Regional Planning of São Paulo), was published posthumously in *Engenharia Municipal*, n. 62, São Paulo, jan.-mar. 1974, p. 06-10.

[2] LEME, Maria Cristina da Silva. *(Re)Visão do Plano de Avenidas* ([Re]Vision of the Plan of Avenues), São Paulo: FAU-USP, 1990, PhD dissertation, p.

[3] FICHER, Sylvia. *Os arquitetos da Poli*. Ensino e profissão em São Paulo. São Paulo: Edusp, 2005; FELDMAN, Sarah. *Planejamento e zoneamento*(Planning and Zoning. São Paulo, 1947-1972, São Paulo). São Paulo, 1947-1972, São Paulo: Edusp/Fapesp, 2005.

[4] FELDMAN, Sarah. *Planejamento e zoneamento. São Paulo, 1947-1972*, São Paulo: Edusp/Fapesp, 2005..

[5] His father, Luiz de Anhaia Mello, also was an engineer graduated in Rio de Janeiro in 1875. Son of the owner of the cotton mill "Tecelagem Anhaia Mello" (founded in 1869), he was interested by industrial facilities, which he studied in Europe and in the United States, and was one of the founders of the Polytechnic Institute of São Paulo, in 1893.

[6] Fisher, Sylvia. *Os arquitetos da Poli. Ensino e profissão em São Paulo*, São Paulo: Edusp, 2005, p.143 and following.

[7] From December 1930 to July 1931 and from November 14 to December 04, 1931.

[8] Francisco de Paula Ramos de Azevedo (1851-1828) graduated at the *École Spéciale du Genie Civil et des Arts et Manufactures* of the University of Ghent in 1878; from 1896 on, as a professional, he dedicated himself to the Technical Office Ramos de Azevedo, with the collaboration of foreign professionals. In 1908 he became a partner of Ricardo Severo and Arnaldo Dumont Villares. In addition to important activities in the branch of civil construction for particulars, his office was responsible for most public buildings in the city of São Paulo (among them, those of the State Department of Treasury, of the Department of Agriculture, Commerce and Public Works and of the Department of Justice, not to mention the Teacher Training College, the Municipal Theater, The Central Post Office, the Municipal Market, the Carandiru Prison and the College of Arts and Crafts and of the Polytechnic Institute). He also was one of the founders of the Polytechnic Institute of São Paulo, where he taught until 1928, the year he died, and of the Society of Architects of São Paulo in 1911. He was also a private company administrator. Ficher, op.cit., pp.51-69.

[9] Fisher, op.cit., p.143-144.

[10] The authors of the different plans were: 1. engineer-architect Alexandre de Albuquerque (supported by a group of entrepreneurs); 2. Victor da Silva Freire and Eugenio Guilhem (City Hall); 3. engineer Samuel das Neves. All were analyzed by J. A. Bouvard, who was visiting São Paulo, and signed his report as the "Honorary Director of the Services of Architecture and Walks, Streets and Plan of Paris". He praised the City Hall Plan, which he modified into a fourth plan. His alterations concerned the gardens of the Anhangabaú river valley and of the Várzea do Carmo, by the Tamanduateí river. All plans were presented in the *Revista de Engenharia* (Journal of Engineering), a monthly publication on Civil and Industrial Engineering, Architecture and Agronomy, (Primeiro Volume, São Paulo, jun. 1911-maio 1912, p. 37-45), which also published Alexandre de Albuquerque's criticisms to the fact that the Mayor had resorted to a foreigner when the Polytechnic Institute of São Paulo had already formed good professionals.

[11] ANHAIA MELLO, Luiz de. O Problema Psychologico. Bases de uma campanha pratica e efficiente em prol de São Paulo maior e melhor (The Psychological Problem. Bases for a Practical and Efficient Campaign for a Larger and Better São Paulo), a speech delivered at the Rotary Club of São Paulo, on September 21, 1928. It is the first text of the compilation *Problemas de Urbanismo. Base para a resolução do problema technico* (Problems of Urban Planning. Base to solve the technical problem). Boletim do Instituto de Engenharia de São Paulo, São Paulo: Escolas Profissionais Salesianas, 1929. This position already appeared in the introduction to the compilation, dated February 1929.

[12] Anhaia Mello insisted on the need to maintain the "staff" function above the administrative routine of the Department of Public Works and Services in his speech *O Plano Regional de São Paulo.* Uma contribuição da Universidade para o estudo de "Um Código de Ocupação Lícita do Solo" (São Paulo's Regional Plan. A Contribution of the University to the Study of "a Code for Legal Land Use") delivered on November 8, 1954 as part of the commemorations of the World's Urban Planning Day. It draws on the text "Elementos Básicos para o Planejamento Regional de São Paulo" (Basic Elements for the Regional Planning of São Paulo) he presented to the Guidance Commission of the City Plan as a representative of the University of São Paulo. Monographs, USP-FAU 711.43098161-E2. Quotation pp. 3-4.

[13] The implantation of "active recreation" is a privileged section of Jhoyce Povoa TIMÓTEO's Master's dissertation, where she suggests the paternalist bias of Anhaia Mello's concern and highlights his conviction that specialized spaces – play-grounds and areas with sport equipment – explicitly meant to renew the workers' energy after a day or a week of work were necessary. Op. cit.

[14] In Brazil, it is almost a commonplace in the studies on urban planning and city history to recur to the word "influence" as a notion to explain the adhesion of Brazilian professionals to theories and concepts that were common in this specialized professional milieu. This notion of influence has unfolded in others as those of "importation", "transfer", "translations" or "copy" of "ideas or theories" formulated in other countries. This hinders a more careful reflection on the fact that the conceptual field of urban planning and the different forms it adopted when divulged and applied in many countries constitute a "common domain knowledge".

[15] Paper presented at the Conference "Les Mots de la Ville", December 1997, UNESCO/CNRS.

[16] According to Feldman, the assessment that the aesthetical-sanitary vision shifted to a more globalizing vision that adds them to the technical and street principles is presented by Geraldo Simões in *O Departamento de Urbanismo da PMSP e sua Contribuição no Desenvolvimento do Pensamento urbanístico nas Décadas de 1940-1950* (São Paulo's Department of Urban Planning and its Contribution to the Development of Urban Planning Thinking in the 1940-1950s), an interdisciplinary graduation work, São Paulo: FAU-USP, 1983 and Maria Cristina Leme *(Re)Visão do Plano de Avenidas* ([Re]Vision of the Plan of Avenues)*,* São Paulo: FAU-USP, 1990, PhD thesis.

[17] Cf. BÉGUIN, François. As maquinarias inglesas do conforto (The English Machineries of Comfort) *Espaço & Debates* # 34 Cidade e História, São Paulo: NERU, 1991, pp. 39-54.

[18] CORREIA, Telma and GUNN, Philip. O urbanismo: a medicina e a biologia nas palavras e imagens da cidade in *Palavras da cidade* (Words of the city - BRESCIANI, Stella ed.), Porto Alegre: EdUFRS, 2001, pp.227-260.

[19] Anhaia Mello, for instance, maintains the "four **functions** (bolds are mine) of the city: living, working, circulating and entertaining", in a rereading of the Athens' Charter presented in a 1954 speech to defend a city that would meet the universal *biogenic and sociogenic* needs, as well as its *cultural needs*" (Italics in the original), in his *O Plano Regional de São Paulo.* Uma contribuição da Universidade para o estudo de "Um Código de Ocupação Lícita do Solo" (São Paulo's Regional Plan. A Contribution of the University to the Study of "a Code for Legal Land Use"), op. cit., p.24-25.

[20] In *The Works of Edmund Burke*, vol. I, London: G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., 1913, pp. 49-181.

[21] In an interesting paper, Nicolas Taylor introduces the aesthetical notion of "sublime" to analyze Victorian architecture and the deliberate intention of who commissioned and designed. For him, monumental buildings in the most varied compositions and different architectural styles were produced as a means to express the power of capital. TAYLOR, Nicolas. The awful sublimity of Victorian architecture in DYOS and WOLFF, *Victorian City. Images and Realities*,

[22] Edmund Burke was a harsh critic of the French Revolution and of John Locke's notion of social contract, which he considered as a mere appropriation of commercial transactions. *Reflections on the French Revolution*, 1790. He was opposed to his contemporary Jeremy Bentham, who enthusiastically defended the French events in their less radical phase.

[23] The Benthamite bet of the perception of objects by the senses is found in his writings on a model prison: "A *perceptible* entity is every entity the existence of which is made known to human beings by the immediate testimony of their sense, without reasoning, *i.e.* without reflection". "Morals reformed – health preserved – industry invigorated – instruction diffused,… all by a simple idea in Architecture… A new mode of obtaining power of mind over mind", Jeremy BENTHAM. *Panopticon*, or The Inspection-House, & C., Preface, and *A fragment on Ontology* in *Panopticon Writings* (Ed. and Introd. Miran BOZOVIC). London-New York: Verso, 1995, p. 118 and 31.

[24] ANHAIA MELLO. Ainda o Problema Psychologico. As Associações Americanas de Urbanismo (The Psychological Problem again. The American associations of Urban Planning), a speech he delivered at the Institute of Engineering on November 8, 1928, in *Problemas de Urbanismo*, *Base para a resolução do problema technico* (Problems of Urban Planning. Base to solve the technical problem), op. cit., p. 31,

[25] Giorgio PICCINATO presents a list of international events and publications of that period in *La costruzione dell'urban plannina Germanica. 1871-1914* (The construction of German Urban Planning. 1871, 1914), Rome: Officina Edizioni, 1974 (pp. 543-627).

[26] ANHAIA MELLO. Ainda o Problema Psychologico. As Associações Americanas de Urbanismo (The Psychological Problem again. The American associations of Urban Planning), op. cit., p.13.

[27] CALABI, Donatella. *Storia dell'urban plannina europea. Questioni, strumenti, casi esemplari*, (The History of European Urban Planning. Issues, Tools, Exemplar Cases) Torino: Paravia Scriptorium, 2000, Introduzione.

Reconciling public and private interests in the planning and development of airports: the Australian experience, 1995-2008

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Introduction

In the wake of the deregulation of the airline industry since the 1980s, there is now a new history of airport privatization around the world that is continuing with the proposed privatisation of American airports. The process has been driven by neo-liberal philosophies interlinking the desire for greater competitiveness, efficiency and growth with massive investment requirements in infrastructure beyond the scope of the public purse. The result has been an inexorable increase and diversification in airport commercial activity as operators seek to maximize returns on investment. A new urban landscape has emerged over the last two decades as airports have evolved from specialised transport hubs to mixed activity centres of increasing regional significance.

One of the challenges of privatization has been the shift of a public icon – the city airport – to a privately run operation. The concepts of the public interest and public value are germane to the political processes that have framed the privatization of airports. Private operators are adamant that diversified landside revenue is required to maintain the quality of airside service and infrastructure, keep aviation charges down, and return dividends to shareholders. But public interest questions surround the commodification of public assets. In addition, the roles of corporate, government and citizen obligation have shifted and the transition has created conflict in a number of Australian capital cities.

The purpose of this paper is to review the recent Australian experience. A series of long term leases for Adelaide, Brisbane, Canberra, Darwin, Hobart, Melbourne, Perth and Sydney airports has been progressively sold to private corporations and consortia. Although air traffic control and safety remain primarily public responsibilities, the onus for airport development including major infrastructure provision and maintenance has shifted completely to commercial interests. Three key issues are explored. One, the planning process for and around airports has been fractured between state and federal control, whereby airport land effectively remains a national asset (albeit privately managed) but insulated from state and local planning controls. A growing concern has been new owners seeking to improve income generation by diversifying landside operations with non-aviation development such as retail centers which are not necessarily sanctioned by local planning controls or strategic regional policies. Secondly, the role of the federal regulator has changed from ownership/managerial to planning and policing, and it is struggling with a new regime of airport master-planning and the surrounding land use controls. The third element concerns challenges for both public and private interests in the wider community. These relate not only to familiar issues of noise, traffic, and safety, but also conflicts with other private investors who find

themselves in competition with airport businesses sanctioned by a different approvals regime. Overall, the Australian experience highlights the historically poor integration of airports into metropolitan and regional planning.

Planning Australian Airports: moving from public to private blackholes

Airports have been privatized world-wide over the past two decades and a considerable literature has followed this trend with respect to the changes in operational efficiency and ownership regimes. The manner in which airports have been privatized and the policies under which they are planned, of course, varies across countries.[1] Detailed accounts of the privatisation of Australian airports are available from a variety of sources.[2] The purpose here is to provide a general overview of the process as a means to introducing the planning process.

In Australia, a similar privatisation process occurred where, prior to the 1980s, all of the major airports were owned and operated by the Commonwealth (federal) government. The shift to transfer operational control and fiscal responsibility from the federal government started with the 1958 Aerodrome Local Ownership Plan (ALOP). This strategy was devised to transfer the ownership, operation, and maintenance responsibilities of local service airports to local authorities for no cost and a grace period of financial support. The Commonwealth gradually divested itself of the responsibility of managing smaller local airports by turning them over to local councils (free of charge) and paying for infrastructure and maintenance over an agreed period of time. By 1981, the Commonwealth government was responsible for 436 aerodromes eligible for assistance, in addition to managing 81 civil airports. The ALOP was accelerated in the early eighties, and the financial assistance to airports was reduced as the government devolved itself of funding airports.

As part of the neo-liberal reform in the Australian economy, the Federal Airports Corporation (FAC) was established in 1988 as part of the cost recovery strategy for airports to improve competition in the public sector. The FAC was responsible for airport planning, operation, terminals, and commercial services. The objective was to have the FAC operate airports as commercial enterprises, utilising the governance and strategic management methods of the private sector to generate profit. The FAC commenced with 17 airports and an asset base of $1.7 billion (Aus), and a further six airports were added in 1989: with only 23 airports under Commonwealth control at this time. The FAC was formed to make a profit from airports and the increase in freight and passenger movement. Several authors have noted that the FAC was successful in its endeavours to make airports more profitable, but the push for privatisation and the sale of the airport assets over-shadowed its success.[3] The FAC lasted as interim measure to privatisation, which began in 1997.

Hooper et al. (p.191) provide a chronology of the sale of Australian airports from the decision to sell the airports to when the new airport owners take control of the first sales. In summary, the privatisation process involved a leasehold arrangement rather than an outright freehold sale of property. This was based on a decision by the

Commonwealth government to issue 99 year leases and still retain federal planning rights over the property – rather than have it succeeded to municipal control as private property. Thus, the new airport operators purchased a range of development rights with no restrictions on land use (other than compliance with the *Airports Act 1996*) and the sales team from the Commonwealth government emphasized the market opportunities for revenue from property development, car parking and commercial initiatives.[4] This land use control historically fell under Commonwealth jurisdiction and continues to fall under the federal Airports Act (1996).

The sale of Australian airports proceeded under three phases: the first phase, May 1997, involving the sale of Brisbane, Perth, and Melbourne airports; the second, March 1998, consisting of Adelaide, Darwin (& Alice Springs, Tenant Creek), Archerfield, Canberra, Coolangatta, Hobart, Jandakot, Launceston, Moorabbin, Townsville (& Mount Isa); and the final phase, June, 2002, leasing the largest airport – Sydney. The five year process involved all the major airports in Australia.

The new operators of the airports were bound by the *Airports Act 1996* and the federal government regulations that also controlled aviation. The *Airports Act 1996* provides for an airport master plan that has a 20 year indicative vision that is replaced every five years. The master plan incorporates public comment and remains in force for each five year period. Major development plans are required for developments at airports where the cost of construction exceeds $10 million and include: environmental impact assessments, public comment, consistency with the master plan, and approval by the federal Minister.

A lack of integration

The historical change in airport planning, and indeed the general transformation in the management of infrastructure worldwide, reflects a more fundamental shift in the dynamics between government, the market place and communities. This broader context provides a framework from which to evaluate the more "micro" changes that have occurred in Australian airport planning and management. The use of market mechanisms to supply public goods has gradually increased over the past century. What is relevant to planning is how such market mechanisms have altered the fundamental relationships between government, the public and private interests.

The history of airport and urban planning continues to demonstrate a lack of integration between the airport and urban surrounds – and as a result, very little citizen participation has affected the development of airports in Australia. Rather, the history of airport development and planning has moved from the construct of the citizen as benefiting from airports as an essential element of Australian infrastructure – to becoming a customer of a privatized commercial service. The unique history of airport development in Australia has facilitated this duality. As a result, the privatization of Australian airports presently faces challenges in meeting the public's expectations of a traditional icon, and the historical governance framework is ill designed to deal with increasing urban pressures around airports.

During World War 2 the Commonwealth introduced maintenance grants for all aerodromes with regular passenger and transport services. The demand for federal funding increased significantly at the end of the War as many airports became available for civil aviation operations – and as air traffic volumes increased, Commonwealth Government finance was mainly directed at the busiest airports servicing larger aircraft.[5] Thus, by 1981 the Commonwealth Government had reached its hiatus in the management and ownership of Australian airports (as already noted: 436 aerodromes eligible for assistance, in addition to managing 81 civil airports).

The important role airports and aviation played in the development of Post-war Australia impacted the cultural identity of Australians. Cultural icons such as the Flying Doctor service and Qantas exemplified the important benefits that the airline industry provided to all of Australia. The relatively small population of Australia and the considerable distances between urban and rural centres reinforced the need for air travel and suitable airports to service air traffic. Despite the significance of aviation and airport development to the country and Australians – the role of town planning and airports evolved separately. Airport planning and the development of airports remained under Commonwealth control and considered of national significance, which allowed them the freedom of the constraints of local or metropolitan planning. For example, airports in Adelaide and Brisbane planned within their boundaries and the cities planned around them; in many cases this was not a problem, as the airport was located 20-30 kilometres from the urban centre. However, urban growth since the 1980s, such as in Melbourne or Brisbane, soon united the city and airport; yet the planning processes remain separate.

The earliest Australian airport literature documented the military importance of aviation, however, similar to the American experience, early Australian town planning interest was muted.[6] Sulman briefly dealt with the space demands of modern aerodromes as a form of specialised urban space alongside racecourses, drill grounds, and zoos.[7] Brown et al. provided a more expansive treatment, emphasising the importance of physical planning, design standards, site selection, and the 'general effect of an airport on the planning of a town'[8] The significance and influence of airport site selection and its implications in determining adjacent land uses, primarily in relation to the impact of noise and in the interests of safety, were key aspects of this early airport literature. The value of adequate transport connections between the airport and town to ensure maximum benefit from the provision of air services was also recognised.

The 1960s and early 1970s saw spectacular growth in aviation and airports both through technological advancement and the growing accessibility of air travel to the greater public. During this time, regardless of ownership structure, airports were managed as publicly owned and controlled utilities with public service obligations associated primarily with their transport functions, commercial and financial management had a low priority.[9] The benefit and impact of necessary airport expansion plans and duplications of runways was evaluated, modelled and debated; and by the 1980s, airports were stigmatised as an urban inconvenience and their public costs

versus urban impacts were questioned by government and the surrounding public alike.[10] The expansion of the existing airport and aborted development of a second facility in Sydney attracted significant academic interest and by the 1990s the environmental and social disbenefits of airports were a major concern.[11]

In summary, much of the planning of Australian airports by the Commonwealth Government has occurred separately from local communities for the benefit of the Australian public. Planning was conducted in a paternalistic "black hole" where the Australian public had very little involvement. The planning process for airports, in most cases, was an "isolated event" outside of the surrounding urban environment. In conjunction, urban and regional planning also ignored airports to a large degree, both in practice and in the literature. Where airports eventually created negative impacts due to environmental issues such as noise – the planning process remained disjointed, and issue specific.

The impacts of privatization

The mid-1980s saw fundamental policy changes towards ownership in countries around the world.[12] Governments faced enormous pressure from tax payers to control deficits. State funding for airports was out of favour and airports were considered a 'mature' industry with little development potential.[13] The perceived drain on public resources motivated some national governments to undertake a variety of strategies to minimise loss and seek a return on decades of unfulfilled public investment.

The privatization process in Australia occurred in the wake of increasing: air traffic, costs to manage airport infrastructure, and public reliance on flying. For example, in Australia (1995-2005), domestic, regional and international air traffic increased by annual averages of 4.6%, 4.1% and 5.9% respectively.[14] In addition, while only 0.1% of international freight, by weight, was transported by air in Australia in 2003/04, it had a value of $AUD65.5b, representing 26.4% of total freight value.[15] International tourists, whose expenditures are major contributors to regional economics, typically arrive by air and the presence of an airport is recognised as fundamental for the realisation of regional tourism and economic potential.[16] Over the next decade, the number of international visitors to Australia is estimated to grow at 5.6% per annum, to reach around 10 million per annum.[17]

This sort of growth and its implications for support services and city regions ultimately lies behind the rising importance of Australian airports as an urban phenomenon. Increasingly, airports represent a phalanx of considerations, both intentional and causational, when their impacts on economies, populations, trade, tourism, employment, industry are considered.

Within this increased growth for airports, the Australian privatisation process occurred. The deregulation of the airline industry proceeded in parallel, and so the management of major airports also underwent a revolution. From 1996 FAC airports were put to tender in a two phase process under the provisions of the new *Airports Act 1996*, and

the Federal Government netted billions of dollars in the sale of airport leaseholds. Despite the Asian economic crisis at the time, the price earnings ratios for Australian airports were high because of limited opportunities to purchase international airports in the Asia Pacific region, the high degree of corporate autonomy bestowed, and the significant geographic monopoly power involved.[18] Airport operators purchased a wide range of development rights with no restriction on land uses other than compliance with the *Airports Act 1996*. As already noted, the government sales team marketed the investment potential and opportunity for revenue from property development, car parking and commercial initiatives.

The introduction of commercial objectives by airport operators was considered an efficient way to maximise revenue, improve customer service and quality standards, while reducing risk and dependence on aeronautical revenue alone.[19] Initially much of the commercialism was focussed on the airport terminal, providing an array of shopping facilities. More recently an emphasis has been placed on a full exploitation of the airport site and further diversification of business, with an expansion of airport-linked development in the vicinity.

In Australia, two key issues changed in the public's perception with the privatisation process: the ownership of the airports by large corporations, some of which had no aviation background, and the management of airport lands for non-aviation purposes. The corporate structure of new owners varied across the capital city airports and consisted of international consortiums with a wide range of shareholders.[20] As Hooper et al. note, the sale of the airports was underpinned by at least three factors: the unprecedented opportunity to buy international airports within the Pacific Region, the degree of local monopoly power that the airports traditionally had under the Airports Act, and the expectations of future, land side commercial development. All of these factors provided a very different view of how public infrastructure should be managed – and how the benefits should be distributed. The privatisation of Australian airports was primarily an opportunity to unburden the nation from public sector funding of airport development, yet it has resulted in airport operators wanting highest returns on their investment, and they have been quick to outline expectations for the capitalisation of their land assets in the legislatively required master planning process. Airport corporations recognise that they cannot survive by landing planes, and need to diversify their commercial interests as means of ensuring profitability. Revenue from non-aeronautical sources earns airports from 60-70% of their revenues in commercial retail development, car parks, restaurants and hotels.[21] Hence airports are increasingly recognised as general urban activity centres providing retail and commercial spaces for aviation and air transport industries, in addition to businesses and services that have limited direct reliance on air transport or aviation at all. As a result they become local area economic generators and catalysts of investment above and beyond their transport role.

Recent commercial developments at airports have been a source of conflict within airport regions along with more longstanding concerns about noise, traffic and loss of environmental amenity, often sparked by rounds of airport expansion. In essence, the

non aviation uses are perceived as a commercial challenge to the economic activity in the surrounding area, and the traffic generated may put addition pressure on local road infrastructure. State, territory and local governments are ultimately responsible for making and implementing land use planning strategies, frameworks and decisions in their jurisdictions, but in the Australian context, they find that their powers do not extend over the new airport owners. The capacity of airport-lessee companies to provide non aviation uses on airport land was tested in the courts in Australia. It was argued in the Federal Court of Australia that non-aviation commercial development at airports, in particular the intention to develop retail shopping, 'was or will be in contravention of various provisions of the Airports Act 1996'.[22] All airport companies in Australia closely followed this court case, as it was considered a test of non-aviation airport development and the strength of the *Act* to enable such development. The feeling was that should the application succeed in limiting development, the value of Australian airports could be greatly reduced.[23] This protracted legal battle came to end when Federal Court Justice Cooper dismissed the application, finding in favour of airports in February 2005. The verdict highlighted the changing role of airports and reaffirmed the independence of airport- lessee companies to determine airport non-aviation land uses outside of surrounding municipal land use regulation.

The changing role and identity of airport owners (as maximizers of profit for shareholders) and the rights to develop land uses outside of local authority controls challenges the construct of the citizen as a customer. At one level, many Australians have not adapted to the change in the ownership regime. For example, in the 2003 Brisbane Airport Master Plan it is noted that "there is a misperception by some people that BAC is a semi-government organisation".[24] In addition, many individuals and companies have openly challenged the right of airport owners to develop non-aeronautical land uses on airport land. The Planning Institute of Australia developed a National Position Statement of "Development on Airport Land" in 2006 that challenges the right of airport owners to develop non-aviation land outside of local and state land use regulations.[25] With respect to this issue the Shopping Centre Council of Australia submitted a report to the Productivity Commission Inquiry (Review of Price Regulation of Airport Services) in 2006 stressing that airports have an "unfair advantage when developing airport land for commercial non-aviation purposes" because the Airports Act has fewer constraints compared to local government land use controls.[26]

The key question, outside of the land development issues on airport property, is "Have the privatized airports improved the public use of airports?" This question is central to the construct of citizen as customer, and it needs to be answered at a variety of levels. Smith and Huntsman argue that the role of government (and in this case privatized services) is to create incremental value for citizens in several ways: first to identify the most important sources of values to constituents, second, delivering value and worth with respect to these identified values, and last, to facilitate investment in the capital asset base of the community.[27] Thus, in the case of airport development and planning these questions need to frame the debate on the levels of how the customer *should be* satisfied and where the issues of value are created. The public interest needs to be

expanded beyond the simple service level to a broader community dialogue that is tied to issues of longer term community sustainability.

Challenges to future airport and metropolitan planning

The history of airport planning and the role of the airport in the metropolis has a direct impact on the present perceptions of how an airport "ought to operate" in the public realm. Airports in Australia remain public infrastructure, albeit, through 100 year leases which allow a considerable amount of private interest to accumulate. However, airports are only a small part of the changes that have occurred with neo-liberal reform and corporatisation. Decision-making as a product of governance was historically easy to identify. Public office administered our lives; regulated, influenced and determined our actions, yet in recent times decision-making has shifted. The neo-liberal ethic of corporatisation, privatisation and outsourcing has lead to diverse and shared decision-making by actors chosen to represent public administration, although in reality without a public service agenda. What is the appropriate role of government compared to market forces in the quickening pace of liberalisation? There is a need to further understand and evaluate institutional barriers to promote effective decisions and methods of improving cooperation. It is recognised that in understanding the changing role of airports, frameworks of cooperative governance and partnership are needed, yet these can only begin from an understanding of how influence and power is exerted in the new models of devolved decision-making.

The privatisation of Australian airports has posed several challenges to the planning community and to the regulatory bodies that traditionally planned for airport development. We argue that the challenges have resulted from much of the historical practice that has developed over the past half-century with respect to how airports are situated in the urban fabric. The new owners (lessees) of the airports across Australia have inherited a legacy of disjointed governance and an iconized public institution. On the other hand, metropolitan planning now has to embrace airport corporations that plan for profit maximization under a different planning regime. Yet the juncture of each system is connected through infrastructure requirements such as road and water links, land use compatibility issues, negative externalities both from the airport and from communities around the airport, and the synergies of economic and regional development that involves both the airport and the surrounding metropolis.

At the Commonwealth level the planning challenge is becoming apparent as revealed in the Auditor-General's Audit Report of 2007.[28] The Department of Transport and Regional Services (DOTARS) is the agency responsible for regulating airport planning and development.[29] DOTARS was also the lead agency responsible for this task under public management – where they developed master plans in concert with airports across Australia. With the privatisation of airports the role for DOTARS changed considerably – from managing the airport masterplanning process to policing the new landlord's plans. The initial Auditor General's report of 2004 reveals that there were insufficient recovery costs for DOTARS to administer the Airports Act – the additional administration costs were borne by the public.[30] By 2007 it was decided that the

recovery costs could not be reclaimed due to an initial statement made to bidders in the initial sale of the airports.[31] In addition, the challenge of administration lags between DOTARS and the lessees – as the federal agency learned its new role provided considerable challenges for both the regulator and the lessees.

At the State level, only two states in Australia have legislation that deals with airports and surrounding infrastructure. To date, Queensland and Western Australia are the only two states to have drafted specific aviation state planning policy to assist local governments in planning and development near airports. While the intention of both documents is to assist local government planning, neither approach demonstrates a true commitment to providing local government advice for integrated airport and regional land use planning.

At the local level, there is relatively little integration between airports and surrounding communities. The airport masterplan is conducted as a strategic planning exercise and continues to be isolated from local planning schemes. The privatization of airports and the rights of the airport corporations to develop airport lands, places pressure on both parties with respect to land use on the airport.

In conclusion, the privatization process in Australia has highlighted the lack of integration in airport and metropolitan planning. The transfer of development rights to private owners on 99 year leases has challenged both the public perception and the planning systems with respect to the identity and role of airports in the metropolis. Airports are an essential infrastructure requirement to urban centers and are in their own right, a driving force in the economic and social development of a city. There are challenges to all levels of planning in Australia with the integration of effective planning for airports within the city-regions.

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Slums: a market problem? The real estate commercialization in slums of the Metropolitan Area of São Paulo

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1 – Introduction

The issue of commercialization of informal real estate, especially within slums and informal allotments, among the low income population express one of the cruelest faces of the reproduction of the urban space process within our cities[1]. This type of transaction can be characterized as a segment of the second-hand real estate for low income market, which contributes in large scale with the structuring of the unequal metropolis, concentrating the poor within spaces with a lack of infrastructure and ideal conditions for the reproduction of a fairer city. This segment can be perceived by its diversity of housing and locations created by these populations as a surviving strategy. Perhaps the access to a precarious housing, with no security of tenure and purchased through the market mechanisms, is the most remarking characteristic of the dismounting of the Brazilian State. The provision policies based on the construction of housing blocks, which predominated until the years 1980, have been substituted for focused actions that provided the consolidation of this market of informality.

The cities of the São Paulo metropolis have been structured *"according to an urbanization and spatial segregation pattern marked by differences between the ways of space production and occupation. Among these ways are the slums, constituting informal settlements, which dynamic of land and real estate production and commercialization is shortly known".* (Abramo and Faria, 2000, p. 421).

The research on commercialization of informal real estate is recent. The theme has been already observed by researchers who worked with slums within the 1970's and 1980's decades. Souza (1980) while describing the process of urbanization of the Heliopolis' slum in São Paulo verifies that the real estate located within the intervention area were object of speculation and commercialization. Valadares (1980) describes the process and compares the real estate purchasing and selling process within slums in Rio de Janeiro. Therefore the problem of commercialization becomes evident from the middle 1980's on. The precariousness of the housing conditions around the world, particularly in the countries known as third world, caught the attention for the way the poorest that are not reached by governmental programs and even less by the formal market satisfy their housing needs.

The studies about informal real estate commercialization are born from the need of perceiving the dynamics existent within this segment, the way how is organized this system and if it can contribute for the design of housing policies fitting better to this demand needs. Recently, some works have been busy with studying this market segment, remarking the works of Abramo[2] (2001) about the commercialization process

within the slums of Rio de Janeiro. Nowadays Abramo coordinated a research about commercialization of informal real estate in five Brazilian state capitals: Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Porto Alegre, Recife, Florianópolis, Belém and other Latin-American cities: Bogotá, Buenos Aires and Montevideo. Baltrusis has developed his dissertation about this theme in 2000 and has followed it up in his doctor thesis, finished in 2005.

According to census data of the year 2000, the metropolitan region of São Paulo counted with 17 million inhabitants, out of which 2 million living in slums. The slumming process in the metropolitan region of São Paulo is intensified from the 1980's on. While observing the Table 1 – Growth of the number of slums and the slummed population in the city of São Paulo, we realize that the number of slums and slummed population has grown from 71.840 inhabitants in 1973 to 711.050 in 1991. Until the middle 1970's the number of slummed population was small, because the main way of urban informality was the commercialization of informal allotments and the renting of tenement houses unities in the degraded central areas. The increase of the number of slums and slummed population is due to a series of political and economical factors, as the re-democratization process, the economic recession, dismounting of the main financing organ of the housing policy: The National Bank of Housing. Facing this perspective the population with no formal employment and with no State apparatus for providing its basic need of housing has started a process of occupation of unused land on existing allotments that have generated new slums as well as have brought more density into existent slums. These occupations, spontaneous in the beginning and later on organized by social movements for housing, have guaranteed to the poor the access of a plot of land in a precarious settlement. Nowadays the main way of access of a shack in a slum happens throughout the informal market.

This work has as its objective to comprehend the importance of the commercialization process within the structuring of the urban space of the metropolitan region, as well as to characterize the functioning of the informal real estate market based on the prices of the real estate commercialized or offered during the year 2004.

2 – Methodological procedures

With the aim to comprehend the importance of the commercialization process in the structuring of the urban space and characterize the functioning of the real estate market in the slums, we have developed a survey in 16 slums located within 6 metropolitan municipalities: São Paulo, Guarulhos, Diadema, Barueri, Embu and Taboão da Serra. (See Frame I Characterization of the municipalities and slums).

This work has identified the prices of real estate offered and commercialized in the slums of these municipalities, as well as stakeholders and the dynamics of the functioning of this market. There have been studied the households of all the real estate which had indications of being on sale within a total of 454 households. We have also interviewed all the households who have purchased real estate in the slum within the last year (332), and have been interviewed all the renters as well as the technicians of city halls and leaderships of the studied slums [3].

In each municipality there have been chosen at least one slum: Barueri, Embu and Taboão had one chosen slum; in Diadema there have been chosen two; Guarulhos had four and São Paulo had eight, as the following criteria:

a) Number of housing units – 2 small ones, until 50 housing units; 2 middle sized ones, between 100 and 500 unities; and two big ones, with more than 500 unities;
b) Location – distributed around the whole city;
c) Time of existence – older and more structured slums; and more recent slums;
d) Urbanization standard and organization.

Frame I - Characterization of the studied cities and slums.	
Município	*Caracterização*
São Paulo	Among the municipalities of the metropolitan region of São Paulo, presents the largest number of slummed population: 1.160.590, according with the data of the *Centro de Estudos da Metrópole – CEM* (2000). The increase of population ratios have been decreasing during the time, although the number of slummed population have been increasing. Nowadays, it is estimated that 11% of the total city population live in slums. Usually, the slums of São Paulo present good infrastructure conditions, similar with the peripheral neighborhoods. The largest number of houses are made of bricks. However there is still a large number of slums in precarious conditions. Studied Slums: • Paraisópolis, located at Vila Andrade, South Zone, within a area of 15.000.000 sqm with 32.000 inhabitants; São Remo, in Butantã, West Zone within an area of 35.000 sqm, undefined population; • Jardim Esmeralda, Cidade Dutra, South Zone com 15.000 sqm and population of 1.700 inhabitants; • Maria Cursi, São Mateus, East Zone - I, with 1.200 inhabitants; • Nossa Senhora Aparecida, São Miguel Paulista, East Zone – II, population 12.000 inhabitants.
Guarulhos	It is the second biggest city within the metropolitan region with 1,1 million inhabitants (IBGE, 2000) with around 14%, or 152 thousand people, living in slums (PMG, 2002). The slums have been growing at an annual rate of 13,5%. Studied Slums: • São Rafael, Jd. Nova Galvão, population of approximately 6.000 inhabitants. • Santa Cecília, at the neighborhood of Bairro Santa Cecília, with approximately 400 inhabitants.

	• Presidente Dutra II – Presidente Dutra, approximately 4.000 inhabitants. • Bela Vista, in the neighborhood of same name, with approximately 1.600 inhabitants.
Diadema	The city counts with 30,7 sqkm, being 30% located in environmentally protected areas. One third of its population live in slums. Out of a total of 356 thousand inhabitants, around 120 thousand live in slums. The largest part of the slums of the city have been upgraded, because this city has been one of the firsts to act in these areas, since 1982. Studied slums: • Barão de Uruguaiana, Jardim Ruyce, area of 8.000 sqm and population of 500 inhabitants. • Vila Olinda, Taboão, area of 47.000 sqm, counts with a population of 1.600 inhabitants.
Barueri	In Barueri the closed condominiums as well as the industry can be considered as a factor of induction and consolidation of the slums. The slums appeared in the city still in the 1960´s and start its consolidation from the 1980´s on. According with data of the city hall, around 17% of the population live in slums. Studied slum: • João Rodrigues Nunes, Jd. Mutinga, approximately 400 inhabitants.
Embu	Around 80% of the city is formed by small and precarious housing units build of naked bricks, concentrataed at the eastern zone of the city. Favela pesquisada: • Jardim Silvia, Centro, aproximadamente 400 pessoas.
Taboão da Serra	Around 22% of the total of housing units can be defined as slums. Studied slum: • Irati, Vila Mafalda, area of 43.000 sqm, with 1.500 inhabitants.

2. The slums at the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo.

Within the last years the slums have been consolidated as one of the housing alternatives for the low income population. According to data of the Censo 2000, out of the 39 cities of the metropolitan region, only 20 of them have slums. The slums of the MRSP are located at the peripheral areas of the main municipality – São Paulo and neighboring cities, configuring an informality spot that grows occupying environmentally fragile areas, such as Billings and Guarapiranga water reservoirs, at the south and southeast zones, as well as the Cantareira region, at the north. We can also observe

the existence of settlements close to potential labor markets, being formal or informal and close to express roads and highways.

The data of IBGE 2000 indicate that 10,08% of the total of cities at the MRSP are located within slums. Although the most metropolitan municipalities have slums, this population is concentrated in the following cities: São Paulo, uarulhos, Osasco, Diadema, São Bernardo do Campo, Santo André, Embu, Barueri, Taboão da Serra, Jandira, entre outros.

2.1 The growth of slums in the metropolitan region of São Paulo.

The slumming process of the MRSP is recent and has been intensified during the last 30 years, and can be classified as an expression of the unequal process of social production of the space within Brazilian cities. Until the 1970´s the main way of informality in the metropolitan region of São Paulo was the clandestine allotments[4]. Observing the data of the Table 1 – Evolution of slums in São Paulo, we realize that during the 1970´s only 1,6% of the population lived in slums. Between 1970 and 1980 the slummed population grows up to 4,07% of the total and in 1991, according to Census data the slummed population arrives to 7,5%. In 2000 the Census points out to a slummed population of 932.628 inhabitants, or almost 9% of the total population of the city.

From the spatial point of view the informality expresses the economical inequality existent within the Brazilian society. The slums, added to other forms of occupation, such as the informal allotments and precarious settlements, demonstrate the 'socio-spatial vulnerability' of a great parcel of the population.

Table 1 – Evolution of slums in São Paulo

Year	Nº slums	Nº housing units	Slummed population	% of the total population
1973 [1]	542	14.650	71.840	1,06
1975 [1]	919	23.926	117.237	1,6
1980 [2]	188	71.258	335.334	4,07
1987 [3]	1749	142.674	779.000	7,53
1991 [2]	629	146.891	711.050	7,46
1991 [4]	--	196.389	891.673	9,24
1993 [5]	--	378.683	1.901.892	19,8
1996 [6]	574	176.905	749.318	7,6
2000 [2]	612	225.133	932.628	8,92
2000 [4]	--	286.954	1.160.590	11,12

1 Slums´ cadastre – PMSP	2 IBGE Demographic Census	3 Slums´ Census
4 Estimations CEM	5 Estimations FIPE	6 Counting IBGE

Fonte: data organized by Pasternak, 2004.

The growth of the slums transforms the design of the urban space, as well as the socio-spatial relations, creating differentiated spaces, sometimes continuous where live next to each other, even separated by walls, rich and poor. Other times separated by long distances, providing the growth a peripheral city, lacking the access of the city goods.

In this sense, Pasternak and Bógus describe the metropolitan region as a city of rings, as more peripheral being the ring, more social and spatial exclusion[5].

According to Pasternak and Baltrusis,

> (…) the poorer inhabitants are driven towards regions each time more distant, both for the main city surroundings and neighboring cities. The visible at naked eyes social polarization gets new boundaries: the poorness expands towards the whole urban fabric, while the higher classes concentrate in real richness clusters, especially at the southwest region of the capital. The other social levels are distributed within an expanded form, getting poorer towards the periphery (Pasternak & Baltrusis, 2003, p. 04).

However, Valladares and Preteceille (2000) alert that the slums, normally associated to the "typical space of concentration of urban poorness", concept common to several authors and the general media, and that cannot and should not be considered a rule, *"once that the slums do not distinguish themselves so strongly of the whole urban fabric and that the situations of extreme urban poorness are more frequent out of the slums"* (Valladares and Preteceille, 2000, p.399).

Map 1 – MRSP, distribution of slums and main roads.
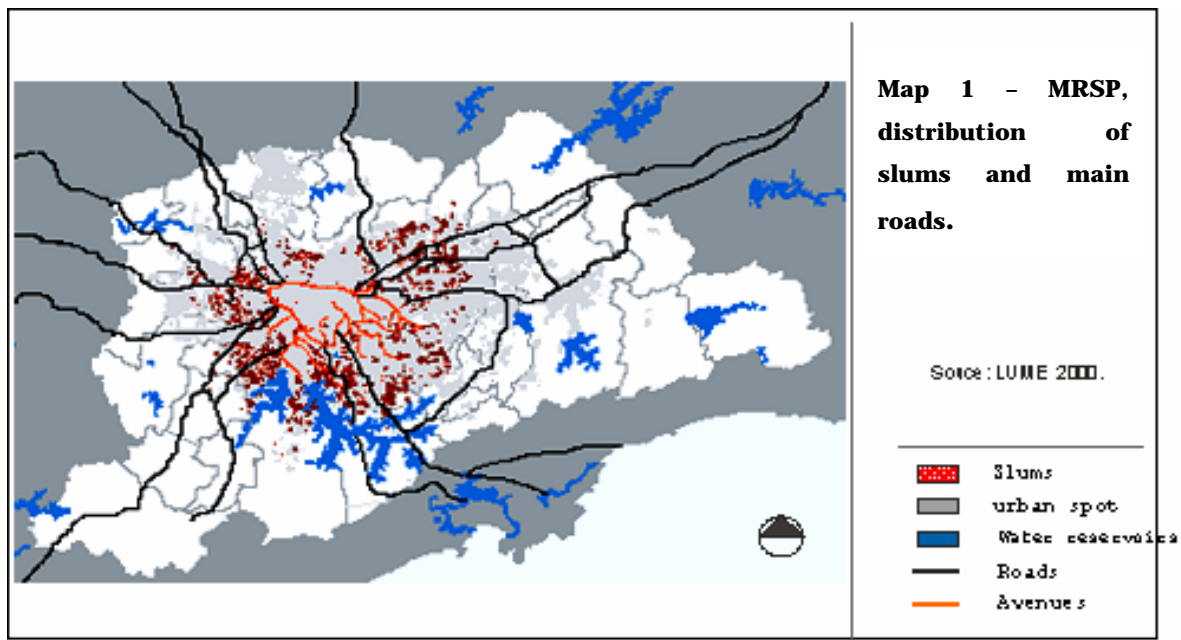
Several authors, as Maricato (2001), Torres and Marques (2002), Pasternak (2003), remark that within the last decades we have lived a paradox. It has been verified a process of enhancement of the life quality of the Brazilian population. Some social indicators as the decrease of child mortality and increase of life expectation had a significant improvement. For Maricato despite this upgrade is not homogeneous for all

regions within the country, there has been during the last years "a notable and clear life improvement of all the Brazilian population" (Maricato, 2001, p.28). However this improvement was not sufficient to turn around the precariousness state in order of some social groups, living within more precarious parts of the city, obtain their full right to the access of the city goods.

Map 1 – MRSP, distribution of slums and main roads.

2.2. The space of the slums within the city

While observing the map of the MRSP we realize that the slums are concentrated in the peripheral cities next to the main city - São Paulo, towards the neighboring cities of the MRSP. In some cases, we note a tendency of conurbation of the slums from the ABCD cities with the cities of the metropolitan region of Santos.

We can also observe in the map that the roads and big connection avenues have been transformed into real axis of concentration of slums and informal settlements, contributing to the expansion of this type of housing towards the peripheral cities. This is due to the possibility of transportation and economical and income generation activities, even through informal work, that these axis provide, such as "next to the road" commerce, logistic companies, access to the center and other cities, access to middle class residential condominiums, concentration of development poles with industrial or production zones can be pointed out as relevant factors for the attractiveness of these settlements within cities cut by these roads and highways.

Other concentrating of slums element are the water spring and environmentally protected areas, characterized by the low real estate value of land due to use restrictions imposed by legislation.

3 – The dynamic of real estate market in slums of the MRSP

The option for purchasing a real estate in a slum means that the buyer will pay a large amount of financial resources. The medium price of a real estate made of bricks with two bedrooms, living room, kitchen and bathroom, with approximately 40 or 50 sqm, in a well structured and located slum in São Paulo, costs around R$ 16.000,00 a R$ 40.000,00. That means that the price per squared meter can get as high as R$ 400,00. According to Baltrusis (2000 and 2005) for similar prices we can find an apartment within the central area of the city of São Paulo. Similar results have been verified by Abramo (2000) for the slums in Rio de Janeiro. For up to R$ 20.000,00 it is possible to find real estate in buildings located at more degraded areas of the city. If the option is for purchasing a new apartment, produced by the formal market, with around 45 sqm, it is possible to find, in peripheral neighborhoods, financed real estate from the price of R$ 25.000,00 [6] on.

If the option is to rent a real estate, one can chose among several options in different locations for prices that vary, in medium, from R$80,00, for a wooden shack in a favela with precarious urbanization with one single room, up to R$225,00 for a two-stored

house with two or three bedrooms in the center of a well located slum. Barely the same prices are taken for real estate with the same characteristics in peripheral neighborhoods, so the advantage of renting a place in a slum would be exemption of taxes.

If in fact there is a set of options of the product housing for compatible prices with the ones commercialized in slums, what would bring the lowest income population to the option for a real estate in the slum? Why does a part of the poor population fulfill their need to live in informal settlements purchasing or renting their real estate in slums within the informal market?

The process of choosing a real estate obeys a series of rational factors: price, location, relative advantages etc, and other not rational ones. Abramo (2001) remarks that there is a strong indication that the location preferences –accessibility, neighborhood and lifestyle- would have a large importance within the family universe of the poor. Abramo remarks that

> *(from) the residential location (on), the poor can have differentiated access to employment and income centers, services clusters and urban commerce, public transportation, public equipments and services as well as to other accessibility factors related to the position of the slum within the hierarchy of locations in the city* (Abramo, 2001, p. 1572).

3.1 – The factors that contribute with price formation

Whenever we refer to the real estate market in slums, we mean a strategy that the poor population uses to supply their housing need. In this sense the location of a real estate plays a fundamental role in the structuring of the real estate dynamic within the slums. The location understood as proximity with employment and friends and relatives' net is an important component for the choice of a real estate, as remark authors as Abramo (2001) and Baltrusis (2000). Usually the buyers of real estate in slums chose according to economic interest, normally chose to their employment place, or to a solidariety net, where the buyer has got family, friends or cultural links with other inhabitants of the place. For Abramo *"the proximity factor of an eventual source of income and the neighboring facrtor are pointed out as reasons of location choice of urban poor"* (Abramo, 2001, p.1566).

The quality of the housing unit can also be pointed out as an element of the formation of the price. If a real housing unit on good conservation and good finishing, the tendency is that its price is higher than that one with nasty conditions and precarious finishing. When we have analyzed the medium prices of a real estate commercialized within the last year, without considering the size of plots nor the built area, it became possible to observe more clearly these two extremes: at one side the real estate in very good conservation conditions, made of bricks, that have been commercialized for medium prices of R$ 26.625,00, and at the other side, the real estate on terrible conditions for a medium price of R$ 2.900,00.

Table 02 - Conservation of the real estate X Type of finishing (medium prices)*

	Bricks with finishing	Bricks without finishing	Wood	Total
Optimum		R$ 26.625,00	--------	R$ 26.625,00
Good	R$ 12.000,00	R$ 13.843,14	--------	R$ 12.921,57
Regular	R$ 13.500,00	R$ 12.660,71	R$ 3.416,67	R$ 8.248,51
Bad	R$ 25.000,00	R$ 8.166,67	--------	R$ 16.583,34
Terrible	R$ 3.000,00	R$ 4.700,00	R$ 1.000,00	R$ 2.900,00
* not considering the size of plots nor built area. Source: Pesquisa Mercado Imobiliário Informal em Favelas da RMSP – 2002-2005				

3.1.1 – *Typology*

If the location and the structure of opportunities can be pointed out as the main attributes for the choice of a real estate in a slum, and, consequently, for the process of formation of the price within the land and real estate structure of a slum, the typology of the house, either purchased or offered, can be pointed out as a differential component. The real estate products offered can be characterized for the diversity and capacity for fulfilling the diverse needs and possibilities of income commitment of a family that intended to live in a house located at a slum.

Table 03 - Types of real estate (%)						
Type	Sellers		Buyers		Renters	
	abs	%	abs	%	abs	%
One stored house	194	55	232	70	196	62,5
Two stored house	138	39	96	29	89	28,5
Residence with commerce	16	4,5	4	1		
Apartament	06	1,5			29	09
Source: Pesquisa Mercado Imobiliário Informal em Favelas da RMSP – 2002-2005						

Frame II - Indicative of prices x Typologies

Wooden house precarious, located in area of eminent or ambiently fragile risk
R$ 1.000,00 a R$ 3.000,00

Wooden house – b located well with reform possibility
R$ 3.000,00 a R$ 5.000,00

Masonry house – well located with reform possibility
R$ 8.000,00 à R$ 15.000,00

House – well localized
R$ 15.000,00 a R$ 25.000,00

House – well localized with commerce
Mais de R$ 25.000,00

Apartment for location
R$ 250,000

For this present work effect the typology refers to the number of rooms, to the used construction material, to the quality of the construction, to the size of the plot and its implantation, among other factors that can also be considered as determining for the formation of the price. The real estate built with precarious construction materials, on top of a slab or occupying a small part of a plot, apparently have lower prices than well finished and implanted in well defined plots. Please see Frame II that indicates the prices of diverse typologies.

3.1.2 – *The infrastructure conditions.*

The access of the settlement to basic infrastructure adds values to the real estate. This access can be precarious or even informal. The simple expectation of improvement of an area can lead to the increase of the price of a real estate. Valladares has already observed that the expectation of improvement or change, and in case of Rio de Janeiro in the 1970´s, of being attended by the housing program of BNH, has increased the demand for shacks in slums, what has lead to *"the action of many people that, taking*

advantage of the situation, have built new shacks in still empty spaces, even including in their projects room for rent" (Valladares, 1978, p. 52).

Nowadays, as several authors point out, the indicators of access to infrastructure within a slum is very similar to the observed in other neighborhoods of the city. During technical visits and surveys realized in slums there have been noticed that all the visited and studied slums have access to urban infrastructure, and in some of them not all the houses have formal access to the service. In these slums, we could observe at least two categories of real estate prices: the ones which have formal access and would add more value to the final commercialized price, and the ones which access these services in an informal way and would not have this service incorporated at the final price. However, it would be necessary to research more about this theme, because apparently the houses which access informally these services could have a higher price as its owner would not pay the costs of these services.

3.1.3 – *Access to the workplace*

The transportation house-work-house factor influences in the individual choice for a real estate in a slum. Apparently there is a relation between the location of work of the households and their current house; according to the research, around 35% of the households work in the slum itself or in surrounding neighborhoods, not depending on transportation, since they realize their journey by foot or bicycle; 59% use for public transportation, out of which, 15% use more than one type of transportation; and only 6% use their own cars or motorcycle for transportation.

According to this information, we can affirm that, apart of the proximity to the work, the accessibility to public transportation or other alternatives could contribute to the formation of price. Within this logic, a slum located at a more peripheral region could concur with a more central one as long as it has a good accessibility network.

The residential mobility, both between slums and intra-slum, can be an important component for the analysis of formation of real estate prices, as well as the structuring of spaces and the relations this space establishes with the surroundings and with the city itself. It can be remarked that 48% of the inhabitants lived already in slums before purchasing the present real estate, being 35% in the same slum and other 13% came from other slums within the MRSP. The other 52% are distributed as following: 5,5% in the neighborhood itself, 41% from other neighborhoods within the city and 4,5% from other cities.

Among the renting inhabitants 66,5% used to live before in slums, being 40% in the same one, while 26,5% came from other slums. Coming from other neighborhoods there have been identified 26%, and 16% came from other cities within the MRSP; the 4,5% left either have come from the same neighborhood or from cities outside the metropolis. This indicates that the demand for real estate in slums is formed by, preferentially, people that have already lived in slums.

The proximity of relatives and friends, the employment opportunities, the protection, the escape from the violence are the most pointed out reasons for the option or permanence in the locality. What would guarantee these advantages both for buyers and sellers and renters would be a social network of protection and solidarity.

Table 04 - Buyers. Reasons for buying		
Reasons	**Abs.**	**%**
Changing city or going back to the place of origin	71	21
Location and ifrastructure	56	17
Violence	50	15
Family problems	43	13
Finantial problems	16	05
Others	96	29
Total	332	100

Source: Pesquisa Mercado Imobiliário Informal em Favelas da RMSP – 2002-2005

5. Final considerations

The study about the commercialization of real estate in slums of the metropolitan region of São Paulo will contribute to the comprehension of the process of choice of the poor when purchasing their real estate in slums. The found results are multiple and point out to the growth of the urban informality within popular settlements and the consolidation of the commercialization as a way of accessing land and a real estate in a slum in the Brazilian cities.

During the development of this work there have been visited nine cities of the MRSP (Barueri, Diadema, Embu, Guarulhos, Osasco, São Bernardo do Campo, São Paulo, Suzano and Taboão da Serra) for data survey about their slums, interviewing their technicians and make technical visits. Out of this universe there have been selected 14 slums in six cities: Barueri, Diadema, Embu, Guarulhos, São Paulo and Taboão da Serra, considering their urbanization and regularization level as well as their geographical position and their socio-economical characteristics.

The lack of studies about the prices of commercialization of real estate in slums of cities within the metropolitan area of São Paulo and even historical series of prices of self-built real estate in popular neighborhoods and settlements has been with no doubt an obstacle for a more precise analysis. Facing this condition there has not been possible to establish a relation between the prices within slums, or at least a few slums, with the ones of the secondary real estate market (second hand real estate) in neighborhoods and low income allotments.

Based on Baltrusis (2000) work about the informal real estate market in the slums "Paraisópolis" and "Nova Conquista" there has been adapted a group of instrumental

with the aim of soften the imperfections that the data survey would contain. In this sense, we have heard technicians from city halls, community and organized social movements' leaderships. The objective of this procedure was to rescue the memory of the process of occupation of the studied slums as well as to establish relations with the beginning of the commercialization process. In other words, this effort searched to conciliate quantitative methodology of data survey with qualitative methodologies through individual techniques – interviews. This group of information has been territorialized resulting on an important analysis matrix about preferences on residential choices inside a slum, the existent relations between the choice of a real estate and its location advantages both in relation to employment and income and to a solidarity network, which we call within this work a structure of opportunities.

If the slums have become one of the alternatives for accessing the good: housing for poor, and if it is a fact that the main way of accessing this good is through market, the comprehension of the dynamic of this market can be revealing of the existent lacks both in the structure of the market and the regulating role of the State; besides of demonstrating the deficiency of provision policies for low income.

In most part of the slums existing at the MRSP it is possible to find an "on sale" advertisement or to hear a story of someone that has recently purchased a real estate. It is also common to hear comparisons about the high prices of real estate in some slums. The informal real estate market has not only been consolidated as an answer, even if unfair, to the lack of policies and programs focused on low income, but it is the face of inefficiency of the existent programs and policies as well as of the incapability of the market to offer products more suitable with the demand. A well located real estate within a central or well structured slum can be worth R$ 16.000,00. Would not it be possible to produce real estate for prices similar to this one?

Although in order to articulate this action would be necessary the creation of provision programs that stimulates the offer of more affordable products and with quality that contribute to qualify the space of the city. Products that have the capability of attending the housing demand of the low income population. In order to make this possible it is necessary the intervention of the State, because the market simply has not yet demonstrated this capability.

The system of prices obey a hierarchy, we can say that within the informal market of housing in slums there are submarkets, with differentiated types of real estate: one type of real estate for each type of client. This hierarchy of prices is more visible due to their micro-regions subdivision.

One of the advantages of the informality would be the offer of a house to the more excluded segments of the society. The disadvantage is that this house is many times not provided of minimal living conditions and causes large onus to the city.

For the design of management instruments capable to respond to the spatial diversity of the city and lower its socio-spatial inequality there would be necessary to study this real

estate dynamic. The informal real estate market in slums or informal allotments grows up while the public power and the formal market's agents do not efficient responses to the increasing demand of the poor for land and housing.

In this sense, in order to stop the circle of informality in the city it could be designed mechanisms for enlarging the offer of land and housing creating a "popular real estate market" capable to attend the demand and avoiding future problems for the development of the city. It is worth to remark that the experiences of land regularization guarantee the land tenure, but isolated do not avoid, and should not do it, the commercialization process.

The second hand real estate market could turn out to be a market alternative for a low middle class population that, with no financing opportunities in order to obtain a formal real estate, pushes the demand for social interest housing. With the aim of contributing with the design of more efficient policies, we have been developing a new study about informal real estate commercialization with the intention of compare the existent dynamics with the slums of São Paulo and northeastern metropolis.

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[1] The informal real estate is not limited to the slum quarters, exists some forms of informality in the commercialization of the property .

[2] The professor Peter Abramo has dedicated its work to create a economic theory on the informal real estate market in slum quarters. To see "Quatro notas sobre a teoria econômica em favelas".(Abramo, 2001)

[3] The interviews with the inhabitants had been carried through by trainees of the courses of Architecture and Urbanism and Social Sciences of the University of São Paulo and the College of Social Service of the Pontifical University Catholic. With the data gotten in the interviews it was possible to carry through a data base I contend the information of the values of property commercialized as well as elencar the main reasons that influence a family to acquire or to vender a property in slum quarter.

[4] See Kowarick (1980), Maricato (1979) and Bonduki and Rolnik (1979), among others.

[5] To deepen this definition to see "*A cidade dos Anéis*" de Pasternak e Bógus 2000.

[6] Referring price the announcements of property in the year of 2004.
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Room to play: public play spaces in Amsterdam

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Introduction[1]

In 1947, the first public play space in the Netherlands was created on the Bertelmanplein in Amsterdam. Previously, children's play was not provided with its own domain in the public sphere; children were playing on the streets or in semi-public playgrounds. However, this changed when the department of Urban Planning proposed the new concept of an entirely public play area, which consisted primarily of a large sandbox[2]. The city council quickly gave the green light to construct a test-case of this type of play space on the Bertelmanplein. The press and the local residents were skeptical about the success of the public sandbox; the unsupervised play spaces would surely be an unsafe and unhealthy environment for playing children.[3]

However, the test-case proved very successful and a large number of letters from enthusiastic citizens requesting a play space in their own street or neighborhood was sent to the municipality[4]. In the years to come, the various departments of Public Works worked together on the plans for public play spaces and a special committee was instated to enhance the developing process[5]. In the next thirty years, over 700 public play spaces were created throughout Amsterdam. This episode is well-documented in architectural and planning history as the success-story of architect Aldo van Eyck[6]. He was appointed by the Amsterdam department of Urban Planning to provide the designs for the public play spaces. Van Eyck's work received praise for his innovative, high-quality designs, which were said to stimulate the children's imagination and creativity. Even after Van Eyck had started his own architectural firm, he continued his work on the play spaces for the municipality of Amsterdam on a freelance basis.[7]

Instead of focusing on Van Eyck's designs, this paper ventures behind-the-scenes of the planning processes. How did these play spaces come into existence, and, more importantly, why was this specific type of play space embraced by the municipality of Amsterdam? Like in other Dutch cities, the Amsterdam playgrounds had catered to playing children's needs since the early 20th century and were very popular with the public. Yet, instead of expanding the role of the existing network of playgrounds, the municipality of Amsterdam opted to take over as main provider of play space and use this opportunity to implement a completely new type of child domain. This paper examines the concepts, events and practices underlying the Amsterdam play space plans. The case of the development of the Amsterdam play spaces allows us not only to unravel a turning point, but also to gain insight in the new role of the government and urban planners in the reproduction of public space.

The setting – play in the public domain (1900-1945)

After the Second World War, housing options in Amsterdam, and in other Dutch cities, were scarce[8]. Many families were forced to live with relatives until they were offered suitable housing, and even then the accommodation was often lacking in size. Most households did not have a garden and the balconies were too small for children's play. Therefore, children mostly played outside, on the streets, squares and sidewalks close to their home[9]. Also, Amsterdam witnessed a steady increase in the number of children, because of the post-war baby boom. In the 1950s the city's population grew mainly because of the high birthrates and in 1960, 24% of the city's residents were 0-14 years of age[10]. Photographs show the Amsterdam streets crowded with playing children. The city's police department tried to exercise some control by patrolling the streets frequently. According to a decree issued by the Traffic Committee[11] in 1942, children were prohibited from using the city's roads for their games[12]. However, accounts from people growing up on the Amsterdam streets show that the police were easily outsmarted by posting look-outs who warned when a police-officer approached[13]. Amsterdam children continued to utilize the streets as the main stage for their play until the late 1960s[14].

Besides the streets, the city's parks have always served as popular play spaces and many parents took their children for a weekend stroll in the neighborhood park. However, it is important to notice that it was forbidden to walk, let alone play, on the grass in the majority of the park in the beginning of the 20th century. In a 1930 newspaper article on Amsterdam children, the reader is given an insightful look into the state of affairs in the city's parks: "… mother's announcement, "Today, we are going to the park!" means a day of continuous reprimands and restrictive commands for our Dutch city children: 'Jantje, stay off the grass!' 'Jantje, keep your hands off those flowers!' 'Jantje, you may not play with your hoop here!' 'Jantje, walk alongside of me, and hold my hand, or you will be run over by those bicycles!' 'No, Jantje, we may not walk on the other side of the road, because then we will walk against the flow of people![15]'" Of course, children were not always accompanied by their parents, which unavoidably led to the breaking of park rules. For example, in 1916, architect P.J. Cuypers, architect of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, notified the director of Public Works of "rowdy boys and girls, who use the partition-chains as swings and climb the statue of Vondel". Cuypers states that increased police patrols of the park would be a suitable solution to this problem[16]. The number of similar complaint letters remaining in the municipal archives, suggest that the Amsterdam parks were popular play spaces, despite the seemingly strict regulations.

Before the installment of public play spaces, the playground associations were the sole providers of children's play space. The first playground in the Netherlands opened its doors in 1880 in Amsterdam and was financed by wealthy citizens, concerned for the welfare of the children of the city's laborers. However, the issue of playgrounds was quickly taken over by members of the working class themselves; groups of volunteers (often with connections in labor unions) managed and maintained the playground, aided by financial support from the city council[17]. In order to play here, children's families had

to become a member by paying a yearly subscription fee. The playgrounds were closed institutions[18], fenced-off from the public domain, where children could not only play safely under supervision, but also participate in various club-activities, such as choirs and gymnastics[19].

In the 1930s, the previously flourishing Amsterdam Playground Union[20] began to encounter problems. Due to the economic crisis, the city council cut a large amount of financial support to the playgrounds[21]. Although other institutions also suffered cutbacks, the subsidies to the playgrounds were cut even further after the Second World War[22]. The municipal government seemed to withdraw slowly, yet surely, from its participation in the Amsterdam playground associations; the city council became increasingly reluctant to assist in the maintenance, planning and construction of the playgrounds. For example, news paper articles of the 1950s report how the new Playground Association Mercator received an appropriate plot from the city council, yet had to actively lobby for building permission for five years[23]. The municipal government seemed increasingly uncomfortable with the closed nature of the city's playgrounds and even debated on the possibility of making the institutions entirely public, accessible at all time of day. In post-war Amsterdam, the city council became more actively involved in the provision of play spaces, and in the process, scaled down the role of the playground associations.

A planned intervention – the General Extension Plans

After the successful test-sandbox at the Bertelmanplein in 1947, the department of Public Works devised a plan that ensured a steady increase in public play spaces over the next decade[24]. The municipality of Amsterdam felt not only accountable for the planning, funding and construction of the play spaces, but also acted as trouble-shooter and maintenance manager, without any help from unpaid volunteers. This was a remarkable change, compared to their involvement in the playground movement, and early proto-types of public play spaces.

Besides the apparent influences of the welfare state, the origins of the Amsterdam play space plans can be traced further back, to the above briefly mentioned General Extension Plans of Amsterdam[25]. In these plans, Amsterdam citizens were categorized into different age-based groups, requiring different types of housing, work and recreational facilities. Through calculating models, it was decided how the various types of spaces should be distributed throughout the city. Play spaces for children were included; children were divided into four categories and for every group, different types of recreational spaces were described[26].

In contrast with the playground movement, the Amsterdam play space plans were not an explicit attempt to educate children on the "right" morals and values[27]. Children were simply considered to be another age-group in the city that deserved their own public spaces, next to youths, adults and senior citizens. It was the task of urban planning to "supply every citizen with the opportunity to relax in the way, which suits them best"[28]. Urban planner Jakoba Mulder described the ideal city "as an urban environment where

everyone can develop themselves and live together harmoniously"[29]. If every group was given their own spaces for housing, recreation and work, a natural order would be established, thereby creating a "city of harmony"[30]. In order to achieve this ideal of urban society, the municipality of Amsterdam started to "fill in" the city's public space with user-based domains, such as soccer fields, cultural centers, allotment gardens and children's play spaces; as a result, the formerly "neutral" public domain became increasingly fragmentated.

Although the Amsterdam Extension Plans provided guidelines for the implementation of child domains, they remained vague on which specific types of play spaces should be implemented for each category. Since the plans briefly mention the city's playgrounds, an expansion of the role of the existing playground associations seems to be the suggested course of action[31]. As we have seen above, the municipal government was not amenable to this idea. Even if the playgrounds were to be "opened up" and become freely accessible, the current number of playgrounds (about forty) would have to be doubled to cater to all Amsterdam children[32]. The playgrounds required a large space with many facilities, such as play equipment, changing booths and a club house. Because of this, playgrounds were very expensive institutions and there simply was not enough open space to allow for forty more playgrounds in the city[33]. The municipality of Amsterdam was faced with the question how recreational facilities for children should be implemented in the public domain and began the search for other, more suitable, types of play space.

The search - playful experiments

The department of Public Works started experimenting and debating on different types of play space in the public domain in the 1920s. As early as 1925, the city created the first public sandbox in a park near the Artis zoo[34]. This test-case was constructed out of wood and often needed repairs and renovations. Despite its obvious problems, the department of Public Works received letters from enthusiastic citizens, who asked for more sandboxes throughout Amsterdam. A mother of three children, living at the Keizersgracht, describes the sandbox: as "the only place in the city the children can enjoy themselves completely, without my having to worry constantly."[35]
During the Second World War, a small number of similar sandboxes were created, but these were not a success. As the war progressed, the maintenance of the sandboxes became increasingly difficult; several complaint letters bear testimony to the vandalized and unsanitary state of the sandboxes[36]. Finally, between 1943 and 1945, the sandboxes were all demolished by Amsterdam citizens, in need of fuel for their stoves[37].

In the post-war years, internal communications between civil servants and various committees indicated a search for other, more durable, types of public play spaces. For example, in 1946, W.A. De Graaf, head of the Public Works department, suggested several options for semi-public playgrounds to the councilman of Public Works, Youth, Education and Sports. Children playing in a neighborhood square or park would be provided with play equipment, which could be stored away at night to prevent vandalism. All that was needed would be an open space, a shed for storage and a

number of adult volunteers to take care of the play equipment. According to this memo, the opening hours of these play spaces would exceed those of the playgrounds, so a large number of volunteers was needed in order for the play area to function properly[38].

In the same letter, De Graaf described how a number of the city's vacant lots were "conveniently surrounded by walls"[39]. In his opinion, with the addition of a door that could be locked, and a selection of play equipment, a "public" playground was easily created in these spaces. Again, he stated that a number of unpaid volunteers would be needed to open and close these playgrounds. These, and other, similar ideas were never put into practice by the city council. Interestingly, it seems that some of the plans were picked up by the struggling playground associations. For instance, a group of nuns opened the first playground in the inner-city neighborhood Jordaan in 1953. A walled-in, vacant space in the city, created during a Second World War bombardment, was easily converted into a playground; the rubble was cleared, the ground leveled and the space was provided with play equipment and an entrance door[40].

Looking back, the early plans from the municipality drew heavily on the well-known concept of the playground; unpaid volunteers would be supervising children's play and taking care of the play equipment in semi-public, often fenced-off, spaces with selected opening hours. The only difference was that these new ideas of the late 1940s, speak of government-based play spaces, only aided by volunteers. However, one of the main problems seemed to be how to incorporate children's play into a completely public space. This question reflects a changing discourse on city children and public space.

Since the Enlightenment, children were more and more looked upon as innocent and vulnerable creatures that needed to be sheltered[41]. When industrialization set in and cities expanded, the relationship between children and the urban streets became pressurized[42]. According to this discourse, city streets provided an unsuitable, immoral and unhealthy environment for children. The work of the playground associations was based on these views, and therefore strived to keep working class children off the streets by providing a "safer" and "healthier" play space, where "correct" morals could be taught through play[43].

After the Second World War, another conceptualization of city children was voiced; a number of novelists, journalists and teachers wrote about their own (pre-war) childhood[44]. According to these authors, a youth of playing on city streets teaches children important values and "prepares one for the hardships of adult life"[45]. This public discourse on the "resilient child" can be traced back to the influential works of pioneer social pedagogue Wilhelmina Bladergroen[46]. She stated that a child's ability to play was very important for its social and physical development. Bladergroen considered having accessibility to the "right" kind of play spaces and toys a child's basic right. She put children's need for adequate play spaces on the map in the Netherlands and argued strongly against spatial developments which would interfere with children's development, such as high rise buildings and the increasingly heavy urban traffic[47]. Instead of restricting her work to the academic world, Bladergroen toured the country with her message of the importance of children's play.

The Amsterdam municipality's search for a new type of play space in the public domain shows how the two discourses on city children were blended together. The play space plans were driven by the wish to provide adequate playing facilities to all Amsterdam children; play space, as put on the map by Bladergroen, had become an important issue. Also, the designs of play spaces reflected the image of the "resilient" city child; there were no fences, no regulations and no adults present to guide the children's games. Playing children were therefore free to use the space as they saw fit. However, a closer look at the planning and day-to-day management of the play spaces also reveals aspects of the "vulnerable child" conceptualization. For example, the city's department of Health Education did not allow play equipment with moving parts (such as swings and seesaws) in the unsupervised public domain for fear of children's safety[48]. Furthermore, the surface area of every play space was kept relatively small (roughly from 5 to 50 square meters), partly because of the high costs of land, but also because it would prevent older children from using the space to play soccer and other sports[49].

The play space plans - politics and bureaucrats

Once the sandbox at the Bertelmanplein proved to be successful, over 700 similar play spaces were installed in the decades to follow. The planning, construction and maintenance of all these public spaces was an immense undertaking, requiring a certain level of dedication from the municipal government. Also, the political climate and the organizational structure of the department of Public Works, were important factors contributing to the success of the play space plans.

The politics of play

In post-war Amsterdam, the labor party (PvdA) held the most seats in the municipal council. The city was, and would be for years to come, a socialist stronghold. Labor party councilman A. De Roos functioned as a spokesman and protagonist for the play space plans; he approved of the first test-case at the Bertelmanplein and later convinced the council of the need for a "ten-year play space plan"[50]. In these plans, 200.000 guilders were reserved for the installment of 15 new play spaces. When the ten-year plan expired, it was decided that a yearly budget would be attributed to the play spaces.

Interestingly, it was the catholic party (KVP) who initially objected to the installment of play spaces. The labor party was accused of trying to "set up another organization alongside of the playground associations"[51]. It is important to notice that Dutch society in the 1950s was still ideologically segregated into four columns, namely reformed Christian, roman catholic, socialist and liberal (or neutral)[52]. Every column provided its own facilities, such as schools, labor unions, newspapers, broadcasting networks and recreational organizations. The network of playground associations was built around this ideology of pillarization. Although the movement originated in "public" playgrounds, installed by members of the labor union, catholic and christian organizations were quick

to provide playgrounds for "their own children"[53]. The play space plans meant that the municipal government would provide an entirely public space, where all children could play. However, the KVP interpreted the plans of the labor party as an attempt to imprint socialist values on the city's children and a devaluation of the existing network of playgrounds.

Bureaucrats & visionaries

Amsterdam was the first city in the Netherlands to instate a department of Urban Planning. Previously, the planning of urban extensions was outsourced to architects, such as Berlage, or a joint venture of the various departments in Public Works. In 1929, a separate planning department was instated to create and carry out new extension plans for the growing city of Amsterdam. This department was headed by influential urban planner Cornelis van Eesteren, who was a member of CIAM and a professor of urban planning at the University of Delft[54]. Under his guidance, the planning division had created the previously discussed General Extension Plans and an important recreational park, the Amsterdamse Bos in the 1930s[55]. The functionalist ideas of Van Eesteren[56] strongly influenced his staff, amongst others Jakoba Mulder, who would be Van Eesterens right hand until his retirement in 1959. She was a practical urban planner, with a good eye for detail; when she watched her neighbor's daughter bake mud pies with a small amount of sand, dug up from a nearby tree, she got the idea of installing entirely public sandboxes in the city[57]. Van Eesteren approved of the plan and successfully pitched the idea to councilman De Roos.

Once the city council had approved, young architect Aldo van Eyck was approached to design the play spaces. Van Eyck embedded the play spaces in the existing urban structure, and intended to stimulate creative games with his designs for play equipment[58]. The trinity of Van Eesteren, Mulder and Van Eyck certainly enabled the implementation of more than 700 play spaces in Amsterdam, not only because of their effectiveness within the Urban Planning department, but also in relation with other municipal departments and local politics. Van Eesteren trusted Mulder's practical suggestions, just like he did when they worked on the General Extension Plans and the "Amsterdamse Bos"[59]. Also, his reputation and political skills increased the chance of approval by the city council. Finally, Van Eyck's designs were not only praised by the municipality for their innovativeness, but also for their relatively cheap costs (the main materials of the playing equipment being concrete and aluminum).

Although the department of Urban Planning had significant influence on the play space plans and their implementation, it was eventually a joint effort of all the departments within Public Works. In 1954, a special committee was set up to facilitate the planning and maintenance process of play spaces (and other recreational spaces), namely the Committee for Sports and Play Accommodations[60]. The members consisted of representatives from the various Public Works divisions, and together they made all decisions regarding the play spaces. The minutes of these meetings give present-day readers an insightful look into the considerable amount of money, manpower and time dedicated to the Amsterdam play space plans. For example, the maintenance of the

play spaces was quite comprehensive. Firstly, every play space was kept clean by the municipal cleansing department, which was also responsible for a change of sand in the sandboxes every four weeks[61]. Furthermore, two employees of the Public Works department inspected the general state of the play equipment in the city once in fourteen days[62]. The inspectors from the Amsterdam Board of Health Education also made their rounds; they frequently observed the day-to-day business on the play spaces and reported back to the Committee of Sports and Play Accommodations. These reports were not only used to evaluate the play spaces, but also to install supervisors on the most crowded play spaces during the summer months[63].

The socio-political context of the city of Amsterdam played a large part in the successful realization of the comprehensive play space plans. Also, the already existing bureaucratic structure and the strong co-operation between municipal departments facilitated the play space plans. A number of influential professionals, dedicated to the play space plans for several reasons, and a strongly socialist municipal council, perhaps searching to break away from pillarized institutions, certainly helped the implementation of these child domains along.

Planning the play spaces

Although every one of Van Eyck's designs was unique, the Amsterdam play spaces were also developed through the adoption of a number of general guidelines. As we have seen, the incorporation of recreational facilities for children in the General Extension Plans provided the first step towards the play space plans. From this document, a rule of thumb was derived, which stated that a child of age X should have to walk no more than Y meters to reach a suitable recreational area[64]. The department of Urban Planning strived for an equal distribution of play spaces, following the general rule of these premeditated calculations. On paper, these ideas look deceptively simple, yet their practical implementation into the complex reality of the city's structure would sometimes pose problems.

In the urban extensions, built from the 1950s onwards, play spaces were integrated in all plans for new neighborhoods[65]. Despite from occasional problems with housing associations or neighborhood organizations, who sporadically objected to the play spaces[66], the realization of these child domains in the Amsterdam extensions proceeded relatively easy. Small play areas were integrated into communal gardens of apartment blocks, while larger facilities were often located in the heart of the new neighborhood, in a park or on a square[67].

In the case of the existing, inner-city neighborhoods, the implementation of these child domains proved to be more difficult. The available space in these areas was minimal; during the previously described pre-war "search" for a new type of play space, internal memos of the department of public works often complained how "there is no room for play space in the older neighborhoods"[68]. The Second World War left inner-city Amsterdam with many gaps, caused by bombings, pillaging and other war-related events. These recently "opened-up" spaces were frequently converted to play spaces

by the municipality during the 1950s and 1960s[69]. Although some were placed on street corners, in alleyways or on large squares, the main spatial resources for inner-city play spaces were these vacant lots.

Considering the post-war housing shortage and the necessary rebuilding activities, this seems a remarkable turn of events; why did the municipality not use these spaces to create housing options? As we have seen before, the planning process of these child domains was a complex procedure, spreading across a large number of involved parties (committees, Public Works departments, the city council and Amsterdam citizens), which generally tends to obscure the reason why a certain play space has been located at that exact place. However, in my opinion, it is important to notice that a large number of these play spaces, located in previously vacant spaces, were intended to be a temporal solution.

The post-war rebuilding was a long and complex process, especially in a historic setting such as inner-city Amsterdam. In a number of cases, play spaces seem to have been utilized to temporarily "fill in the ugly gaps in the city"[70]; it was a relatively cheap way to clean up and enliven an urban space, until eventually construction started on the planned school, business or housing block. At that time, the play space would not become obsolete, but could easily be dismantled and moved to another spot[71]. So, although the play spaces in inner-city Amsterdam were not as neatly distributed as in new neighborhoods, their flexibility and adaptability nevertheless created a dynamic network of child domains in the public domain.

Conclusion

The ambitious plans of the Amsterdam municipality resulted in the creation of more than 700 play spaces throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Looking back on the immense scale of this undertaking, the influence of welfare state ideals shines through. Due to the large amount of children living in an urban environment and the recent conceptualization of "resilient children" with a right to adequate play space, the urgent call that "something has to be done for our children"[72] resonated in the public discourse. Before the 1950s it was the customary responsibility of civil actors, such as labor unions, charity organizations and church groups, to act upon children's needs. However, with the first outlines of the Dutch welfare state starting to take shape, the play space plans of the Amsterdam municipality provide a good example of how government officials slowly, yet surely, took over many tasks from civil society organizations[73]. Welfare state ideology[74] is clearly reflected in the fragmentation of the public domain in the 1950s and 1960s; the municipality tried to provide every Amsterdam citizen with their own spaces, thereby fragmenting the previously "open" public sphere into small user- and activity based domains.

The city of Amsterdam proved to be a good breeding ground for the early play space plans; the department of Urban Planning had laid the groundwork with the General Expansion Plans. Also, the extensive bureaucrat networks, the co-operation between municipal departments, and the flexible nature of Van Eyck's play space designs,

facilitated the efficient implementation of an intricate network of play spaces. Moreover, the capacity problems of the playground associations, combined with a predominantly socialist political climate enabled a unique move away from the strongly pillarized play ground associations and the "opening up" of children's recreational spaces.

Despite the popularity of the Amsterdam play spaces, an important question remains; did the play space plans in reality open up the urban public domain to children's play? The municipality effectively provided children with a domain of their own within the public sphere. Children were free to claim these spaces with their play at any time. Nevertheless, one could also argue that the creation of play spaces increasingly regulated children's play; these carefully planned domains, were designed to implicitly stimulate specific types of children's play (e.g. playing in a sandbox) and discourage other behavior (e.g. playing soccer)[75]. Also, it can be argued that when children gained their own little niches in the public domain, their right to claim city streets with their play was weakened[76].

Whether an empowering or restricting influence on children's place in the city, the Amsterdam play spaces are an interesting and unique chapter in urban history. Nowadays, the development of play spaces is largely outsourced to specialized companies[77]. Also, many middle-class families have moved to the suburbs, and as a result fewer children are growing up in cities. Although the post-modern Dutch city has undergone significant changes since the 1950s, aspects of the original Amsterdam play space plans are still referenced the work of contemporary architects and planners, who try to improve social cohesion of the public domain with easily accessible sandboxes and playgrounds[78].

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[1] This article draws on preliminary results of my phd-research at the Eindhoven University of Technology, funded by the Netherlands Organization of Scientific Research (NWO), entitled "Children in the maelstrom of repressive tolerance". The research focuses on the question to what extent the urban public domain is (made) open for children's play throughout the 20th century. The goal is to write an alternative history of the Dutch city, in which the focus lies on the complex interplay of urbanistic regulations and spatial opportunities, in- and exclusion, and multifarious practices concerning the reproduction of space. All archival research for the case study discussed in this paper was carried out in the Municipal Archives of Amsterdam. Citations have been translated from Dutch to English by the author.

[2] The Amsterdam public play spaces, as designed by Aldo van Eyck, were open, accessible areas, with a concrete sandbox as centerpiece. Other objects such as stepping stones, hopscotch tiles, climbing frames, benches and drinking fountains were used to supplement the sandbox in various combinations and compositions. Besides the widely used Van Eyck designs, the Amsterdam municipality also implemented ten playing ponds (shallow basins where toddlers could play with water during the summer months) and a large number of roller-skate rinks and playing fields during the 1950s and 1960s.

[3] Newspaper clippings archives, 1946-47 (15008: 432).

[4] Ibidem.

[5] The Committee for Sports and Play Accommodations was instated in 1954. This Committee had an advisory task and tried to guide the city council's decisions concerning recreational spaces. In the case of the public play spaces, their function was expanded: every plan had to be approved by the Committee, before being put into practice. All Public Works departments were represented in its members, sometimes aided by police officials or other professionals.

6 Van Eyck's designs were considered to be innovative, since he integrated them in the existing urban structure. His play spaces became a natural part of the city, instead of a standalone domain. Also, his designs were praised for their capacity to stimulate creative games; Van Eyck tried to keep the imagery invoked by the play equipment relatively neutral, so that they could be used for a wide spectrum of activities. For example, a circular climbing frame could of course be used for climbing, but could also become a castle or a pirate ship. Covered with a sheet, the frame could also function as a hut or a house. For more information on Van Eyck and his designs see: Lefaivre, L. & Döll, H., Ground Up City: Play as a Design Tool (Rotterdam, The Netherlands, 010 Publishers, 2007); Lefaivre, L. & Tzonis, A., Aldo van Eyck Humanist Rebel: Inbetweening in a Postwar World (Rotterdam, The Netherlands, 010 Publishers, 1999); Lefaivre, L. & De Roode, I. Aldo van Eyck: de Speelplaatsen en de Stad (Amsterdam, the Netherlands, Stedelijk Museum, 2002); Strauven, F. Aldo van Eyck: Relativisme en Verbeelding (Amsterdam, the Netherlands, Meulenhoff, 1994).

[7] Strauven, 1994.

[8] De Vreeze, N. (ed.), 6,5 miljoen woningen: 100 jaar woningwet en wooncultuur (Rotterdam, The Netherlands, 010 Publishers, 2001).

[9] Bouw, C. & Karsten, L. Stadskinderen: Verschillende Generaties over de Dagelijkse Strijd om Ruimte (Amsterdam, the Netherlands, Aksant, 2004).

[10] Dienst Onderzoek en Statistiek. Amsterdam in Cijfers (Amsterdam, the Netherlands, Publieke Werken,1960)

11 The Traffic Committee concerned itself mainly with issues of traffic safety, and included members from municipal departments (such as the Public Works department) and the city's police force.

12 Urban Planning Department Archives (Public Works Department): 2160 "concerning the creation of sand play spaces"

[13] See for example: Bakker, P. Jeugd in de Pijp: vrijmoedige herinneringen (Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Elsevier, 1946, p. 24).

[14] Bouw & Karsten, 2004.

15 Published in De Telegraaf, june 21 1930; Truus Eygenhuysen "Buiten spelen: in het hartje van Amsterdam" Newspaper clippings archives 1920-1935(15008: 432) "concerning welfare"

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[17] Selten, P., Adriaanse, C. & Becker, B., Af en Toe met Pa en Moe…: De Speeltuinbeweging in Nederland (Utrecht, the Netherlands, De Tijdstroom, 1996).

[18] Goffman, E. Behavior in Public Places: Notes on the Social Organization of Gatherings (New York, USA, Polity Press, 1965).

[19] See for example, NUSO [i.e. National Union of Playground Associations], Tussen Kijken en Spelen (Amsterdam, the Netherlands, NUSO, 1965); NUSO, De Eerste 'Openbare' Speelplaatsen van Ons Land (Utrecht, the Netherlands, NUSO, 1992)

[20] The Amsterdam Playground Union (ASV): in every city playground associations were organized by regional chapters. The regional divisions represented "their" city in meetings of the National Playground Union (NUSO).

[21] Newspaper clippings archive, 1935-1940 (15008: 432)

[22] Ibidem. See for example "Amsterdams Speeltuinverbond onder vuur" (1936) and "Amsterdams Speeltuinverbond sluit ogen voor de werkelijkheid" (1939).

[23] Newspaper clippings archives, 1954 (15008: 432): "Wethouder De Roos bestrijdt speeltuinen met ongezonde en gevaarlijke speelplaatsen", 3 March 1954, published in "De Waarheid".

[24] Urban Planning Department Archives (Public Works Department): 2160 "concerning the creation of sand play spaces"

[25] Publieke Werken, Algemeen Uitbreidingsplan voor Amsterdam (Amsterdam, the Netherlands, Publieke Werken, 1934).

[26] Ibidem.

[27] The play space plans were not based on teaching children how to become good citizens, like in the playground movement, but this does not mean that these public spaces were free from imprinted notions on the "right" morals and values, as is discussed in the next paragraph of this paper.

[28] Mulder, J.H. Vrije Speelgelegenheden in de Planologie (Landelijk Contact, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1956), p. 6.

[29] Mulder, J.H. Ruimte voor de Jeugd in Stedelijke Plannen (Ruimte voor de Jeugd, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1961), p. 17.

[30] Mulder, 1956, p. 7.

[31] Publieke Werken, 1934

[32] Newspaper clippings archive, 1935-1940 (15008: 432) and internal memo's in the Urban Planning Department archives (2160) "concerning the creation of sand play spaces".

[33] Ibidem.

[34] Lefaivre & De Roode, 2002.

35 Urban Planning Department Archives (Public Works Department): 2160 "concerning the creation of sand play spaces"

36 Department of Public Works Archives: 5213 (523)

37 During the last years of the Second World War, citizens in Amsterdam, and other Dutch cities, were deprived of many basic necessities. People scavenged the public domain in search of flammable objects and as a result many trees, railroad tracks, and abandoned houses were torn down. The early sandboxes suffered the same fate. Urban Planning Department Archives (Public Works Department): 2160 "concerning the creation of sand play spaces"

[38] Department of Public Works Archives: 5213 (522); see "the ten-year play space plans"

39 Ibidem.

[40] Newspaper Clippings Archives (15008: 432): "Leeg terrein prachtig benut – een initiatief der Zusters Auxiliatricen", August 3, 1953, published in "De Nieuwe Dageraad".

[41] Ariès, P. Centuries of childhood (New York, USA, Vintage Press, 1962).

[42] Stearns, P. Childhood in world history: Themes in world history (London, UK, Routledge, 2006).

[43] Boon, M. & Du Bois, J. Spel en speeltuin (Amsterdam, the Netherlands: NUSO, 1945).

[44] See for example: Bakker, P., 1947; Da Capo, Op school in de Jordaan: Belevenissen van een onderwijzer (Utrecht, the Netherlands: De Banier, 1988); Sol, B. 60 jaar in een klaslokaal: het leven van een Amsterdamse schoolmeester (Amsterdam, the Netherlands: published by the author, 1996).

[45] Bakker, P., 1947, p. 10

[46] Van Den Broek, F. & Nootenboom, W. (eds.), Keuze uit het werk van Wilhelmina J. Bladergroen (IJmuiden, the Netherlands: Vermande, 1978).

[47] Ibidem.

[48] Committee for Sports and Play Accomodations Archives (5366), meeting minutes of November, 1957.

[49] Ibidem, meeting minutes of april 1960.

[50] Department of Public Works Archives: 5213 (522); see "the ten-year play space plans".

[51] Ibidem; meeting minutes (date unknown).

[52] Lijphart, A. The politics of accommodation: Pluralism and democracy in the Netherlands (Berkely, USA: University of California Press, 1968).

[53] Adriaanse et al., 1996, p. 15-17.

[54] Bock, M. (ed.) Cornelis van Eesteren: architect urbanist (Rotterdam, the Netherlands: Nai, 1993).

[55] Ibidem.

[56] See for example: Van Eesteren's lecture on the idea of the functional city (Van Eesteren, 1997).

[57] Probably inspired by international examples, during her travels to the United States, the United Kingdom and Scandinavia, where public play spaces had been implemented (albeit often in different forms and shapes than in the Netherlands). Palstra, F. & Van Kessel, E. Ir. Jakoba Mulder: 1900-1988 (Amsterdam, the Netherlands: Department of Public Works, 1994).

[58] Van Eyck, A., PW en de kinderen van Amsterdam (1953, Forum, 1, 28-38), and, Van Eyck, A. Het kind en de stad. (1957, Goed Wonen, 10, 207-212).

[59] See interviews with Van Eesteren, Mulder and other early employees of the Urban Planning Department, in the Ir. Jakoba Mulder Archives (1327).

[60] Committee for Sports and Play Accommodations Archives (5366), meeting minutes 1954-1965.

[61] Ibidem.

[62] Ibidem.

[63] Ibidem.

[64] The calculations, published in the General Extension Plans were based on the Wagner method, devised by German urban planner Martin Wagner. See: Wagner, M. & Behne, M. Das neue Berlin: Grossstadt Problemen (Berlin, Germany: Verlag Deutsche Bauzeitung, 1929).

[65] Ir. J.H. Mulder archives 1327: plans for urban extensions Frankendaal and Slotermeer, for example, show a number of children's play spaces included.

[66] Committee for Sports and Play Accommodations Archives (5366), meeting minutes april 1960.

[67] Lefaivre & De Roode, 2002

[68] Segment of an internal memo by head of urban planning department W.A. de Graaf, sent to the alderman for Public Works in 1937. Urban Planning Department Archives (Public Works Department): 2160 "concerning the creation of sand play spaces".

[69] See for example the play spaces at the Zeedijk, Dijkstraat, Lindenstraat and the Laurierstraat. Amsterdam Photographic Archives.

[70] Mulder, J.H. Children at play (1954, The housing centre review, 2, p. 13).

[71] Committee for Sports and Play Accommodations Archives (5366). The meeting minutes show that especially during the 1960s many of the "temporary" play spaces were moved to another place in the city.

[72] Newspaper Clippings Archives (15008: 432); "Amsterdam heeft te weinig speeltuinen", 24 September 1953, published in "Het Parool".

[73] For instance, social insurances and medical care were taken over and institutionalized by the government. De Swaan, A., In care of the state: health care, education and welfare in Europe and the USA in the modern era (Cambridge, USA: Polity Press, 1988).

[74] The starting point of the welfare state is that the state is responsible for the welfare of its citizens. See, De Swaan, 1988, p. 3-5.

[75] De Coninck-Smith, N. & Gutman, M., Children and youth in public: making places, learning lessons, claiming territories (2004, Childhood, 11, p. 131-142).

[76] Malone, K., Street life: youth, culture and competing uses of public space (2002, environment & urbanization. Vol. 14 (2) pp 157-168).

[77] Palstra & Van Kessel, 1994.

[78] See for example the work of Marlies Röhmer. Röhmer, M. (ed.), Bouwen voor de Next Generation (Rotterdam, the Netherlands, Nai Publishers, 2007).

From "Slum Clearance" to "Revitalization": planning, expertise, and moral regulation in Toronto's Regent Park

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Introduction

For the second time in the past six decades, the block that sits on the northeast corner of Parliament and Dundas Streets in downtown Toronto has been completely leveled. To a casual observer, there is nothing unique or especially interesting about this, since construction sites are a seemingly ubiquitous component of the contemporary Toronto landscape; but as a case study in planning history, this site yields a great deal of insight into the ways that planning – specifically with regards to its understandings of poverty, morality and expertise – has been reconstituted since the post-World War II era in Canada, and how this has reconfigured the urban environment.

This demolished block is currently being rebuilt through the first of five phases of the "Regent Park Revitalization" – a twelve-year, one-billion-dollar[1] plan to replace Canada's first large-scale public housing complex with a state-of-the-art mix of public housing, market housing, retail space and amenities. The architects of this plan describe it as an all-encompassing solution to the myriad problems with the original Regent Park, and thus an opportunity for residents to finally "live in a community much like other communities in Toronto" and to be "part of a vibrant city and a place where there is opportunity to address issues of poverty" after years of decaying buildings and social marginalization[2]. Designed through a participatory planning process and funded by public and private investment in roughly equal proportions, the plan is touted as a just and practical solution to the obsolescence of the original Regent Park which is in the best interest of residents, their neighbors, and public and private investors alike.

Ironically, the buildings that are currently being demolished in the name of "revitalization" were part of a much earlier but similarly ambitious plan to redress poverty and marginalization by drastically altering the built urban environment: the northeast corner of Parliament and Dundas was first demolished in 1948 to make room for the original Regent Park, a quintessentially modernist development designed by housing experts as a self-contained complex of exclusively public housing amongst expansive green spaces and little thoroughfare. The construction of Regent Park was intended to help alleviate the post-World-War II housing shortage in Toronto, and was especially popular with local politicians and reformers because it would replace the original[3] Cabbagetown – a neighborhood of substandard single-family dwellings that had long been labeled a criminogenic "slum" that, by its very existence, demeaned its predominantly white working class Anglophone residents[4]. Though Regent Park was intended to remedy this, it too would be labeled a degenerate slum and a planning failure within its first decade of operation; after being denigrated as such for over 40 years, it too is being demolished at the time of writing.

This paper is a critical examination of the purported goals and potential of the Regent Park revitalization. By comparing the thinking behind the original planning of Regent Park to the thinking behind the current attempt to revitalize it, I aim to illustrate how the revitalization is guided, to a significant extent, by a concern with the moral regulation of poor and working class city-dwellers (particularly those who are new Canadians and/or racialized minorities) by altering the built environment in which they live. I aim to illustrate how this concern has been modified and reconfigured from the 1950s to the present alongside the transition to a neoliberal economy in Canada, and through the partial incorporation of postmodernist urbanism within official planning policy.

Modernity, paternalism, and the first Regent Park

With a population of 2.6 million (or just over 5 million if suburbs are included), Toronto is the capital of the province of Ontario, the largest city in Canada, and has occupied a hegemonic position in the national economy since the 1930s[5]. Roughly half its population was born outside of Canada, though this was not the case until relatively recently – until multiculturalism was adopted as Canadian federal policy in 1971, Toronto had a longstanding reputation as a city that was predominantly white, Protestant, proudly British[6], and staunchly conservative[7]. The history of Regent Park spans this large-scale cultural and demographic transformation of Toronto.

Solomon illustrates how the city grew rapidly and "organically" from the late-nineteenth century through to the Great Depression with loose zoning regulations and unplanned neighborhoods[8]. The resultant urban landscape consisted of a financial core, a nearby "shantytown" inhabited by recent immigrants, and a dense "shacktown fringe" of self-built, mail-order homes occupied largely by white Anglophone workers[9]. Though turn-of-the-century Toronto saw no totalizing attempt at reordering the urban environment into something more functional, rationalized and centrally planned[10], there were certainly smaller-scale efforts in a similar vein as a moralistic elite and middle class worried that dense urban areas were hotbeds of deviance and disease – one high-ranking health official called for a complete ban on all multi-family dwellings because they allegedly fostered promiscuity, for example[11].

Much of this consternation centered around Cabbagetown, a neighborhood of small, dense blocks of row houses which, in the words of Cabbagetowner and novelist Hugh Garner, was "a sociological phenomenon[:] the largest Anglo-Saxon slum in North America"[12]. Garner's realist (and presumably semi-autobiographical) novel of Depression-era Cabbagetown depicts a lively, complex, and politically engaged community; one that fits Jane Jacobs's description of the type of "slum" that possessed its own wisdoms and potential for regeneration but was condemned by "paternalistic" planners who did not understand this[13]. As Jacobs probably would have predicted, a commission had decided that Cabbagetown must be demolished in the mid-1930s, but the process did not begin until its redevelopment was approved by a public referendum in 1946[14].

This lag-time can partially be explained by a disjuncture between the Christian aspirations of middle-class urban reformers and the Canadian political economy leading up to the Great Depression. At the federal scale, the Depression necessitated a move away from the "residual" model of social welfare, which had been premised on an idea of minimal economic intervention or support for the poor by the public sector, and toward a Keynesian focus on "social action and planning" aimed at more equitable distribution of "social goods"[15] among citizens. Meanwhile, at the local scale, the municipal governments of many of Toronto's suburbs had become financially inept through the Depression, and so at their urging, the City of Toronto amalgamated them and rationalized service provision across its newly-expanded jurisdiction[16]. This expansion, combined with the new willingness to invest public funds in the welfare of poor and working class Canadians[17] made the reformist visions of clearing slums, reducing density, and thus uplifting the moral fiber of inner-city Torontonians a great deal more practicable.

By the mid-1940s, a post-World-War-II urban housing crisis necessitated large-scale action regarding the questions of urban social policy that had been brought on by the Great Depression, while the relative popularity of left-of-center and socialist political formations among the Canadian working class at the time added an element of urgency[18]. Thus the federal government established the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC)[19] in 1946 to provide financing for home builders and buyers, while converting military barracks into emergency shelters for homeless families[20]. In line with the aims of reformers to reduce density and non-familial shared accommodation, the stage was now set for the sprawl of the city past its newly-annexed suburbs, as well as the simultaneous "suburbanization of the city"[21] which entailed the demolition of older and 'undesirable' neighborhoods and their replacement with single-use, insular enclaves of nuclear families and wide-open spaces.

This is precisely what happened in 1948, when Regent Park was developed at an estimated cost of $16 million funded primarily by the City of Toronto, on land cleared through the wholesale demolition of the original Cabbagetown[22]. Within a year, residents began moving into Regent Park North, the first phase of the new neighborhood, though it was not completed until 1957[23]. This phase consisted of six square blocks of roughly equal size, each vaguely demarcated by dead-end driveways and sidewalks, and containing five or six three-story apartment buildings surrounded by empty green space. By 1959, Regent Park South was completed just across the major thoroughfare of Dundas Street East; this portion of the neighborhood appeared less methodical in design, as it was spatially dominated by five hi-rise buildings at its centre, each placed at different angles and set far back from the main roads and low-rise townhouse complexes at the perimeter. As in the North, there were ample grassy expanses and dead ends. Together, Regent Park North and South constituted a 69-acre neighborhood of roughly 10,000 residents living in new, affordable, and well-equipped apartments[24].

Regent Park was developed over a decade after similar projects were first introduced in the United States[25]. Despite this initial reluctance towards large-scale public housing in

Canadian cities, Regent Park was an ambitious, well-publicized endeavor that was introduced to the Canadian public amidst a series of tall promises. For example, the 1953 National Film Board[26] documentary "Return to Oak Street" blends fictional vignettes with documentary-style reportage to tell the story of a Cabbagetown family brought to the verge of dysfunctionality by overcrowding, vermin, a lack of appliances, and a lecherous neighbor who sexually harasses the young teenage daughter of the household. Interspersed with such fictionalized vignettes is the real-life footage of an old Cabbagetown block being demolished, as the narrator triumphantly proclaims

> … Down came Oak Street. Down came the verminous walls, the unclean, unhealthy rooms. And, down came the fire hazards, the juvenile delinquency, the drunkenness, the broken marriages. And up rose something new! The nation's first large-scale public housing project, to be called, "Regent Park"[27].

Predictably, the beleaguered family finds complete redemption when they move into a clean, private, and spacious unit in the newly-constructed Regent Park.

The planning literature of the day was equally sympathetic to the Cabbagetowners, if less dramatic in expressing this. For example, Albert Rose, the longtime Dean of Social Work at the University of Toronto who played a significant role in the planning of Regent Park, devoted the first chapter of his 1958 book on the topic to the question of "whose fault" it was that so many Canadians had substandard housing (or no housing at all) in the 1940s. Rose concludes that it is "the fault of everyone" as, "for the most part, it is the community which has failed"; while those who could potentially be blamed for their own poor living conditions – that is, "the residue or 'hard core' of families who simply do not care" – "has been found to be an infinitesimal proportion" of those who apply for public housing[28].

This sympathy entailed a tendency to deny the Cabbagetowners any significant sort of agency, however. 'Slum-dwellers' were understood as incapable of the kind of calculated decision-making it takes to plan the renewal of their own neighborhood; their role in the project was reduced to that of a variable in a scientific experiment[29]. Reflecting this, Rose described how "most people originating from a "slum environment did respond very quickly to the stimulus of the new housing accommodation"[30]. Illustrating how various components of the neighborhood were reduced to a singular function and assembled methodically to produce the desired effect, an article in a 1949 trade publication on Regent Park notes that "modern, sanitary housing is the goal; parks and playgrounds, desirable as they are, beneficial as they will be, must still be a secondary consideration"[31]. As this experiment was initially deemed a success, 125 housing projects were constructed across Toronto according to a similar formula over the next three decades[32].

The architects of slum clearance in Toronto were keenly aware of their own paternalism, and knew that many 'slum-dwellers' sensed it as well. Reflecting on the apparent successes of Regent Park as of 1958, Rose admitted that though "some persons

deplore the social role of management as 'paternalism' however benevolent", this role was both necessary and desirable because "respect for the strength, authority, helpfulness and firmness of the management is of great importance in building a community in which several thousand people must learn to live together"[33]. In short, the assumption was that the onus was on ex-Cabbagetowners to escape their marginality by modifying their behavior according to the demands of a benevolently designed environment, and that management must facilitate this in ways that are helpful but definitely authoritative. Though these constructions of authority and expertise were turned upside down over the next six decades, the assumed correlation of environment and behavior has carried through.

Failure, restructuring and neglect

Despite all the enthusiasm for Regent Park exhibited by Rose in 1958, his views on the neighborhood, and on slum clearance and expert-driven planning in general would change completely within a decade. Writing in 1968, Rose explains the failures of the "simple and high-minded approach to the problem of urban revitalization" that he and his peers had implemented:

> We have constructed huge villages of the poor, disabled, and handicapped, vast collections of dependent and quasi-dependent families … who cannot provide or foster the indigenous leadership or, at least, the quantity and continuity of leadership required to build a strong neighborhood[34].

A planned community exclusively made up of public housing and vast expanses of grass had turned out to be a space of further marginalization and community fragmentation, while the expert practitioners who designed it were not as infallible as they once appeared to be. Meanwhile, the assumption that these experts had all the answers to the housing dilemmas of the day had resulted in the dismissal of any answers that may have come from the community itself.

By the time Rose had admitted it was a failure, Regent Park was typically thought of as a "slum" in popular and media discourse that was "similar in many respects to the Cabbagetown neighborhood that was destroyed to build it" – an oversized, poorly planned, criminogenic "haven of single mothers, welfare families and deviants" in the parlance of the day[35]. As a costly experiment in public housing that had been deemed a failure, Regent Park was already in a precarious position by the late 1960s; over the next four decades, its problems were compounded by the neglect and marginalization of public housing that came with the neoliberal restructuring of the Canadian economy.

Hackworth and Moriah point to three common contentions of neoliberal ideology that are particularly relevant to questions of urban planning and social policy – the primacy of the individual as the "normative center of society", that the free market is the superior means of providing for individual autonomy, and that the "interventionist state" is the

"chief impediment" to this[36]. As a place built on the assumption that what is best for both individuals and the market is a massive public investment in a neighborhood that was pre-designed to instill a sense of community and conformity in residents, Regent Park would come to be seen as an outmoded liability by various levels of government that embraced neoliberal ideology from the mid-1970s to the present. This section briefly reviews some political-economic shifts in Canada over this period as they relate to Regent Park.

It is generally agreed that, much like in the United States, neoliberalism began to gain currency in Canada following the 1973 oil-shock recession, which led to a stagnant (at times shrinking) economy in which "a larger share for labor meant less for capital, and vice versa" – in short, a "zero-sum game"[37]. This competitive situation undermined the "postwar consensus between capital and labor" that was "premised on an ever-expanding economic pie to be shared by the two"[38]; as a result, in place of measures such as social planning and the redevelopment of neighborhoods, from the mid-70s onward the dominant discourse of governance in Canada became one of cutbacks, privatization, a reliance on the voluntary sector rather than the public sector for the provision of social services, and the tendency to blame individuals rather than 'the community' for their own poverty and lack of housing"[39].

Beginning around the same time, Regent Park became further marginalized and denigrated as its population shifted – in many ways mirroring changes in the population of Toronto at large. Once a community with an overwhelming majority of white working class Anglophones, Regent Park has become an ethnically and linguistically diverse community where nearly two-thirds of the population was born outside of Canada and seventy different languages are spoken[40]. According to one report, the largest "cultural groups" in Regent Park as of 2002 were "Chinese (Mandarin and Cantonese-speaking), Vietnamese, Somali, Tamil, Hispanic, Filipino, Black and English-speaking Canadians of Western-European descent"[41].

Reflecting this diversity, Walks and Bourne have concluded from a statistical study of poverty and ethnicity in Canada that communities such as Regent Park are not "ghettos" in the American sense in that they lack the extreme racialized segregation of many neighborhoods in large US cities[42]. Still, since "racialized depictions of minority groups and criminality are enhanced when linked with certain identifiable places"[43], racist moral panics around Toronto becoming an "American city" marred by drug-related gun violence have tended to center around Regent Park[44]. These associations are particularly intense regarding assumptions of the criminality of black Regent Park residents, as exemplified by the "lengthy history of tensions between black tenants and the police, which has centered on allegations of police brutality and other forms of unfair 'racialized' policing"[45].

By the 1990s, the working class that Regent Park meant to accommodate had been further marginalized through neoliberal restructuring. "Who the poor are" had changed markedly as the working poor saw their real incomes decline to the extent that many spent such a large share of their income on rent that they depended on food banks as

much as "employable welfare recipients" did[46]. Minimum had effectively fallen by 30 per cent in the 1980s, while formerly secure industrial workers experienced mass layoffs[47]. Meanwhile, housing accommodations for the desperate have come to resemble those of the days when Regent Park was first designed – Brushett notes that the city now "reaps the seeds of Canada's late and feeble entry into the field of social housing" as abandoned warehouses and armories are sites of emergency shelter for over 32,000 Canadians each year[48].

Meanwhile, Regent Park came to be seen as an expensive and hopeless problem that no government wanted to accept responsibility for. This was exacerbated in 1993, when the newly elected Liberal federal government announced that housing for the poor would be an exclusively provincial rather than federal responsibility[49]. Within two years, the "crisis in affordable housing" this caused was "compounded" by the drastic changes made by the Mike Harris Conservative provincial government[50], which canceled any pending commitments to public housing construction, eliminated regulatory barriers on private builders, cut support for 17,000 public housing units and handed off responsibility for public housing to municipal governments which lack the taxing capabilities to adequately fund it[51]. Responsibility for Regent Park, and all other public housing projects in Toronto, was thus handed off to Toronto Community Housing (TCH) in 2002. In sum, alongside widely publicized cuts to welfare, health, and education, the Harris government was "wildly successful at undoing welfare state gains made during the previous several decades"[52]. Some scholars have noted that this was also done with a particularly moralistic vigor that aimed to reform the poor through austerity;[53] a kind of inversion of the moralism of the Keynesian era which aimed to accomplish this through the provision of affordable housing and other social supports.

Throughout these momentous changes, the built environment of Regent Park remained largely the same apart from its pronounced aging. Despite ongoing calls by residents for massive renovations, any changes made to the buildings and their surroundings were typically minor and often absurd: for example, a 1994 National Film Board documentary shows workers dismantling a particular section of fencing because it allegedly provided a place for drug dealers to sit and do business, while in front of another building, workers were installing the exact same type of fencing "for people to sit down, and for kids to tie their bikes up"[54]. Substantial change finally came in 2002, however, when Regent Park was slated to be leveled and rebuilt for many of the same reasons that Cabbagetown was condemned over 50 years prior: it was seen as a neighborhood that hopelessly leads to violence, substance abuse and community fragmentation due to its built environment. Once again, the drastic modification of this environment is being posited as a monolithic solution to these problems.

Though the built environment of Regent Park remained largely frozen in time during the momentous political and economic changes described above, many other downtown Toronto neighborhoods underwent a complete transformation. Caulfield describes the ascendancy of the corporate-service sector in the Toronto economy from the 1970s to the 1990s, and how it resulted in the growth of an affluent, white-collar workforce and an exponential rise in downtown property values[55]. Importantly, however, there is more to

the remaking of downtown Toronto than neoliberalism and corporatization: through the 1970s and 1980s, "postmodernist urbanism" became a dominant force in planning and architecture through various grassroots campaigns against the kind of cataclysmic redevelopment that created Regent Park[56] – for example, Jane Jacobs herself was instrumental in the cancellation of a plan to build a matrix of freeways across the city that would have involved the demolition of several older residential communities[57], and an attempt to demolish another neighborhood to make room for the expansion of Regent Park was blocked. The effects of this movement on planning in Toronto have included the 'preservation' of old neighborhoods (rather than their obliteration through 'urban renewal' initiatives such as the original Regent Park), the construction of new buildings aimed at mimicking the look and feel of old ones[58], and the "open/democratic planning process" that led to the creation of the St. Lawrence neighborhood, a mix of public and market housing, retail space, and community services built in the 1970s on underused industrial land[59]. This became the model to be emulated by the Regent Park revitalization roughly 30 years later.

The Regent Park revitalization: disjunctures and continuities

Though the primary purpose of the Regent Park revitalization is ostensibly the amelioration of the public housing stock of downtown Toronto, the first of the new buildings to be constructed through the plan are actually market condominium towers. Located at the corner of Parliament and Dundas streets, these condominiums constitute the first of five phases of the rebuilding process; their construction is slated for completion in 2009. When all five phases are complete, ideally sometime between 2016 and 2018, the new Regent Park will center around a six-acre park, and will consist of a mix of low-rise and high-rise buildings arranged in a way that will provide for "a container of public open space, enclosing streets, highlighting corners, defining parks and providing 'eyes on the street' increasing surveillance and safety"[60]. In all, there will be 4,500 housing units; all 2,087 public housing units of the original Regent Park will be replaced, but this time it is "assumed" that they will "be mixed with market units in as many buildings as possible"[61]. Commercial space is expected to include a bank, a grocery store, and other amenities that Regent Park currently lacks.

Of the 1,160 residents who were relocated for the phase-one demolition, 40% moved elsewhere in Regent Park, 56% moved to other nearby public housing communities in Toronto, while the remainder left Toronto public housing altogether. Toronto Community Housing (TCH) covered moving expenses and other provisions through a temporary "relocation office" that will re-open each time residents are needed to move[62]. All residents are guaranteed the right of return, but the TCH website does not address the obvious problem that residents did not have much of a choice in whether or not to relocate in the meantime; this has been portrayed in the national media as a traumatic experience for at least some of them[63].

Though the current revitalization plan echoes, to a significant extent, the original plan for Regent Park in its assumption that altering the built environment amounts to panacea for poverty and marginalization, it is purported to be a great deal different regarding the

sort of expertise and authority that are employed in bringing this about. According to the TCH website, the revitalization "has been successful to date because of a key guiding principle: community participation in all aspects of planning and implementation"[64]. The self-confessed paternalism of those who designed the original Regent Park has been turned upside down, as the residents themselves are now seen as the foremost experts on their own housing.

Despite this conscious move away from expert-driven planning, the municipal staff who coordinated the participatory planning process faced significant barriers they faced in engaging with Regent Park residents. According to a report on the process, residents are "a deeply impoverished multilingual population with a history of disappointments that has resulted in a predominant mood of mistrust and disengagement"[65]. Despite this legacy of cynicism, roughly two thousand residents agreed to provide their feedback in this latest discussion of how to change Regent Park[66]. The participation of residents was facilitated by "community animators" – mostly Regent Park residents who were hired and trained by TCH to "animate a discussion that was rooted entirely in the community"[67]. From July to December 2002, the animators asked people for their opinions on Regent Park, the idea of redevelopment, and which streets and buildings in particular they would like to see demolished or preserved. Finally, residents were shown a draft plan for redevelopment that was based on their input, and then asked for further feedback. This input was solicited through separate processes, each designed to be accessible and relevant to the major cultural/linguistic groups represented in Regent Park. After some difficulty in defining and redefining these groups[68], the planners were satisfied that were able to reach potentially 85% of the Regent Park population with linguistically specific consultation processes[69].

To briefly summarize the results of the consultation: few people wanted to keep any of the existing buildings, and few streets were identified as places where all groups felt safe. Majorities in most groups favored the conversion of dead-ends into through-streets, mixed housing, commercial space, and more community facilities[70]. According to TCH, when a plan was drawn up and presented in December 2002, it was met with "overwhelming approval" as residents "expressed strong support for the design and clearly felt a strong sense of ownership", but still "retained a healthy skepticism about the future"[71]. In sum, according to TCH's accounts of the revitalization as presented in its online reports, the revitalization is a fundamentally democratic and progressive plan that will alleviate many of the problems that Regent Park residents face.

The revitalization is in many ways an attempt to replicate the aforementioned St. Lawrence neighborhood, which, to the planners, is a failsafe way to design a community that "avoid[s] developing into either an exclusively wealthy community" on the one hand "or an area with a 'housing project' atmosphere" on the other[72]. It is also hoped that the new neighborhood will interweave and make "linkages with some of the dynamic changes taking place" in adjacent neighborhoods such as "the Cabbagetown Historical District"[73], the name of which brings together the past, present, and future of Regent Park and invokes a less inclusionary subtext to the revitalization plan.

Ironically, while the name of 'Regent Park' became increasingly maligned through these years of gentrification and economic restructuring, the name of 'Cabbagetown' – the long-gone 'slum' that was once seen as anathema to the modernity and cleanliness of Regent Park – became a hot commodity. This occurred through the complicated interplay between the initially small-scale ventures of a few property speculators, the partial adoption of some strands of postmodernist urbanism by a reformist municipal government, and the changing tastes of many members of the growing white-collar middle class through the 1970s and 1980s.

Don Vale was a low-income neighborhood of narrow streets and aging houses located just north of Regent Park that was slated for clearance and redevelopment as a high-rise rental complex in the late-1960s. Though it was never truly a part of the original Cabbagetown, the two neighborhoods were nearby and similar in many respects, and thus Don Vale was also commonly seen as a blighted downtown slum. Just as Don Vale was to be demolished, a well-to-do architect renovated twelve nineteenth century workers' cottages in the neighborhood and sold them to other privileged individuals from outside the community. This was a risky venture that soon paid off when a reformist city council, inspired by the Jacobsian critique of 'urban renewal', down-zoned the neighborhood and thus barred its impending clearance and redevelopment[74]. Over the next several years, a network of avant-garde mortgage lenders and real estate agents gradually bought up much of Don Vale and rebranded it "Cabbagetown"[75], selling the homes to an urbane section of the middle class who shunned the suburbs they were expected to move into according to the conventions of the day.

Though historically inaccurate, the 'Cabbagetown' label is now firmly entrenched and invokes connotations of a quaintly rustic but definitely urban place to live; a neighborhood that is somehow down-to-earth but definitely upscale at the same time. Houses were sold and resold several times, their values increased exponentially, and Don Vale became an example of the kind of neighborhood described by Jane Jacobs where successful 'unslumming' ironically rendered it elitist and inaccessible[76]. Today, the new Cabbagetown is socially and spatially removed[77] from the Regent Park neighborhood where its namesake once stood, its name a postmodern malapropism that has turned an anti-Irish epithet[78] into a successful marketing label. As the new Cabbagetown embodies the fetishization of the history of poverty in downtown Toronto while insulating itself from the present-day realities of this poverty, the neighborhood brings to mind Flusty's concept of "quaintification" – the rendering signs of social inequality and spatial boundaries between social strata "aesthetically pleasing"; thus rendering "security simultaneously apparent and palatable"[79].

As Caulfield has noted, Don Vale was one many old, down-market downtown Toronto neighborhoods that was spared demolition following the shift away from modernist urban planning, only to be completely transformed through gentrification in years to come[80]. It is also important to note that this gentrification tends to spread; as formerly undesirable blocks become chic and expensive, the bohemian[81] edge of the newly popular neighborhood expands to adjacent communities and beings their gentrification as well. This history of linkages between postmodernist urbanism and gentrification,

particularly in Don Vale, goes a long way to explain some of the pessimism around the Regent Park revitalization plan. During discussions at the Regent Park Film Festival in November 2007, many anti-poverty activists and some residents decried the revitalization plan as nothing more than a cynical machination on the part of politicians and developers to facilitate the gentrification of the neighborhood – comparisons to the capitalistic redevelopment of parts of Brooklyn, New York and the Cabrini-Green housing project of Chicago were made. Given the proximity of 'Cabbagetown' and the sort of misinformed nostalgia for historical poverty that contributes to its appeal, it is not unrealistic to speculate that the history of Regent Park could become similarly fetishized and marked to well-off tenants in years to come as the neighborhood is opened up and linked to surrounding communities, a process which would likely occur at the expense of the public housing stock.

There are also important connections between the neoliberal political economy and the Regent Park revitalization. After decades of neglect, the redevelopment of Regent Park can be seen as the state reasserting itself in the lives of the marginalized, in new and more "entrepreneurial" ways – for example, alongside the $1 billion reinvestment in Regent Park (over half of which is covered by private capital). TCH has also since "begun to sell part of its portfolio to fund new development, rent out space to commercial tenants, and transfer some of its properties to homeownership-based units"[82]. Despite its rhetoric of altruism, The Regent Park Revitalization is part of a broader restructuring of public housing in Toronto that involves altering levels of government spending and intervention in particular areas according to market-based logic.

Conclusion

Similar to how the original Regent Park was designed according to a thoroughly paternalistic housing policy in the 1940s that emerged through the confluence of Keynesian welfare policy and Protestant conservatism, the current neoliberal political economy and the secular individualism it valorizes have given rise to a new sort of moral regulation which aims to turn public housing residents into clean-living, productive, legitimate users of urban space. Purdy has argued that in fact the "real emphasis" of the revitalization plan "is on changing tenants themselves and not government social and economic policies that have generated problems in the project"[83]. While the systemic inequality faced by Regent Park residents is left untouched, the revitalization plan claims to solve the problems of the community by spatially mixing it with middle-class condominium owners. The unstated assumption is that these are the model citizens of the neoliberal city, and that their uprightness will hopefully rub off on public housing residents once they live side-by-side. Meanwhile, crime and violence are expected to be minimized as residents internalize the surveillance instilled by a neighborhood designed to maximize 'eyes on the street'. This reflects the "crime prevention through environmental design" (CPTED) discourse that, despite its important advances in making some urban spaces safer and more accessible, has also been described as a mechanism for social control that is practiced

by residents themselves rather than agents of the state, and thus fits well with neoliberal logic[84].

This paper has focused on the interrelated transitions from expert-driven to participatory planning and from Keynesianism and neoliberalism in Canada, through a comparison of the development and redevelopment of Regent Park in downtown Toronto. Further research in 2009 will revisit and expand on arguments made here through an historical-ethnographic study of Regent Park in the midst of its 'revitalization' – the highlight of which will be conversations with residents regarding their perceptions of the authenticity of this purported attempt to make downtown Toronto a more inclusionary and equitable place.

Notes

[1] For the purposes of comparison, the Canadian and American dollars are of roughly equal value at the time of writing.

[2] Toronto Community Housing, "Welcome to Regent Park: A Place to Call Home." www.regentparkplan.ca, retrieved 01 Oct 2007.

[3] I refer to this neighborhood as "original" because, as discussed later in this paper, a nearby but much different neighborhood has come to be known as "Cabbagetown" since the 1970s.

[4] Rose, Albert, Regent Park: A Study in Slum Clearance (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1958); Matson, Harry, Canada Has First Slum Clearance Project Under Way (The Journal of Housing, September 1949, pp. 292-293).

[5] Caulfield, Jon, City Form and Everyday Life: Toronto's Gentrification and Critical Social Practice (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1994), p. 42.

[6] In this pre-multiculturalist period, Canadians of British descent (the social majority) tended to identify as "British" rather than "Canadian".

[7] Goonewardena, Kanishka and Stefan Kipfer, Spaces of Difference: Reflections from Toronto on Multiculturalism, Bourgeois Urbanism and the Possibility of Radical Urban Politics (International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 29:3, pp. 670-678, 2005).

[8] Solomon, Lawrence, Toronto Sprawls: A History (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 2007), p. 17.

[9] Solomon, 2007, pp. 18-19.

[10] An example of such a plan would be the Plan of Chicago of 1909. See Smith, Carl, The Plan of Chicago: Daniel Burnham and the Remaking of the American City (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), p. 2.

[11] Solomon, 2007, p. 27.

[12] Garner, Hugh, Cabbagetown (Richmond Hill, Canada: Simon & Schuster, 1971) p. 7.

[13] Jacobs, Jane, The Death and Life of Great American Cities (New York: Random House, 1961), p. 271.

[14] Zapparoli, David, Regent Park: The Public Experiment in Housing (Toronto: The Market Gallery, 1999) p. 14.

[15] Lemon, J.T., Social Planning and the Welfare State (L.S. Bourne & D.F. Ley, Eds., The Changing Social Geography of Canadian Cities, Kingston, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), pp. 267-270.

[16] Solomon, 2007, pp. 7-8.

[17] It is important to note, as does Hulchanski, that despite the growing role of the state in Canada's housing sector, the primary goal of housing policy always been to stimulate the supply of private-sector housing units rather than to implement a truly redistributive housing plan. See Hulchanski, J.D., Canada's Housing Policy: An Introduction (University of British Columbia Planning Papers, Canadian Planning Issues #27, 1988).

[18] See Brushett, 2007; Where Will the People Go: Toronto's Emergency Housing Program and the Limits of Canadian Social Housing Policy, 1944-1957 (Journal of Urban History 33, pp. 375-399, 2007); and Purdy, Sean, Framing Regent Park: The National Film Board of Canada and the Construction of 'Outcast Spaces' in the Inner City, 1953 and 1994 (Media, Culture & Society 27:4, pp. 523-249, 2005).

[19] Its name has since been changed to the "Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation".

[20] Brushett, 2007, pp. 379-380.

[21] Caulfield, 1994, p. 29.

[22] Rose, 1958, p. 192.

[23] Purdy, Sean, By The People, for the People: Tenant Organizing in Toronto's Regent Park Housing Project in the 1960s and 1970s (Journal of Urban History 30, pp.519-547, 2004), p. 522.

[24] Purdy, 2004, p. 522.

[25] Lemon, 1993, p. 272.

[26] The National Film Board of Canada is a publicly-funded film producer and distributor best known for its short films and documentaries on social issues of national significance.

[27] National Film Board of Canada, "Farewell to Oak Street", 1953.

[28] Rose, 1958, pp. 10-11.

[29] As Caulfield points out, this was partly due to purely capitalistic motives, as "slum clearance" initiatives were conducive to nearby property investment; this may help explain why the design of Regent Park was "monolithic" and "its implementation was autocratic and often brutal" (Caulfield, 1994, pp. 28 – 29).

[30] Rose, 1958, p. 221.

[31] Matson, 1949, p. 292.

[32] Purdy, Sean and Nancy H. Kwak, Introduction: New Perspectives on Public Housing Histories in the Americas (Journal of Urban History 33:3, pp. 357-374, 2007).

[33] Rose, 1958, p. 222.

[34] Rose, Albert, The Individual, the Family, and the Community in the Process of Urban Renewal (The University of Toronto Law Journal 18:3, pp. 319-329, 1968), p. 321.

[35] Purdy, 2005, p. 531.

[36] Hackworth, J. and A. Moriah, Neoliberalism, Contingency, and Urban Policy: The Case of Social Housing in Ontario (International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 30:3, pp. 510-527, 2006) p. 523.

[37] Lightman, E., Social Policy in Canada (Don Mills, Canada: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 20.

[38] Lightman, 2003, p. 20.

[39] Lemon, 1993, p. 275.

[40] Toronto Community Housing, 2007.

[41] Meagher, Sean and Tony Boston, Community Engagement and the Regent Park Redevelopment (www.regentparkplan.ca/pdfs/revitalization/community_engagement.pdf, 2003, retrieved 01 Oct 2007), p. 18.

[42] Walks, R. and Larry S. Bourne, Ghettos in Canada's Cities? Racial Segregation, Ethnic Enclaves and Poverty Concentration in Canadian Urban Areas (The Canadian Geographer 50:3, pp. 273-297, 2006).

[43] Purdy, 2005, p. 541.

[44] See Purdy, 2005, and Weyman, Bay, Return to Regent Park (National Film Board of Canada, 1994).

[45] Purdy, 2005, p. 541.

[46] Lemon, 1993, p. 276.

[47] Lemon, 1993, p. 276.

[48] Brushett, 2007, p. 393.

[49] Hackworth and Moriah, 2006, p. 515.

[50] The name of Premier Mike Harris, the first leader of this provincial majority government, is virtually synonymous with cutbacks and pro-business governance in the province of Ontario. The administration is often referred to by the shorthand "Harris government", while the late 1990s are often referred to as the "Harris era" by his supporters and detractors alike. The high-profile afforded to Harris, and the personification of the policy changes he oversaw, is arguably comparable to the term "Reaganomics" in regards to American federal politics in the 1980s.

[51] Hackworth and Moriah, 2006, p. 515.

[52] Hackworth and Moriah, 2006, p. 515.

[53] Little, Margaret and Lynne Marks. A Closer Look at the Neo-Liberal Petri Dish (Canadian Review of Social Policy 57, pp. 16-45, 2006).

[54] Weyman, Bay, 1994.

[55] Caulfield, 1994, pp. 82-85.

[56] Caulfield, 1994, p. 97.

[57] Jacobs lived in Toronto from 1968 until her death in 2006. Through her consistent involvement in grassroots activism and municipal politics she became an especially popular figure among liberal and left-wing Torontonians.

[58] Caulfield, 1994, p. 97.

[59] GHK International et al., Lessons from St. Lawrence for the Regent Park Redevelopment Process (http://www.regentparkplan.ca/pdfs/revitalization/Lessons_from_St_%20Lawrence.pdf, 2003, retrieved 01 Oct 2007).

[60] Toronto Community Housing, Executive Summary (www.regentparkplan.ca/revitalization.htm, retrieved 01 Oct 2007), p. 2.

[61] Toronto Community Housing, Executive Summary, 2007, p. 3.

[62] Toronto Community Housing, 2007.

[63] Shufelt, Tim, Regent Park Revitalization: Socially Progressive or Trojan Horse? Moving People Around Like Pawns (The Globe and Mail, 03 Nov 2007), M3.

[64] Toronto Community Housing, "About Revitalization" (www.regentparkplan.ca/revitalization.htm, retrieved 01 Oct 2007).

[65] Meagher and Boston, 2003, p. 5.

[66] Meagher and Boston, 2003, p. 5.

[67] Meagher and Boston, 2003, p. 11.

[68] For example, a sizable Bengali-speaking was invisible to TCH at first; since they were working with census data that was five years old, this group had not yet officially registered.

[69] Meagher and Boston, 2003, p. 18 – 20.

[70] Meagher and Boston, 2003, p. 47-48.

[71] Meagher and Boston, 2003, p. 51.

[72] GHK International et al., 2003.

[73] GHK International et al., 2003.

[74] Ley, David, The New Middle Class and the Remaking of the Central City, (Toronto, Canada: Oxford University Press 1996), p. 46.

[75] Caulfield, 1994, p. 22.

[76] Jacobs, 1961, p. 242.

[77] Though there are no fences between the new "Cabbagetown" and Regent Park, the two neighborhoods are separated just as effectively through a combination of one-way and dead-end streets, a major thoroughfare between the two, and the widely-believed reputation of Regent Park as too dangerous to visit.

[78] The original "Cabbagetown" was thus named in the late nineteenth century in spiteful reference to the Irish immigrant laborers who grew cabbages on their lawns. See Caulfield, 1994, p. 22.

[79] Flusty, Steven, De-Coca-Colonization: Making the Globe From the Inside Out (New York: Routledge, 2004), p. 83.

[80] Caulfield, 1994, pp. 82-85.

[81] Ironically, the congregation of anti-capitalist youth subcultures (such as the hippies and later the punks) and bohemian artists in a downtown Toronto neighborhood is typical of the early stages of gentrification, as they apparently add to the eclectic and exciting feel of the area. Yorkville, for example, was the center of Toronto's hippie scene in the 1960s and is now the site of multimillion-dollar condominiums and the city's most expensive restaurants; while Queen Street West, formerly the domain of punk rockers (many of them street youth) has become an upscale shopping and entertainment strip.

[82] Hackworth and Moriah, 2006, p. 523.

[83] Purdy, 2005, p. 544.

[84] Parnaby, Patrick, Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design: Discourses of Risk, Social Control, and a Neo-Liberal Context (Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice 48:1, pp. 1-29, 2006).

Partnerships for community building and governance in master planned communities: A study of Varsity Lakes at Gold Coast

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Introduction

A number of master planned communities have grown on the outskirts of the cities as a response to increasing demand for housing in large metropolitan regions. Unlike conventional subdivisions, master planned communities are large scale integrated housing developments with a mix of housing types, shopping and services, open spaces and recreation facilities, and employment opportunities (Ewing, 1991; Ewing, 1996; Mouldon, 1990; Schmitz and Bookout, 1998). They are often initiated by the private developers on 'greenfield' sites on the outskirts of the cities. Due to large scale nature of the development, MPCs often have a longer development period and requires long term partnerships of number of stakeholders including developer, local council, state governments and community groups (Minnery and Bajracharya, 1997).

There is a growing debate about the nature of master planned communities in Australia (Lance and Woolcock, 2003; Gwyther, 2005; Gleeson 2004; McGuirk and Dowling 2007; Costley, 2006; Bajracharya and Allison, 2008). Lance and Woolcock (2003) highlight the importance of strengthening the social networks as part of the development of master planned communities. However, Gleeson (2004) argues that current master planned communities lack genuine participation by communities and advocates the need for a participatory model of master planning. Likewise, Gwyther (2005) points out that the modern master planned estates with focus on developer-led urban design and social programs have not provided genuine ideal of community in terms of connectivity, social support and social identity. Some master planned communities have privatized governance with communal areas under community title thus excluding unfettered public access. (McGuirk and Dowling, 2007). Consistent throughout these debates is the underlying argument that the development of an active and interactive community requires effective community governance in the master planned communities (Bajracharya, Donehue and Baker, 2007).

With the declining role of local government in provision of services, developers are increasingly playing a greater role in provision of community services and community building. In the context of Australia, the developer plays an active role in private governance of master planned communities during the stage of development of master planned communities. A gap in the management of the master planned communities occurs, however, with the handing over of the management of community facilities and parks to local government and community groups once the developer exits. One of the

key questions in master planned communities in Australia is to understand how to develop effective mechanisms to transfer from private governance to local and community governance. The paper attempts to address this question by doing a case study of a master planned community in Queensland where a developer is developing a proactive model of governance which can transfer from private to community and local governance.

The paper begins with a brief review of literature on governance and master planned communities in order to provide the context to the problem. It then discusses the historic development of master planned communities in Australia with particular focus in South East Queensland. It presents a case study of Varsity Lakes, a master planned community in Gold Coast, investigating the nature of partnerships and governance in master planned communities. The paper attempts to understand the types of partnership initiatives undertaken for community building by identifying the roles of key stakeholders in the partnerships for community building and governance. The paper then discusses the model of community governance initiated by the developer and identity the key issues relating to the collaborations for community building and their implications for community governance.

As part of research methodology, the study relies on a review of relevant policy documents, a content analysis of the Varsity Lakes community website and interviews with key informant including representatives of the developer, a town planner and a community development worker from within the area.

Review of literature: community building and governance in MPCs

This section will first introduce the concept of community governance and community building to establish the context of governance in master planned communities. It will then review community building and community governance systems found in the master planned communities of USA and Queensland, Australia.

Community Building and Governance in Master planned Communities

Governance can be seen as a process employed to bring together all key stakeholders to contribute toward shared community objectives. Governance covers the spheres of partnerships, interactions debate and conflict between local citizens, organisations and local government (Evans, Joas, Sundback and Theobald, 2005). Community governance implies the power to engage in the process at grass roots level by citizens and local communities. Some of the key principles of governance are *participation, accountability, effectiveness and coherence* (European Union White paper 2001 cited in Evans, Joas, Sundback and Theobald, 2005). Community building is considered the soul work of governance and is crucial for creating social networks and connections (Vivian Hutchinson cited in Richardson, 1999). Related to the idea of community building is the concept of *social capital* advocated by Putnam (1993; 2000) who emphasised the importance of social networks for facilitating education, coordination and cooperation of the community for their mutual benefit.

Community building and governance are closely related concepts which are crucial for development of master planned communities.. Many master planned communities provide a range of community facilities and organise community events as part of the community building exercise. In many master planned communities, there is an emphasis on the provision of both hard infrastructure as well as soft programming to attract residents and develop a sense of community (Schmitz and Bookout, 1998). Some of the hard infrastructure includes parks, walking trails, exercise fitness centres, churches, town centres and established schools. Some of the soft programming elements include opportunities of interaction for parents of young children, organised programs for young children, community organiser to start up clubs and community events. The soft programming features can add value to the communities.

Governance of master planned communities in US

Master planned communities in the USA have a long history of resident community associations taking over the management of the community after the developer completes the development. Community association is a mandatory entity with membership of all property owners in the new development (Hyatt, 1998). Community association is a nonprofit corporation with its own by-laws for procedures and organization. Stabile (2000) provides a history of the development of community associations and considers it an innovation in terms of management for housing, providing communal services to residents to supplant public services from local government.

Referring to the master planned communities constructed during 1980s and 1990s, Halter (1998) reports that these community associations have, over time, evolved into service providers, providing a range of services such as those related to technology, cultural activities and liaison between businesses, councils and residents. Community website software is often developed and maintained to foster links between residents, schools and local businesses and provide a number of other functions such as setting up information points for babysitters, tutors, and support staff for local businesses.

Such community associations need to be dynamic and responsive to the changing needs of the community while protecting the rights of individual property owners (Hyatt, 1998). The need for balance between community needs and individual property rights also raises concerns about the regulation of maintenance, particularly with respect to infrastructure and community based assets, and the somewhat vexed issue of use restrictions. Some of the governance issues identified are the need for providing services that currently lie 'between' or outside of the ambit of more established governance structures, such as child care, security, affordable housing, and the care of an aging population. There are some questions regarding whether community governance should be accompanied by more professional management and volunteering programs to effectively address these issues.

There are growing criticisms of many aspects of master planned communities in the US. Blakely and Snyder (1997) criticize the rise of gated master planned communities questioning the need for and social value of gates and walls being created thus preventing the outsiders from having access to the privately governed communities. They also point out the growing opposition to these phenomena. Likewise, Mackenzie (1994) argues that the rise of homeowners association and rise of residential private government has major implication on civil liberties. Gated communities and community associations can lead to enclaves of affluence without much concern for surrounding communities. Recently Fogelson (2003) similarly critiques the use of restrictive covenants in the American cities arguing the fear of difference motivated the use of restrictive covenants by the developers. Homeowners associations were used as mechanisms for use of restrictive covenants for protection of property values but they should not micromanage the lives of residents.

Governance of master planned communities in Queensland, Australia

Unlike the US where community associations take over the management responsibilities of master planned communities after the developer has moved on, there is no established system for transferring management or governance responsibilities following the exit of the developer from master planned communities in Queensland, Australia. The overall responsibility for management of parks, open spaces transfers to the relevant local council which is often financially constrained to maintain the community infrastructure to the same levels as the developer has maintained. This often leads to a decline in standards of the community spaces such as parks in the master planned community following the developer's exit. These problems have been highlighted in some of the earlier master planned communities built in South East Queensland.

Delfin Lend Lease, one of the biggest land developers in Australia has encouraged community building in their earlier master planned communities such as Forest Lake through organisation of community events and provision of community facilities. It is primarily the responsibility of the local government, however, to manage public and community infrastructure now that the developer has completed the project.

In one of its latest MPC ventures called Varsity Lakes, the same developer is currently engaged in a serious attempt to strengthen community building by establishing a community governance entity called Varsity Lakes Community Limited (VLCL). This entity provides a community governance model whereby the community, through VLCL, will play an active role in management of the master planned community after the developer moves on. This is an interesting model with the potential for wide scale adoption among MPCs in the context of Queensland as it represents a proactive approach that seeks to move from private governance to community governance. As we will discuss later, the model being developed represents *developer-led community governance* which is a significant improvement over the earlier *developer-led private governance*. The challenge then is to convert this *developer-led community governance* into *community-led community governance* whereby local community

groups within the master planned community could take over its leadership after the developer exits the scene (Figure 1)
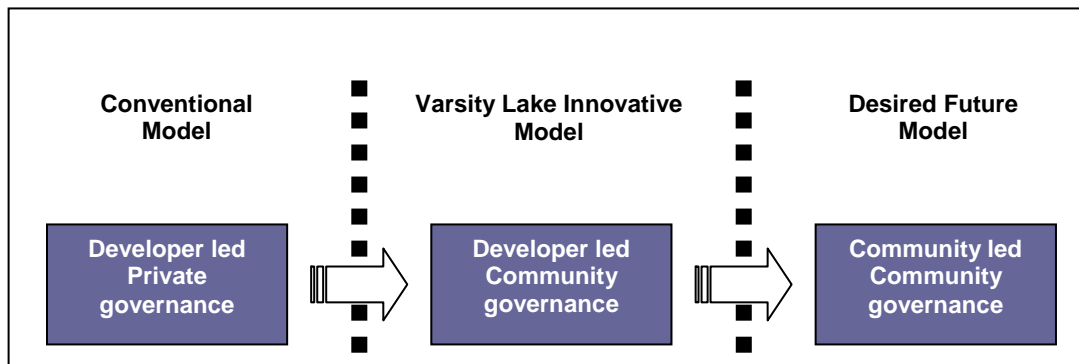
Figure 1: Evolution of the Community Governance Model

Following a brief discussion on the historic evolution of master planned communities in Australia and description of case study area of Varsity Lakes in the following section, the paper focuses on the crucial elements of a community governance model for MPCs, identifying key issues that emerge in public-private partnerships involved in community building and community governance.

Historic evolution of master planned communities in Australia

Although Freestone's book *Designing Australian Cities* (2007) provides an excellent account of the Australian planning history, there is little write-up on the historical development of master-planned communities in Australia. As Freestone has pointed out, there has been revival in *city beautiful* concept with growing interest in urban design in Australia since 1980s. New master planned communities in Australia are part of this trend with focus on green open spaces, community building and place-making. Some of the earlier master-planned communities in Australia seem to have been influenced by new town development in the UK and master-planned communities in the US. Delfin (now Delfin Lend Lease) has played an important role in the historical development of private sector driven master planned communities in Australia. Delfin is Australia's leading developer with about 20 major master planned community projects in different parts of the country. It is a land development company with its roots in South Australia, which developed one of its first master planned community of West Lakes (current population of about 6000 people) in South Australia in the 1970s (It was followed by two other master planned communities of Golden Grove and more recent Mawson Lakes in South Australia). One of the key characteristics of the West Lakes development is that the developer worked closely with the State government to build housing and other community development infrastructure within the new housing estate. In South East Queensland region, Forest Lake was one of the first developments of Delfin followed by more recent developments of Varsity Lakes in Gold Coast, Woodlands in Logan and Springfield Lakes in Ipswich. Another Delfin development called Yarrabilba (land area

of 2,000 hectares and planned population of 52,000) is being proposed near Gold Coast.

There are two distinct models of MPCs being developed by Delfin. The first type is where land is owned by another company but Delfin has the development rights for the land. Second type is where the developer owns both the land as well as the development rights. The majority of the development of Delfin is the first type (eg, Varsity Lakes, Springfield Lakes), while a few developments such as Forest Lakes is the type where the land is also owned by Delfin. There is another new type of development emerging in recent years. The proposed Ripley Valley master planned community in Ipswich has multiple land developers with the council acting as the coordinating body for the development of the master plan. It has set up a Ripley Valley Master Planning Task Force with representation from the council, development industry and community groups for this purpose.

The type of master planned communities and nature of collaboration between the developer and council have changed over time. While many of the earlier master planned communities were primarily bed room communities, some of the new ones have a greater focus on creating employment within the development as well. In terms of relationship between council and developers, the nature of collaboration has also evolved. While one of the earlier master planned communities in South east Queensland developed with informal agreements between the council and developer, some of the later MPCS have been developed under more formal infrastructure agreements and legislations. For example, in the case of Centenary development, one of the earlier MPCs which started in the 1960s in Brisbane, there was an 'informal' contract between the Brisbane city council and developer Hookers Corporation that the council will fund the infrastructure including sewerage and connecting bridge while the private developer provided the local infrastructure (this development was later bought up by a larger developer Australand in later stage). In the case of Robina, another development in the Gold Coast which started in the 1980s, the council and developer had negotiated a 'structure plan' and development agreement covering infrastructure provision. This was a contractual agreement between the two in stead of the Development Control Plan which was considered too rigid and lacking flexibility to adapt to market changes (Minnery and Bajracharya, 1998). Varsity Lakes was also initially developed according to a structure plan agreed to between the developer and Gold Coast city council. Many of the newer development such as Springfield, North Lakes were based on the Development Control Plan (DCP) and infrastructure agreements. Some MPCs have been created with special legislation as well since the size and scale of development precluded conventional approval of development. (Such as Robina Central Planning Agreement Act and Local Government (Springfield) Act)

Besides Delfin, the other major developers of master planned communities in South East Queensland are Stockland, Springfield Land Corporation, Robina Land Corporation and Investa. Stockland is developing North Lakes (for 25,000 population) in Pine Rivers north of Brisbane (this development was initially developed by Lend Lease but it later changed hands), Springfield Land Corporation is developing a 80,000

population master planned community in Ipswich (Delfin Lend Lease is responsible for development of part of residential areas called Springfield Lakes), Robina Land Corporation has developed master planned community of Robina (25,000) in Gold Coast. The proposed Ripley Valley master planned community will be the largest master planned community in Australia with a project population of about 100,000 people. Four major development companies Investa, Amex, Wingate, JMKelly Group are collaborating in this project.

The above discussion on history of master planned communities in Australia with particular focus on South East Queensland provides a useful context for discussion of the case study area of Varsity Lakes in Gold coast.

Varsity Lakes case study

Varsity Lakes is a recent master planned community, popular with empty nesters, professional couples and mature families because of its high quality built form and access to facilities and employment (Bajracharya, Morris and Cook, 2006). Development of Varsity Lakes began in 1999 and is expected to be fully developed by 2010. The master plan for Varsity Lakes encompasses total area of 343 hectares, containing a range of residential, mixed use, community and business land use It includes a defined town centre and residential precincts, focused along the foreshore of a lake and other open space.

The town centre is planned to become a cosmopolitan business hub with about 150,000m^2 of commercial space, generating an employment base for approximately 4,500 people. The town centre contains two precincts, namely Varsity Central and Market Square The Varsity Central precinct immediately adjoins a university (Bond University) and contains an office park, mix use development and education facilities. The Market Square precinct backs on to the lake and contains a range of local shopping, dining and entertainment facilities. There are also specific allotments adjacent to the town centre designated for SOHO (Small Office/Home Office) dwellings which can accommodate office or retail space on the lower floor for work-from-home professionals and small business.

Varsity Lakes contains 12 residential villages which are expected to yield a total of about 3,000 allotments and a resident population of 7,800 people. Each precinct is planned to have a special focus, based on either their proximity to the lake, town centre and golf course or alternatively based on vistas to nearby hinterland and coastal areas. The two residential villages immediately adjoining the town centre and overlooking the lake, contain medium density residential complexes and well as some mixed use development. The residential areas in other localities are planned to support more traditional low density residential development

Open space within Varsity Lakes is focused around an 80 hectares feature lake and 56 hectares of public parks and outdoor recreation areas. The network of public parks and

outdoor recreation areas includes residential neighbourhood parks, lake foreshore areas and nature reserves that are linked by 20 kilometres of pedestrian paths and bikeways.

Role of key stakeholders in partnerships for community building in MPCs

The Developer

The private developer, Delfin Lend Lease, is the single most important stakeholder driving the development of Varsity Lakes. It has an arrangement for development rights with the owner of land University of Queensland to plan and develop the land. It has developed the vision for the development and implemented much of the land development, economic and community development activities within Varsity Lakes. It has negotiated agreements with a number of stakeholders including local government (Gold Coast City Council).for the town planning approvals of development, with business groups to attract existing local and new businesses, and various building and construction companies. It has undertaken a number of community building activities such as community events, supporting a range of community groups within the master planned community. It has also initiated a community sporting facility for use by the residents and business community in the area.

Local Council

Gold Coast City Council is another important stakeholder in community building in Varsity lakes. The local councillor is actively involved in community development activities of Varsity Lakes including commitment of financial support for a Sports House within the community. The Economic Development Unit within the local council works closely with the developer to ensure Varsity Lakes can establish businesses within its area in line with the strategic economic goals of the council for the area. Local council also plays an important role in the approval of overall master plan and development applications for new buildings within the Varsity Lakes.

Resident groups:

Varsity Lakes is rapidly developing into a community of about 5500 people at this stage. There is a resident association called Varsity Lakes Progress Association which has been formed as a representative group of the local residents. Some of the objectives of the association are to identify the future needs of the community and enhancing lifestyle and safety while providing a forum for residents to raise issues and concerns. It is expected to seek to ensure maintenance of the existing quality of the development and act as a lobby group to increase the area's attractiveness to local businesses and securing the required services.

Business Groups

There are two major groups which represent business interests in Varsity Lakes. The first is the Varsity Lakes Management Association comprising of local businesses within

Varsity Lakes. It promotes local employment generation by marketing the area. It organises events and activities to raise the profile of local businesses and help generate community interest within Varsity Lakes. The other business group is the Robina Varsity Chamber of Commerce which is a wider business association representing the interests of the Robina and Varsity businesses. It aims to play a leading role in the economic development of the region by acting as a conduit to all levels of government.

State government

A number of projects have been conceived by the developer in partnership with the State government. Varsity College has been established within Varsity Lakes in partnership with the State government's education department, Education Queensland. The college houses both elementary and secondary schools. A special school for deaf children has also been planned within the community. Meanwhile, in collaboration with a leading private sector pre-primary school service provider, Varsity Lakes has established a preschool.

There is also work underway towards establishing a new transit village with new railway station, retail and housing facilities within the Varsity Lakes.

Public-private-community partnership initiatives

Sports House

The developer, in association with a private sporting company, has been organising corporate sports and recreation programs within Varsity Lakes including individual as well as team based activities. In collaboration with the local council and local community, the developer is working towards developing a community sport facility for various community and sports events in the area. A Sports House@ Varsity Lakes committee has been set up, enlisting support from the local councillor with some financial commitment from the council. . The developer also encourages the local business and sporting bodies to make capital contributions to the project. This is an example of the community, businesses and the local council coming together for community building. The planned facility is to include boat launching, community meeting spaces, and watercraft storage and fitness and recreation program. This facility is to be run by the Varsity Lakes Limited (to be discussed in further detail later).

Varsity Lakes Online

In collaboration with the local businesses and community groups, the developer has set up a community internet portal called Varsity Lakes Online, featuring information/ resources on local community and businesses.   It facilitates the booking of community/ sporting facilities and keeps residents up-to-date with latest developments.

Work towards Establishment of Community Bank

The developer has undertaken the initiative to set up a community bank for the master planned community based on the Bendigo Bank model. It has managed to secure the support of the local council members, a Federal member, local residents and business owners within the area. A twenty-member Varsity Lakes Steering Committee has been set up which seeks indicative pledge of support from the local community. The community bank model requires a percentage of bank's profit to be put back into the community for community projects, organisation and events. It is currently engaged in raising $615,000, inviting local residents and local businesses to purchase $1 shareholdings in the company.

Varsity Lakes Economic Development Strategy

The Varsity Lakes economic development strategy has its roots in the joint agreement between Gold Coast City Council and the developer to make Varsity Lakes a living and working community with targeted employment base of 4,500. In line with the city council's Pacific Innovation Corridor project that identified eight major industries, Varsity Lakes has been designated as the lead information and communication technology cluster within the city. It has also received support from the Federal government's Building Information Technology Strengths program (BITS) program, whereby an ICT incubator (inQbater) was established in Varity Lakes.

Varsity Lakes Community Limited (VLCL)

Varsity Lakes Community Limited (VLCL) is a not-for-profit company developed to take over once the developer leaves the community, marking the transition from private to community governance in the master planned community. VLCL is represented by all key stakeholder groups within Varsity Lakes. This includes residents nominated by the Varsity Lakes Progress Association, local business groups nominated by the Varsity Lakes Management Association, and educational institutions nominated by the Varsity Lakes College and Bond University. The Varsity Lake Online group and the Community Bank are also represented, The VLCL is chaired by a senior staff of the developer's company.

VLCL is designed to acts as a peak body representing the major groups. It is to act as the overarching custodian body to provide direction and support groups that may struggle occasionally. A staff member of the Gold Coast City Council sits on the committee as non-voting member. VLCL assumes the role of the owner and manager of proposed community facilities such as the Sports House.

Currently, funding for the bulk of its activities is provided by the developer. It is expected, however, that other stakeholders will gradually relieve the developers burden by contributing to the running the VLCL. It is in the process of developing a VLCL operations manual.

Key Issues on partnerships for community building and governance

<u>Identifying the roles of VLCL and Council</u>

Varsity Lakes Community Limited (VLCL) is a developer led initiative that may be classified as a community governance model which is still at a nascent stage of development. It is indeed one of the first models in Queensland where the developer of master planned community has sought to put in place a mechanism for continued community building before it leaves the scene. Unlike conventional practice in master planned communities where the developer leaves the responsibility of maintaining community services and open spaces to the local council when it withdraws, the developer has taken a positive and proactive approach of establishing community governance. In this model, the developer hands over the governance to both community (VLCL) and the local council.

In this situation, it is important to have clear understanding of the division of work between the local council and VLCL after the developer leaves. A memorandum of understanding between the two entities about their specific roles would be a good starting point to eliminate ambiguities. One concern with leaving the local maintenance to local government is that they don't have enough resources to carry out maintenance to the same standards as the developer has done. The local council can still provide the cost of basic maintenance of parks and public spaces at par with other communities. The VLCL could then provide the top-up to maintain higher quality maintenance as desired. Such an arrangement needs effective communication, coordination and a clear identification of roles of VLML and council to work efficiently and avoid duplication or mismatch of services. This may involve the services of technically qualified personnel.

<u>Leadership and Mutual Trust</u>

Currently at least two employees represent the developer on VLCL, with a senior staff of the developer holding the chair. When the project is completed the developer will withdraw its involvement in the management of day-to-day activities of Varsity lakes. There needs to be put in place a clear and transparent mechanism to identify and develop local leadership from within the community to fill the vacuum in the leadership of the VLCL. The leadership development process should commence well before the developers' departure from the development. Without a strong leadership to guide the VLCL after the developer leaves, it would be difficult to sustain community governance.

Mutual trust is an important element of community building, especially so in master planned communities with multiple stakeholders. Turf issues and self interest between different stakeholders can become a barrier to developing effective partnerships as discussed in earlier literature review and need to be handled. Turf issues may relate to perceived competition for limited resources as well as stakeholders wishing to preserve their autonomy and status and protecting their roles and interests. A number of trust

building mechanisms would need to be put in place to develop effective communication and to promote understanding of each other's roles and interests. Communication between VLCL, local council, communities outside Varsity Lakes,, business organisations and the residents have to be ongoing and frequent to avoid any build up of misunderstanding and misinformed expectations..

Strategic versus operation management

Community governance deals with long term strategic directions as well as day-to-day operations. It is not clear whether VLCL will be involved in both strategic and operational management of Varsity Lakes once the developer has withdrawn.

A master planned community in Pheonex, Verrrado has two levels of community governance – the Verrado Assembly that focuses on strategic direction setting, and the Verrado Community Association, a resident association which deals with managing day to day activities. Varsity Lakes Community limited probably plays greater role in strategic management and bringing together diverse groups of residents, businesses and education providers. The organisational structure of Varsity Lakes could be developed to include a management committee or board to handle strategic management decisions whereas the Executive Director would be responsible for operational management of the VLCL.

Stakeholder access to resources

In the case of Varsity lakes there appears to be a range of stakeholders who may wield varying degrees of power and resourcefulness. For example, the business groups and residents group may be quite differently empowered. To ensure positive and sustainable partnerships, collaboration has to be aimed for. Collaborative partnerships based on mutual trust and respect are essential to promote a cooperative investment of combined resources in terms of time, effort and funds, joint risk taking and the sharing of benefit, between a multitude of partners. Elaborate mechanisms need to be developed for sharing of power and authority and definig roles and responsibilities. This may warrant the drafting of agreements by legal experts between different partners for contributing to the community.

The Community Bank

In the case of Varsity Lakes, the developer has put in the seed money to start VLCL. To be economically sustainable, it is important for VLCL would need to generate funds in order to reimburse the developer and run it after the developer withdraws. Towards this end, the developer has initiated the establishment of a community bank within Varsity Lakes. This is a novel idea to facilitate community enterprise by pooling together community resources. The community bank venture also has the potential to provide a format for the various groups and individual residents to buy a stake in investment ventures at different scales of investment. It can also be seen as a means

to gain greater stakes of the community in the local bank by encouraging local residents and businesses to invest in the local bank.

The community bank is a franchise of Bendigo Bank which has proven to be a successful model in Australia. However, its success is mostly reported from areas of locational disadvantage such as small rural communities. Bendigo Bank model has proven to be a viable substitute to commercial banks in communities threatened by the 'dying town' syndrome because of population decline and the withdrawal of services by government agencies. As private commercial banks followed suit and closed down branch offices, the community bank has presented an option to fill in the gap commendably. However, its application in an affluent master planned community is rather new and both its potential positives and negatives need to be understood.

While the setting up of a community bank promises great potential to ensure financial viability of VLCL, there may be some issues that warrant investigation. For example, it is not clear how this would affect the location and operation of other private banks in the area. It is also possible that having institutional links with other commercial banks may affect the commitment of some businesses within the area to support for community bank.

An elitist governance model?

The Varsity Lake community governance model could be criticised as one that seeks to promote an elitist community. It seeks to ensure that the standards of maintenance and community facilities within the community are of a higher standard than what the local council can provide for in other, non-master plan, communities. There are two main aspects that need to be considered. Firstly, the financial operations need to be transparent so that the interest and investment by the community and the local council can be separately seen. The local council should be able to show that its share of investment in Varsity Lakes in cash and kind remains at par with what it spends on other communities. Secondly, the community governance would need to ensure that Varsity Lakes does not become an inward looking community. Linkages with surrounding communities within Gold Coast would need to be developed. Opportunities for other communities to access and share the facilities located within Varsity lakes, such as the school and the community sporting club need to be considered.

Conclusion

Most master planned communities in Queensland seems to be managed by governance models put in place by the developer. These *developer led initiatives generally yield a private governance model initially where the developer assumes almost total responsibility in managing and maintaining community spaces and facilities. Once the development is complete and the developer has moved on,* the governance model gives way to a *local council led governance model* as the responsibility of management of much of public spaces and community facilities become the responsibility of the local

council. However there are problems with this model as local councils don't have resources to maintain them to a same standard as the developer.

The case study of Varsity Lakes has identified another model which is an attempt to address this issue by establishing a *developer led community governance model* with establishment of a Varsity Lakes Community Limited (VLCL). While this is an improvement over conventional practice, there is still the need to further develop it and strive to transform it into a *community led community governance model. This would ensure* that the community itself can work to ensure the sustainability of the master planned community long after developer has left the place.

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From the corridors of power to the community soap box: the town planning association of New South Wales in postwar Sydney

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Introduction

The twentieth century was the century of planning.[1] In Australia, the years from just before world war one to the mid 1960s defined a momentous transformation in the cultural organisation of planning which shifted from the realm of progressive urban reform to institutionalisation by the state, with the key changes effected from the 1940s. The role of the citizen altered fundamentally during this period, especially that of the informed urban middle class. At first advocating and agitating for change, they urged and shaped governments into accepting new coordinative responsibilities of urban intervention. Over time they ended up as critics of planning actions by state and local authorities as the redistributive impacts of planning in practice prompted a redefinition of citizen participation toward more insurgent roles.

In Sydney, the primate capital city of the state of New South Wales (NSW), an organised town planning movement crystallised in the 1910s. Out of this awakening through to the 1940s the state response is circumscribed: tinkering with traditional local government legislation, formation of advisory committees and ad hoc initiatives in physical planning with bolder initiatives checked by the Great Depression and two world wars. But patchwork responses were ill-suited to a metropolis which had grown in population from about 500,000 to over 2.5 million from the turn of the century to the late 1960s.[2]   Post-war reconstruction fostered a climate for change nationally. The initial breakthrough in NSW was the *Local Government (Town and Country Planning) Act* 1945. Influenced by a British approach to planning, this Act enabled local authorities for the first time to prepare comprehensive zoning schemes, established a state bureaucracy for coordination and Ministerial advice, and created the machinery for the preparation of a metropolitan plan in the Abercrombie tradition. By the 1960s, however, the pressures of metropolitan growth, unresponsiveness to government imperatives, local-state conflict, and surfacing community concerns about planning's outcomes, were drivers for another round of institutional change.

One planning organisation which remarkably spans this entire period is the Town Planning Association of New South Wales (TPANSW). This Association, formed in Sydney in 1913, played an early key role in government recognition and community acceptance of the importance of town planning reforms. Through most of the interwar period it continued to actively promote the benefits of planning by advocating passage of a town planning act. The Association survived into the post-war period as a commentator on planning issues. But its historical reformist aspirations hardened into

the pursuit of reactionary and idiosyncratic causes shunned by the planning system for which it had helped prepare the groundwork.

This paper examines the place and contribution of the TPANSW in the post-war Sydney planning scene to consider the role of community organisations in planning activity. It contextualises the Association's activities in the context of its own early history as a vital force until the 1930s. Focusing on the leadership of long-time president Bertram Ford, the paper charts the activities and declining significance of a once highly credible organisation into an increasingly marginalized voice in planning discourse, unable to reconcile its old fashioned ideology to a quite different urban planning landscape.

The Town Planning Association of NSW 1913-1967

From its inception by the publisher-progressive George A Taylor, the TPANSW secured a community presence by utilising a variety of methods encapsulated in its constitution adopted following establishment of the Association at a public meeting in Sydney's Town Hall on 17 October 1913.[3] The agenda was strong on educational services such as public lectures and exhibitions, public meetings and deputations, and a constant flow of propaganda to spread the good news about town planning. The membership base was mainly middle to upper class professionals and businessmen, its leading members drawn mainly from the built environment professions and civic life.

The Association successfully juggled roles as both respected advisor and lobbyist to the state government and municipal councils. It was invited to advise on local government and state-wide planning initiatives and assist with solutions to issues such as road-widening, beautifying neighbourhoods, and designing civic centres and parklands. It received attentive consideration from other professionals with its particular planning brand and visionary zeal. As a Sydney-centric group, it was often bound up in the deliberations of Sydney City Council on issues ranging from street hoardings and fruit barrows to grander plans for a city on the rise in the mid-twentieth century.[4]

Expatriate British architect John Sulman led the fledgling Association throughout its first decade. Behind the scenes George Taylor and his wife Florence emerged as fearless but ultimately conservative ideologues.[5] Whilst the TPANSW's mission was diverse, always in its sights was the passing of town planning legislation; a matter which nonetheless continually eluded it. The Association cannot be entirely blamed for this failure. Business interests and government instability in NSW also stifled the strong political will required.

Following the resignation of Sulman in 1924 and the subsequent death of George Taylor in 1928, there was a marked change in the TPANSW's approach to its work. The subsequent succession of presidents belied organisational refreshment as the Association became more selective, reactive, myopic and conservative in its suite of planning goals. It became more aligned with commercial interests at a time when revitalisation of the city centre accompanying construction of the Sydney Harbour Bridge (opened 1932) dominated city development. Its founding membership included

those concerned with social issues, such as poor housing and the general health of the city, but they fell out of step with more dominant pro-business voices of the Association.

As its governing executive grew from the late 1920s, general membership dwindled.[6] The TPANSW continued with its propaganda, rolling out plans and ideas for a better Sydney, meeting monthly, reporting on its agendas in various journals published by Florence Taylor, notably *Building, Commonwealth Home, Construction* and *Harmony,* raising its voice amongst the pages of the Sydney newspapers and bringing its resolutions to politicians, sister professions and the community at large. But the professional respect was not sustainable as the younger and more energetic built environment professionals in Sydney organised themselves into other forums. The Association lost critical ground as a body without the essential clout to make things happen. Members continued to pat each other on the back for the good work carried out but the actual outcomes were limited.

From the mid-1930s until its demise, the TPANSW was controlled by the firm, if somewhat eccentric hand of one man – Bertram W Ford. The resolutions continued: the perennial call for town planning legislation; the need for a town planning authority; the need for government action here or there. These pleas increasingly fell on deaf ears. "Some consider us fools, whilst others think we are mad. Despite of this, we persistently carry on"[7]. Political deputations, once a standard method of pleading a cause, were often met with refusal. The Association's preoccupations drifted more and more to place-specific civic improvement schemes, either volunteered or invited by the odd local council. By the 1940s even these planning opportunities had largely dried up and the Association was reduced to reactive commentaries from Ford. By the 1950s the TPANSW seemed distant and divorced from the pressing issues of the day, notably metropolitan planning. Drained of funds, energy, members and professional expertise, the Association was able to achieve little in its waning years. It disappeared with Ford's death in 1967.

Bertram Ford

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s the main voice of the TPANSW was Bertram Willoughby Ford. Rarely is any other member mentioned publicly, except when there is an occasional press notice of office bearers, awards or a funeral.[8] Born in 1880, Ford trained as an architect, beginning a career in 1905 noteworthy for his eclectic designs of small banks in rural NSW.[9] As a member of the Institute of Architects when the TPANSW formed, Ford attended some of its earliest public lectures, but became unfinancial in the Great Depression. [10]The first official mention of Ford's formal connection with the TPANSW is 1922 when he was listed as a founding member of a suburban sub-branch.[11] He appeared as a Councillor and Secretary in 1931. He became president in 1935.

Not all of Ford's appearances in the media related to town planning. Indeed, from 1925 to 1931 he was a sports journalist with the *Sydney Morning Herald* and followed the lawn tennis circuit.[12] Ford's public interest preoccupations miscellaneously ranged from

basic wage increases and their effect on the building trade, painting the Sydney Harbour Bridge in 'old gold' paint, abolition of the upper house of parliament, and feeding 'hungry kookas'.[13] As a virtual one-man band, certainly by the late 1950s, his style was eccentric and emboldened. Under his pen, the tone and content of the Association's annual reports became erratic and often bizarre, alternating between gushing prose, tortured angst and sheer anger.[14] Like all presidents before him, a self-assured and confident Ford was blunt and to the point when it came to offering an opinion – all the TPANSW had to offer by the 1950s. At heart he held a deeply conservative stance which limited and skewed his reading of the issues. His political affiliation was the United Australia Party, a forerunner of today's Liberal Party on the political right.[15]

The Ideology of action

When Ford assumed leadership, a deep ambivalence in the TPANSW's mission was already apparent. On the one hand its historical mandate was to spread the word and elevate community understanding as to planning's desirability. On the other hand it began to assume the role of a polite, protest group, contesting government's action when considered not in the public interest. The Association seemingly sought change for the better through creative public policy, but it endorsed a small government philosophy routinely buffeted by what it saw as heavy-handed government action. Town planning was a fine goal when it stood for visions such as suburban parkland and civic design. It proved more problematical when it infringed on private property rights and business profits.

Recurring issues from the 1930s included replanning Macquarie Street, extending Martin Place, the future of Circular Quay, and contesting alienation of parklands, particularly showpieces like Sydney's Domain. While the Association often spoke out against loss of open space, it was not overly concerned about demolition of historic heritage buildings in the interests of 'progress'. When the National Trust protested the state government's demolition of historic St Malo in suburban Hunters Hill in the late 1950s, Ford's position was that the Trust "should pay attention to more worthy matters".[16] In his final report, Ford presented thoughts on topics as disparate as increased fares on the Manly Ferry to a claim that the Association was instrumental in the lifting of Olympic champion Dawn Fraser's overseas swimming ban. Blasting the state government for failing to listen to his ministrations, Ford also announced that it was time for the Association to "go it alone" in tackling the rising toll of human life in road accidents. He named his crusade "Knights of the Road" with his knights guided by principles including assisting pedestrians across the road.[17]

Larger contemporary questions of town planning were frequently ignored. The Association's annual reports provide little insight into the extraordinary changes in the organisation of planning in the post-war period. These had seemingly little impact on its activities. It could be that Ford was piqued by his and the Association's exclusion from the corridors of power. In his annual review for the year ending 1946, he protested the state government's 'insult' in omitting him from the influential new Town and Country

Planning Advisory Committee which provided high level ministerial advice from 1945 to 1963.[18] He perhaps transcended such grounds for grievance by directing his energies towards issues emanating more directly from his personal interests.

The overall agenda followed the same conservative anti-socialist line which the Taylors stood for.[19] And it did not help matters that NSW was under a left-of-politics Labor Government rule from 1941 to 1965. In 1943 Ford wrote to Prime Minister John Curtin suggesting he look towards his own state of Western Australia and direct all states to do good deeds in planning and housing. Ford highlighted the "invaluable work" done in the west by its town planning commissioner and former TPANSW president David Davidson. He believed it was timely for all Australians to have the best possible housing at the lowest affordable price.[20] Concerned about housing shortages in a post-war world, the TPANSW devoted several pages to the issue in its 1942-43 annual report. But at the end of the war Ford's bipartisan commitment to the post-war political consensus, which established a foundation for planning and housing legislation, had fractured. He reverted to barbs, childish stories and poetry to express his disappointment and outrage at the work of the Commonwealth Housing Commission, widely considered a landmark in national urban policy, as a 'communistic' operation.[21]

Ford became regularly outspoken in his criticism of government expenditure, with no shortage of targets: the Sydney Opera House[22], the Cahill Expressway[23], and general waste and inefficiency, especially in regard to planning schemes. Following the report of a study tour made by a delegation of City of Sydney Councillors to North America, Ford declared in the press that it was "utterly stupid" and full of "fatuous findings".[24]

The TPANSW's stance on two of the most significant planning institutions of the 1940s was highly problematic and akin to anti-planning. From its formation through the early 1940s, the Association had promoted town planning legislation for NSW. In 1935 Ford felt that "our goal is in sight"[25] but another decade passed before assent of the *Local Government (Town and Country Planning) Amendment Act*.[26] But he railed against the government for not including the Association in the deliberations leading up to the drafting of the bill. He spoke disdainfully of the Premier and the Minister for Local Government for refusing "to meet us or to hear our representations in connection with it", and far from welcoming the legislation, he decried it as "a cynical betrayal of a great movement".[27]

Similarly, Ford was troubled by the formation of Sydney's pioneering metropolitan strategic planning authority – the Cumberland County Council. Ford was initially sceptical about what it could achieve without the technical expertise and knowledge of town planners.[28] When it produced its landmark metropolitan blueprint after three years, he aligned the TPANSW with real estate and other critics in blasting an expensive, heavy-handed and unsound plan that would stifle development.[29] Life member Florence Taylor weighed in with similar sentiments: it encompassed "all the idealistic considerations" but threatened "possessions and property ... without any regard for goodwill or sentiment".[30]

For whom the bell tolls

These stances condemned the TPANSW to a peripheral position on matters of planning importance. But there was one quirky and final issue in which the Association at the end of its lifespan appears to have had some positive influence: the reinstatement of the clock tower on Sydney's General Post Office (GPO). This had been deconstructed at the start of the world war two as a potential target for an air attack by the enemy. The commonwealth government (which ran postal and communications services) removed the tower and placed it, stone by stone, along with the clock and bells, into storage for the duration of the war with a promise of restoration when it was over.[31]

Sydneysiders held the government to its promise. Ford was early off the mark to declare his interest. His annual report in late 1946 reported "representations to the Post-Master General" and a guarantee of imminent reinstatement.[32] Over ten years later, no clock tower adorned the GPO. Why the delay? Had the disassembled structure been misplaced; was it beyond repair and re-erection; was it aesthetically displeasing considering changing attitudes towards architectural features; was it considered structurally unsound; or too much of a financial burden? Various explanations were canvassed as Ford and others agitated for its return to the city skyline. His passion for the tower extended to speeches in Sydney's Domain (a popular venue to preach one's particular brand of politics, philosophy or religion) demanding its resurrection.[33]

Letters to the Prime Minister, federal members of parliament, and repeated pleas published in the press carried little weight up until 1960 at which time the "Sydney Spectator" section of *The Sydney Morning Herald* appealed to the 'old Sydney-Melbourne city rivalry' and chided Sydney politicians "to stand up for their own city in Federal Cabinet … If a similar Melbourne landmark had been removed in 1942, it would have been back long ago". By this time the City of Sydney Council had jumped on board in favour of the tower's restoration with a qualification that if that scenario was not possible, it would request a "new tower".[34]

Ford dispatched at least eight telegrams to Prime Minister RG Menzies who, according to Ford, initially guaranteed the tower would be back in place in 1953.[35] The saga finally came to an end in April 1962 as Menzies declared "I am happy to tell my Sydney friends that although it is said you cannot put the clock back, we are prepared to do so with all reasonable speed". Contracts were signed and the work began a year later. By Anzac Day 1964, the clock tower's chimes rang out for the dawn service at the Martin Place Cenotaph.[36] In his final annual report, Ford jubilantly pronounced that the culmination of years of hard work on the part of the Association was its "supreme effort" and "finest hour". An image of him in the report standing on a soap box preaching to a few stray souls on a free speech Sunday is a telling metaphor of a marginalised association which had once helped shape the city's modern town planning agenda.

Other Voices in the Planning Landscape

Even by the late 1940s the TPANSW had completed a metamorphosis into a reactionary organisation as often as not standing against planning as constituting a constructively critical and informed independent voice. In 1949 Chief County Planner Sidney Luker observed that "This Association is discredited in the eyes of most professional planners in this state, in spite of the fact that many years ago it had a membership of prominent professional men".[37] This reduced influence which happened on Ford's watch can be explained by at least three major circumstances.

Plus ça change …

Although a singular achievement in surviving for over half a century, the Association never fundamentally altered its structure or *modus operandi*. There was no name change or even a dispute about the name it held from 1913. Despite the fact that there were changes in membership and leadership, there were no significant constitutional or directional changes throughout its life. It failed to keep pace with the evolution of planning theory and practice. As the world changed, the TPANSW remained static and hence was sidelined more and more in planning matters in Sydney. To view its records and hear the Association's repeated laments and its unchanging methodical approach to its organisation and operations offers one explanation for its being out of step with the planning community. Its response to failure was, surprisingly, continuity. No significant transformation or reconceptualisation of its role, methods and standing ever took place. In effect, it atrophied away from a genuine social movement capable of external reinvigoration towards a small private club and onto a personal hobbyhorse.[38]

Professionalisation of planning

The culture of planning even in the early 1940s was not radically different to the 1910s when the TPANSW was founded. There were few professional planners; planning practice was mainly a sideline for interested architects, engineers and surveyors. Nationally, only a handful in government service enjoyed professional recognition. In Sydney there was just one individual, occupying the City of Sydney Council's Town Planning Assistant position created in 1938.[39] World War Two marked a watershed as it dawned on politicians at all levels of government that the methodical organisation which underpinned the successful war effort should be applied to a raft of peacetime needs. Post-war reconstruction ideology highlighted not only the importance of proper housing for returned soldiers but correction and prevention of broader urban ills.

While architects, surveyors and engineers reactivated interest in planning discourse within their own professional realms in the 1940s, the need for a new integrative and coordinative discipline was acknowledged. Trained planners had to lead the way. In NSW, the passage of the 1945 planning act enabling preparation of statutory planning schemes was the critical catalyst sparking the growth of the new profession.[40] This irrevocably changed the climate in which the proudly amateur TPANSW operated, terminally diminishing its self-proclaimed authority and public standing.

The attrition had begun in the 1930s with the formation of the pioneering Town and Country Planning Institute of New South Wales, a forerunner of the Australian Planning Institute (now PIA – Planning Institute of Australia) organised federally in 1951.[41] Ironically, the first moves toward a professionalisation had originated within the TPANSW itself. It was mooted in 1929 by former president Dr J.S. Purdy that either a branch of the British Town Planning Institute or an Australian Town Planning Institute should be established. He believed that the Association's membership could be merged into the new Institute. A committee was appointed to investigate drafting a constitution for "further consideration".[42] Within a month it reported that formation of a NSW Town Planning Institute was timely.[43]

Soon afterward, the great Wall Street crash was felt around the globe and the idea lapsed. But in 1934 it was revived when the Town and Country Planning Institute of New South Wales (TCPINSW) was formed. A.J. Brown resigned as the President of the TPANSW on 31 May to take up the post of president of the rival organisation in acrimonious circumstances.[44] The TPANSW lost its last vestiges of professional support as the TCPINSW quickly gathered credibility by assembling a strong professional membership which included planners, architects and engineers, similar to the original make-up of the early TPANSW. One of the TCPINSW's presidents, Leslie Wilkinson, suggested a proper reply to anyone asking "who is a town planner?" would be the reply: "A member of the Town and Country Planning Institute".[45]

Rise of rival organisations

A third factor which saw the relative significance of the TPANSW slip further was the rise of other non-government organisations pursuing specific issues which sliced from the broad portfolio inherited by the Association. Such rival and indeed spin-off bodies progressively diminished the TPANSW's role as a community voice in broadly environmental matters.

The TPANSW had the field to itself for many years, and was very selective in partnering other bodies in reform causes. An early alliance was with the Parks and Playground Movement (PPM). Open space and parks presented an early and enduring concern of the TPANSW. From its first meeting in 1913, the Parks and Playground Committee boasted an ambitious agenda. Diligently they were to "report on street tree planting" and where "additional parks, reserves, or playgrounds" were required.[46] Most of the TPANSW's successes were in the tree planting arena, and selected members were also invited by local governments to report on the state of open space and parklands. As an "offshoot" of the TPANSW in the early 1930s, the PPM targeted the issue more vigorously.[47] It worked primarily towards increasing the amount of city and suburban parklands while also protesting further alienation of parks and reserves threatened by both public and private development.[48] TPANSW member CEW Bean, journalist and official war historian, was prominent in the PPM. Another affiliation from 1937 came from Ford supporting a partnership with 'concerned citizens' groups such as the Circular Quay Association (focused on the re-planning of the Quay at Sydney Harbour), the NSW Chamber of Commerce and the Haymarket Central Square Broadway Association

in establishment of the City of Sydney Progress Association in 1937.[49] At the same there were knockbacks; for example, a request from the Australian Forestry League seeking affiliation with the TPANSW in the early 1920s was refused as it "would not benefit the [Association] in any way".[50]

A major dent to the TPANSW's monopoly of community planning advocacy and action had come in the early 1920s with the short-lived Sydney Regional Plan Convention (SRPC).[51] As the name implies, its chief concern was "to outline a practical and comprehensive plan for future development; as distinct from piecemeal and unrelated improvements.[52] A metropolitan plan was an early aim of the TPANSW and GA Taylor sought subscriptions to the cause, but it was not vigorously pursued and jostled with sundry other problems on the Association's agenda.[53] Although TPANSW members sat on the Convention, the Association disagreed with its directions and methods. George Taylor drew a critical comparison between the SRPC and the TPANSW. While casting aspersions on some SRPC members as having emphatically "as little idea of town planning as of common sense", he stressed that the TPANSW was the better choice as it has "kept the public alive" in regard to the greater town planning movement.[54] Florence Taylor was equally adamant that the SRPC offered members "little or nothing … to do: unlike the TPANSW wherein "every member is useful in that he or she constitutes so much 'backing' to the council that appears to do all the work".[55]

While the TPANSW stuck to its guns, clearly it was not a lone voice instructing fellow citizens on the virtues of town planning. Other organisations worked to secure healthier housing, ensure family welfare, and protect and conserve historic buildings. On social justice issues and the family at home, the Progressive Housewives' Association commenced its operations in 1946. Within a few years it became the New Housewives Association and thereafter the Union of Australian Women. These housewives' associations advocated that the home and all its comforts were an essential aspect of 'everyday life and proper organisation'. Wartime circumstances particular galvanised its concerns and the more obvious shortages of food and housing were high on a "declaration of war" list.[56]

Countless local progress associations throughout Sydney and its suburbs also made their presence heard by appealing to local councils for support in their protestations and urgings for civic improvements and new amenities. In a rare show of organisational initiative, the TPANSW engineered formal affiliations with some of these parochial associations to arrest declining membership and thinning financial support.[57]

Arising from the need to provide protection for "the natural charms of the Municipality", the Tree Lovers' Civic League of Ku-ring-gai formed in 1927 at the home of Mrs. Annie Wyatt. This organisation was initially dedicated to the distribution of seeds and planting trees.[58] By the late 1930s, Mrs.Wyatt and her colleagues extended their interest beyond trees to the destruction of Sydney's historic buildings now under threat from redevelopment. This desecration paved the way for the founding of the National Trust in 1947 which soon became the most credible voice for conservation issues in planning in the 1950s.[59]

Formation of the Cumberland County Council with a professional planning staff meant that Sydney led the nation in having a statutory planning organisation with a local government constituency attending to local concerns, arguably a reason why there was not the same planning activism in the 1950s as other states.[60] Nevertheless, concerns with its activities and those of the state government at the outset over issues of land acquisition developed from the outset.[61] By the early 1960s a rival body was mooted as a signal to government for less negative regulation and more enlightened vision.[62]

The TPANSW's critique of metropolitan planning was mainly ideological and was less substantive than the activities of more localised and specialised protest groups. An early example was opposition to the proposed oil refinery at Kurnell at the entrance to Botany Bay. This significant protest provided some indication of the environmental coalitions to come. Member groups of the Kurnell Oil Refinery Protest Committee included the Forestry Advisory Committee, Wildlife Preservation Society, Mountain Trails Club of NSW, National Parks and Primitive Areas Council, Federation of Bushwalkers, Sydney Bush Walkers, Tree Lovers Civic League, Progressive Housewives Association, and the NSW Womens Justice Association.[63]

From the late 1960s resident action groups sprang up wherever planning and redevelopment endangered amenity, flora and fauna, and urban character.[64] Such groups constituted a new form of informed and activist environmental protest vastly different from the ideological rhetoric of the latter-day TPANSW. Professional bodies were slower to show dissent but Milo Dunphy's Environment Sub-Committee of the Royal Australian Institute of Architects led the way from 1963.[65] In the same decade, a new Civic Design Society at the University of NSW marked a renaissance in community concern for better urban design.[66] Although leading the way in community agitation over planning issues decades earlier, the TPANSW's long decline into the 1960s was accompanied by a sea-change in the rise of new forms of environmental activism.

Conclusion

In 1958, an interested citizen wrote to the *Sydney Morning Herald* alarmed at the poor state of town planning in Sydney. He raised concerns about "lack of depth in professional organisations" plus "apathy on the part of the general public – businessmen and educational bodies alike". He pleaded for change and offered a solution – revive the existing town planning association "which has been fading into oblivion for years".[67] Several years later in the twilight of that oblivion in his final report Bertram Ford looked to the future as he mourned the deaths of many of his planning colleagues and expressed the will to "hand the torch to those who follow, but right now there is much to be done, and most of us are good for at least another twenty years or so".[68] It was not to be. On 15 September 1967, Ford died of cardiac failure at the age of 87. No further meetings of the Town Planning Association took place as honorary secretary R.M. Duncan, the last remaining member, closed the books.

It was an inglorious end for a once vigorous voluntary association which had helped

shape the city's modern town planning agenda in the 1910s. But since the 1940s, the TPANSW had become almost an irrelevance in policy debates with its sole achievement being a role in the restoration of the GPO Clock Tower in Sydney's CBD.

In the history of post-war planning in Sydney, the activities of the Town Planning Association of New South Wales ultimately constitute an intriguing footnote.
It wants to be a story of pioneering community involvement in the planning process but is derailed by conservative political ideology and personal eccentricity.
The real machinations and contestations of major planning narratives of metropolitan and central city planning, housing and urban development lay elsewhere.

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Foreign specialists, republican ideology and urban government (Buenos Aires, 1810-1830)

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A quick glance at a contemporary plan of Buenos Aires suggests that its layout shows a strong influence of its foundational plan. In fact, the apparent continuity of the geometrical pattern conceals many deep changes that took place along time with regard to urban form, and especially the regular grid. As it will be seen, those changes affected not only the ideas about the form the city should have, but also the methods adopted to control its growth, both from a legal and practical point of view.

Buenos Aires, like hundreds of Spanish towns in the continent, was founded according to a plan based on square units. The gradual occupation of the foundational area, and its subsequent growth, challenged the geometrical principles that were the support of the spatial and legal order of the city. The very process of correcting the alterations of the foundational patterns affected and changed the regular ideals on which this order rested as well. This paper addresses the complexity of an urban design that, maybe because of its very simplicity and long-term success, has become almost self-evident. I intend to shed light on how, behind forms apparently identical, there have been at stake very different ways of thinking and operating upon the city.

We will examine here the changes that took place regarding urban planning in Buenos Aires during the first decades of the XIX century, after the revolution and independence wars. During those years, the issues at stake comprised, along with the more general aspects of the construction of a new state, those regarding the adequacy of the city to its new status. Among other aspects, the necessary reforms for adapting the city to the grand destiny dreamed by its rulers focused in its form. This presentation highlights the shift that led from an idea of urban form based on the square block, to another one, based on a reticular grid that eventually gave up geometrical perfection.

Technical devices, professional methods and government institutions played a central part in this process. They were, in fact, of primary importance in the complex paths that were taken in order to solve the conflicts involved in the definition of urban order.

Buenos Aires was founded in 1580. The original distribution of the city comprised a rectangle formed of 15 per 9 rows of square blocks, measuring 140 *varas* in each side, facing the Río de la Plata. At the center of the long side of the rectangle, adjacent to the coast, was the Plaza Mayor. From this starting point, the city began to grow steadily during the XVIII century, thanks to the improving commercial activities and especially to the promotion of the city to the status of capital of the viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata in 1776, under the Bourbon administration. Along this period, the original layout was almost completely occupied, and a sustained expansion towards the rural periphery began. As I have shown in previous works, the process of extension of the city introduced several problems, as the rigid checkerboard was transgressed through new

occupation. Following the legal principles, the local authorities tried to recover the foundational gridiron, with only relative success (Favelukes, 2008).

Independence form Spain introduced several debates concerning the city. Not only the question of the capital city of the new territories, a controversial issue that took long decades to settle. More relevant to our problem, Buenos Aires undertook the reforms that would enable to transform it into a great city. Among the concerns of the ruling groups was the necessary improvement of the city, badly affected by the revolutionary decade, . This is the setting in which the above mentioned transformation of the urban layout began to take shape.

Part of this subject has been thoroughly studied. The origins of the gridiron or checkerboard plan have been a major concern in the literature about the American urban tradition (de Terán, 1989; de Paula *et. alt.*, 1999; Nicolini, 1997; Reps, 1965; Benévolo, 1978), considering a variety of sources for what has been called the "classic model" of the colonial Spanish city in America (Hardoy, 1991). There exist also many studies about the different solutions adopted in the foundation of towns from the XVI to the XIX century, as those by John Reps for North America, Manuel Guarda for Chile and, at a larger scale, those of Jorge Hardoy or Leonardo Benévolo. Instead, we intend to examine more thoroughly one stage along the sequence in which the gridiron continued to organize the city plan beyond the foundational moment, in order to begin to understand the non linear processes that kept changing the regular layout with time. This development took place not through a homogeneous extension of regularity, but instead through the loss of order and its many times difficult and even bargained recovery or adaptation.

We will analyze these crossroads form the point of view of the construction of technical departments and the definition of instruments that would permit an improved urban control, in which the relationship between foreign specialists and the government became relevant. Several issues were at stake. On the one hand, the form of the city and its fabric was the arena in which the frontiers between public and private were to be defined. On the other hand, that definition required a state administration endowed with technical and regulatory resources which would make possible the formation of a team of specialists with the ability to control the material construction of the city. In other words, relationships were at stake between the public and the private, between the technical and the political realms.

These problems are the subject of a renewed urban history, which articulates approaches to other fields. Among the latter, history of cartography emphasizes both the symbolic and ideological aspects of the maps and their instrumental role in the construction of the social modern order (Harley, 1997; Edson, 2001). This conceptual program has been applied –among other subjects- to the close relationship between cartography and the construction of the modern state (Buisseret,1992 and 1998; Alliès, 1980). Furthermore, history of science relates the formation of professions and technical media to the formation of state institutions, both in the territorial and urban scale (Picon, 1992, 2003; Harouel,1993; Fortier,1980; Novick, 2003). Besides, a political history

traversed by the cultural turn enlightens the significant relationships that linked political and cultural changes, particularly with regard to the political revolutions and the formation of the modern republics (Halperín Donghi, 1979; Chiaramonte, 1997; Ternavasio, 2002). In Latin America, this approach transformed the accepted views about the changes occurred in the first half of the XIX century, through the emphasis on forms of sociability, political practices and the formation of a public sphere (Sábato, 1999; Gonzalez Bernaldo,1991, 2000), aspects related to the much debated public-private question (Habermas, 1980).

This wide range of problems converges in the history of the cities. The literature brings in the possibility, and the convenience of bringing together in the analysis the processes of state construction, the transformation of the societies of the old regime into modern societies, cultural activities, and technical devices –as in the case of urban cartography, that makes possible to relate these analytical dimensions to the local and concrete practices of the construction of the city. This perspective makes possible to consider from a new angle the dilemmas of a time when the ways of thinking or operating on the city changed.

To the secular problem concerning the government of urban growth, the emancipation added the need to drive and ensure the hierarchising of the capital city, imagined as a beacon of progress and as an "Athens of the Plata". But Buenos Aires was far from those ideals, presenting a dirty and untidy aspect, with unobserved urban regulations, authorities unable both to reinforce the law and to propose and apply the legal body that would make possible to reach the "happiness of the people". With regard to the above-mentioned problems, this work sets a threefold objective. First, to relate technical practices, political ideas and urban form, in relation to the formation of the modern public and private. Secondly, to show that regularity of the urban layout is not a non-historical, almost "natural" constant; instead, I want to stress that urban regularity is a device that changes together with the political and cultural transformations that affect both the society and the city. In face of this, I propose that the achievement of the regular pattern, either checkered or reticular grid, is as much related to the changing ideas about social and urban order as it is to the technical devices which led the way to the separation of the once intertwined morphological and legal realms, and to the abandonment of the checkerboard in favor of a more dynamic and neutral pattern, made possible by the new geometries introduced by foreign professionals.

Within this framework, I examine next the paths that led to the incorporation to the government of the city of the new techniques introduced in the Río de la Plata by the newly arrived European professionals, and their role in the formation of official technical departments and other institutions. It is thus possible to shed new light on how the methods of polytechnic extraction, which were incorporated to the day to day technical practices, transformed the current methods applied to fabric regularization, thus introducing a rupture in the Spanish layout of the city, the consequences of which became clearly visible during the further metropolitan growth of Buenos Aires that began in the last decades of the XIX century.

Public offices

By the 1820s the revolution was over, independence consolidated and war with Spain concluded. After the turmoil of internal struggles, the defeat of Buenos Aires by the troops of the other provinces of the Confederation promoted an inward turn of the exercise of power in a province that resigned, for some time, to lead the destiny of the former and already fragmented viceroyalty. At this point the construction of a new legal and administrative organization started, aimed at the upraising of the local society towards the destiny of grandeur sought by their leaders.

The above-mentioned project, on the one hand, arose from the progressive incorporation by the urban elite of the modernizing conceptions of society and the individual, as analyzed by a renewed political history that contributes to improve our interpretation of the urban changes of that period (Guerra, 1992; Lempérière, 1998; González Bernaldo, 2000). Accordingly, corporations and their privileges needed to be eliminated in order to establish a new citizenship based on a modern individual free of estamental belongings. This fracture seemed more plausible in a region in which, it was thought, division in *castas* was looser than in other regions.

These ideas were at the core of the rivadavian[1] republican ideology. To achieve these aims required a series of changes and reorganizations that, impossible to undertake during the revolutionary decade, were within reach of the new provincial government that arose from the political crisis in 1820.

The large administrative and legal reform undertaken by the new political leadership implied an advance in the creation of the state, through the modification and creation of institutions (Ozlak, 1999). The optimism of the ruling groups and their publicists laid on those reforms the warranty of the illustrated and modernizing ideal with regard to social change that was identified with the changing of the city.

The objectives were clear: to put into order, to regulate, to regularize in order to eradicate the irrationality imposed to the people by the Spanish "tyrant". The means: to promote administrative and technical rationality, and to secure a regularity that would allow, in the eyes of their promoters, to switch from a reality perceived as both conflictive and contradictory to another reality marked by a rational and regular order. This ambition is clearly expressed in the idea stating that by changing the city one should be able to change society. This change would take place by gradually imposing rationality, both in the way of space regulation and in the order imposed on a wide range of processes having the city as privileged setting, from the proper arrangement of the administrative apparatus and general economic processes to the regulation of infrastructure and services.

Material regularity and procedure rationality were both sides of the same coin. The study of this regular-rational impulse –applied not only to urbanism- has flourished in the last decades, mainly in French and Italian historiography (Moracchiello and Teyssot,

1980, 1983; Tafuri, 1980; Malverti and Pinon, 1997; Raymond, 1984). The rationalizing effect of the technical procedures, and of the bureaucratic and legal bodies, studied for France by Antoine Picón (1992), has been examined for Buenos Aires by Fernando Aliata (2006), who showed how the idea of regularity presided the rivadavian urban and political program. Even though it is true that this equation was already present during the Bourbon stage, the meaning of its terms changed including new connotations and went on developing through new institutions and technical frameworks (Favelukes, 2008).

To reach a new regular and rational society required the abolition of the corporations and privileges of the Ancién Regime, as the suppression of the Cabildo and the Consulate of Buenos Aires. The consequent centralization required the creation of new administrative institutions, reform that took place during the decade first years as a new bureaucratic structure was devised, in order to promote both social and material regularity.

At first, the practical government of the city was assigned to the Police, introduced during the Bourbon period, organized shortly after as a Police Department. The new institution included both what was called "high police" concerned with crime repression, and the "low police" in charge of sanitation, population, road system, work and supply (Favelukes, 2007). This police was also in charge of the applications for building alignment and construction[2].

The objective of the authorities and the illustrated groups was the formation of a true administration –which took many features of the French model, of its organization, rational spirit and technical procedures. The new public offices introduced a reorganization of activities, reformulation of objectives and renewed methods. Thus, two new government positions were created in1821: Hydraulic Engineer and Architect Engineer[3]; the latter shortly after enlarged to a department of Architect-Engineers[4], in charge of the projects and works undertaken by the government, and of the normative and technical aspects of the road system, sanitation and building control[5]. The functions of this Department gradually increased, as it was assigned with the topographic works and the redaction of regulations referring to width of streets and roads in the capital city[6]. Eventually, it was divided in 1824, in a position of City Architect and a Topography Commission, in charge of the topography and surveying of the whole province, including its capital city[7].

The duties of this commission –a consultative commission at the beginning- were to assemble data for the province's topographic plan, approve the measurements of the plots of land, certify the capabilities of surveyors in the province, give examinations to new candidates and provide them the corresponding directions, and keep a graphic and written record of the surveys performed in the province[8]. The *Instructions to surveyors* appeared as result of the commission's work in 1825; this legal and technical piece established not only the methods to be applied, but also defined the ways to achieve a proper education in the matter. These minor professionals should adjust their practice to

that unified and state-controlled methodology regarding the supervision and arrangement of land property[9].

The ephemeral national unification, between 1826 and 1828 led –under president Rivadavia- to the creation of the Engineer-Architects and the Topography and Statistics Department, both of national operation, the objective of which were to expand the advancements performed in the city during the earlier years to the whole nation. At the end of this brief national government, the Engineer-Architects Department was again replaced by a Province Engineer, a position held first by Juan Pons and later by Carlo Zucchi, until the suppression of the position in 1836, and the transference of its functions to the Topographic Department, which lasted, even though at a decreasing level of activity, until its reorganization in the 1850s[10].

In that increasing bureaucratic organization, the new technical offices should make possible a higher rationalization in the resources and conduction of public affairs. Regulations were a key component of the republican program and show the faith that was put on rational procedures and the means thought to make them possible. Specialists were expected to make use of their observation, foresight and organization abilities to serve the government, which put its trust in the knowledge and capabilities of these specialists. It was thought that the technical specialist was the person able to forecast situations before they took place, in the same way that the geometry used in their plans and projects, that allow to draw before building, made possible to transform things in order to produce "a regular, comfortable and proportionate whole"[11]

In short, that process of institutional reformulation contributed to modernize the Spanish traditional police, depriving it of the road and construction control, which was assigned to the new offices –a process shown by Pedro Fraile (1997) in a larger scale- that incorporated the newly arrived specialists endowed of the technical resources that would introduce a new rationality into the exercise of the local authority. At the same time, these technical offices were a resonance box for political debates and were indeed factories for producing legal and technical devices, which served the setting up of the professional ranks required by the ambitious republican program, and provided the government with the plan of urban transformations that would make possible to achieve the dream of the great capital city.

Professionals

The institutional program ran into several difficulties, such as the scarcity of qualified specialists committed to the republican cause. This led to the call for European professionals, who slowly but persistently started to arrive in Buenos Aires from the time of the revolution onwards. In many cases, they were individuals from different countries in search of new opportunities. In others, they were political emigrants who had joined the Napoleon armies and who, after their defeat and the restoration of the monarchy could not return to Spain. The South American political process looked promising into their eyes, a place of both professional and ideological opportunities.

These engineers populated the technical offices, promoting improved methods for the conduction of affaires, considered as useful tools for social modernization. With their contribution, technical methods started to shift from the extant military engineering to the wider and more advanced field of the polytechnic specialties, preferred for their mastering of a rational science that was better fitted to provide the necessary universal methods and procedures.

The first decades of the century witnessed the convergence of the abilities of the few military engineers who stayed in Buenos Aires after the emancipation and of those arriving because of political reasons –as in the cases of Felipe Senillosa, José Cramer or José María Romero. Many of them were military men as well, but mastered the new mathematical and geometrical knowledge systematized in the French polytechnic model, which they put forward to serve the political cause both from the administration and from their influence on journalism and in their teaching activities, aimed at the formation of the republican youth.

The case of Felipe Senillosa is perhaps the most emblematic. Although of Spanish origin and studies at the Alcalá Military Academy, he became prisoner of the French and finished his studies of engineering in that country, and later served as military engineer in the French forces. After Napoleon's defeat he accepted the offer made to him in London by the revolutionary envoys Belgrano, Rivadavia and Sarratea, who attracted him with the possibilities he could have in the Rio de la Plata. Senillosa arrived in Buenos Aires in 1815, and performed numerous activities. He was a publisher akin to the rivadavian ideas, and put special emphasis on education of the youth that needed to be trained to occupy positions in the new government, doing so both in his public writings and teaching. He took this line of action at first in the School of Mathematics and in the University founded in 1819, and later from the technical positions he held[12]. It is known that José de Arenales and José María Romero took his lessons in geometry, lectured on the basis of the Lacroix, Monge and Durand treatises. Diffusion of these methods by teaching, but above all by means of practice in the Commission and the Topographical Department gradually promoted the ideas and practices linked to the French Polytechnic School among the local professionals, as may be noticed in the case of José María Romero. Romero was also a Spaniard, and arrived in Buenos Aires in 1815 after serving in the Napoleon Army. After having worked at the Cabildo, he held different positions in successive technical offices.

But those offices were more than a mere bureaucratic space. They were part of a network devoted to the formation of local professionals. Thus, places of work were also sites to propagate new knowledge, becoming a phase of practical formation for university students and acting as examination board for the accreditation of surveyors who were already working in the region. Aspirants applying to that profession were given an examination on "the physics-mathematical part taught at the University in the second period of Philosophy, as equally on the elements of Descriptive Geometry". It was intended in this way that even the lower rank of professionals –a fundamental piece to establish an efficient system with regard to the ownership of the private and public land- would adjust their professional practice to the most advanced criteria available, i.e.

the descriptive geometry formulated by Gaspard Monge in 1802 at the Ecole Polytechnique, now taught in Buenos Aires by Senillosa. Thus, together with the higher education in the University, the concrete, practical duties performed in the Topographical Department were responsible of the gradually spreading of the new knowledge and ways of working.

The Department was also commended to organize a document repository that would make possible to gather the topographical knowledge about the territory of the province, collecting the existing plans and forming a written and graphical record of all the surveys performed in the city and the countryside. Therefore, the Department should also be the practical arm of the government with regard to the territorial and urban policies and, moreover, the systematizing instance of the province territorial and geographical knowledge[13].

Summarizing, even though, at the beginning of the 1820s, the notion of lower police was still valid as the idea of minute government of the city, and the police still carried out some practical tasks, the formation of technical departments opened a process that aimed at concentrating the territorial conduction and at operating on the basis of a sort of knowledge that became a reference to all the others involved in urban affairs, even including the very superior authority, who believed to see in their rational abilities of foresight and synthesis the necessary basis of the territorial and urban government.

Methods

A printed topographic plan of the city of Buenos Aires was published in 1822 drawn by the military engineer Felipe Bertrés at the request of the local Chief of Police (Fig. 1). The sheet depicts a city with a rectangular shape comprising a surface of 15 by 27 blocks –almost all of them squares. Despite its small format this printed plan displayed a wide range of issues: project of street rectification and opening, widening of the city limits, division in both electoral and police districts, new street nomenclature, plan of building numeration. The latter was not included in the plan, instead, it was explained in a text that should have accompanied the plan, but was not published and is preserved as a manuscript.

Comparison of this document with the manuscript plan performed five years earlier by the also military engineer José María Manso, reveals a surprising difference, since the latter shows a much more extended city, in which the checkered layout is a reality only in the central sector, that appears surrounded by a highly irregular peripheral zone (Fig. 2). The Bertrés plan ignores that periphery by what we might call "trimming" the central area, thus generating a geometrical and regular image, which is far from matching the current situation of the city.

The authorities aimed to solve and rationalize the interior distribution of the city, especially in those suburbs depicted in the Manso plan where the gridiron order had been lost. The expression that synthesized this aspiration was to "regularize the city": to bring order into the activities, avoid abuse and disobedience, and, especially to recover

the geometry of the urban layout. This geometry, which had once been seen as the embodiment of the colonial social order, was visualized now as a warranty of an ordered society according to the new republican principles that related the political and public order to the checkered plan. Regular order, and specifically the checkerboard layout, also should act as the material and legal warranty for the determination of the much needed spatial and legal frontiers between public and private realms.

The ruling group trusted that by applying rational methods it would become possible to achieve positive results about issues in which the previous Spanish authorities had been somewhat unsuccessful. According to the general principle that in order to act it is necessary to know first, the government ordered in 1824 the City Architect Engineer José María Romero the tracing of a plan of the "suburbs" (Aliata, 2006). Upon its results it would be possible to evaluate the ways at hand for the correction of the spatial distortions and also to extend the regular grid into the periphery. As will be seen, the performance of this plan and its final failure, were the take off for the adoption of new ways to solve the complex dynamics of the modern urban growth.

The limits adopted in the 1822 Bertrés plan, had defined that inner, closed and ordered city, within which it was thought possible to rectify and align the streets according to the traditional eleven *varas* width established in the foundation. When Romero had to define the area to be surveyed, he had to revise that harmonious limit, and to redefine it exclusively according to the criterion of building consolidation. This resulted in a highly irregular line, as can be seen in the plan drawn by the Architect Engineer (Fig. 3).

Pragmatically, Romero claimed in the line project he submitted to the government, that it was not possible to establish a demarcation line having a regular shape –as that proposed in the Bertrés plan- due to the already present building distribution. He stated that the new line should only serve to delimitate the consolidated sector where substantial changes would not be made, from the unpopulated sector subjected to survey where deep modifications were thought imperative[14]. The decree approving the proposal suppressed the rectangular figure adopted scarcely two years earlier, and replaced it by a completely irregular demarcation line that highlights the first fracture in the classic geometrical tradition that had imagined until then the city as a closed and harmonic body.

Even though the survey was never concluded, its partial results were determinant. The extant preparatory sheets for the plan still allow to see, along with the methods used at the time, the way in which the actual field work led to the abandonment of the gridiron dream. The sheets show, with a high degree of detail and according to precise conventional codes, the occupation state of the sector, the delimitation between plots made of adobe walls, fences and ditches –even the most precarious housing made of mud and straw[15]. In agreement with contemporary testimonies, irregularities become more important as grows the distance to the oldest sector of the city.

The most interesting feature of this work consists of the superimposition on the built fabric of a grid of lines which depicted the extension of the central and original gridiron

into the suburbs[16] (Fig. 4). This technique allowed to visualize right away –as still does- the degree of deviation of the actual occupation with reference to that ideal tracing. The solid evidence of this test was undeniable: it was impossible to force the gridiron into the periphery. Not only because that would imply, in many cases, the total elimination of numerous buildings, but also because, even when suspicious or not trustworthy, most of the dwellers could show some sort of titles of those plots of land.

Never before had such degree of certainty as to the level of deviation had been achieved. Although previously known, the repeated norms seemed to assume that, if applied, it would be possible to repair the irregularity and to recover the lost order.

Romero's survey made clear how impossible that was, by making visible and legible a much worse reality than that known by experience and the previous plans, mainly that of José María Manso (1817). Interruption of the work in 1825 was related to the verification it allowed, that contributed to the collapse of the secular identification between order, regularity and checkerboard persistence, which had defined the lines of action of the previous authorities. The unfinished plan clearly identifies the frustrations of the regularity of Enlightment, of its confidence in the intrinsic strength of the norm and the rational order, when the overwhelming contrast between reality and the *Indias* geometrical model, recovered and given a new meaning by illuminism, became undeniable. Paradoxically, the project of social change that the ruling sector had identified with spatial change, at first attempted through a relentless recuperation of the original features and roots of the gridiron –the anachronism of which, evidently, this sector was not conscious- led to the crisis of the geometrical model.

But, simultaneously with the decay of that kind of geometrical conception, another technical solution was being developed to solve the problems of the spatial and legal order of the property in the whole city, which shows the introduction of new geometrical methods –which coexisted for some time with those already under use. Those crucial years demonstrated that the latter had no chance of succeeding; in the meantime a different, new solution was incipiently being developed.

The 1824 decree, which had set the new and irregular demarcation line, established also a new device to determine the streets width and to establish the alignment of the building fronts: it was decided to define all measurements with reference to a "central line" of the street. This line should be used as reference to separate the fronts by a distance of five and a half, seven or eight *varas*, according to the desired width[17] (Fig. 5).

This new method points out to a really important series of transformations in the handling of project, and in the ways of graphically controlling and shaping space, which should be identified as tributary to the impulse to the new geometry introduced by the foreign professionals, especially Senillosa, which was spreading through the University studies and academies. Until that time, the only tools and principles of geometrical configuration had been, first those measurement units based on the foundational *quadra*[18], and secondly the definition of street and road widths. If the deviation of a

quadra occurred, the problem appeared since it could not be established at which side the displacement of the buildings should be forced; considering especially that those irregularities were not isolated buildings breaking a line materialized in the rest of that block and the adjacent ones, but were instead repeated deviations which made impossible to recognize the required dimension and direction (Fig. 6).

The "centric line" arrived to solve all of these problems in only one step. Now a tool was available which made possible to settle these conflicting points. In face of the failure of the regular alignment based upon the beauty and perfection of the geometrical figures[19], this was the only operational method which remained available to achieve an effective control and fabric rectification, even though it implied to abandon the perfect geometrical figures. By 1826 it was already accepted the possibility of a street not having perfectly parallel sides; on the basis of the higher objective of never narrowing the existing widths and not even with the objective of making a street straight and even, it was established to "uniform the delineation of a square by equal distances, taken perpendicularly on the axis that will be determined by the two central points of its two openings, at the ends of such square, *being imperative to take the middle point when those two openings are not equal*"[20]. This is the system that was used when the extension of the foundational layout was discontinued; system that led to the formation in the outer sector of what Aliata has described as a reticule.

The method finally devised shows the prevailing tendency in the technical offices at that time, when practical administration techniques were shifting from the ideological meanings they held during the revolution to their identification with a single ideology: that of technique as a neutral instrument at the service of the state, and of the specialists as neutral arms of that state.

This neutral role became possible with this technically and geometrically based solution, which started to be used at that time and made possible the transition of a control system based on rigid and static principles, inherent to the principle of the perfect figures, to other system based too on a geometrical principle, but which made possible to dynamically solve a city growth that would no longer be impaired or fixed, and neither morphologically or ideologically led. Finally, exercise of authority over the city was oriented to impose rationality and regularity by means of a pragmatic, abstract and neutral technique which took the place of the optimistic speech of the initial stages, when changing space was thought as a way to change society.

Concluding remarks

It is possible to assert that this particular shift in the traditional ways of ruling space through classical geometry was not just the effect of a shift in the ideas of the local elite, but really the result of the undesired but inescapable evidence of the administrative and political advantages of a technical, allegedly neutral device. That is, not an ideological change, but its forced abandonment in face of the evidence of a reality that emerged, not through discourses, but through the practices of cartography and survey.

The new offices that were established in the process of state construction, the introduction of new techniques by the foreign professionals, and their application to ensure urban order, highlight one particular moment of change in the long regular tradition in Buenos Aires. Particular, because it brought forth the possibility of abandoning the squared pattern, yet keeping a regular order.

A few decades later, debates on the patterns necessary for the extension of the city, could easily dismiss the checkerboard option. Regularity was imperative, but it did not necessarily require the traditional grid made of squares. Through the more dynamic descriptive geometry, it became possible to extend the city following the existing roads, adapt urban fabric to topography, respect existing plots and buildings, and solve land subdivision without appealing to classic geometrical figures. Undoubtedly, later applications of the grid used the old layout. But its connections to the classical tradition were completely lost by then. What once had been a close identification between transcendence, geometry and social order, became a device for an entirely new political and cultural program, that of the construction of modern citizenship.

Finally, the methods we have examined –that from other perspectives might seem of minor significance- would eventually make possible to settle urban order during the crucial early years of the republic, and reveal themselves as a turning point in the modernizing of urban planning. As stated at the beginning of this article, it can certainly be said that the grid observed in contemporary plans of Buenos Aires carries along the Spanish heritage. But we have just reviewed important changes in the grid that took place at later moments. Behind that grid, then, lays a long history of regularity, of which we have analyzed here a momentous transformation.

Sources

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ROP: Registro Oficial de la Provincia de Buenos Aires
RORA: Registro Oficial de la República Argentina
AAIH: Archivo de la Asesoría de Investigaciones Históricas, Provincia de Buenos Aires

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[2] Law supressing the *cabildos*, 24/12/1821, in Mouchet, Carlos, 1995, 38-39. Also Romay, Francisco, 1963, vol. 2, pp. 117-120. The *cabildos* were the city counsel under the Spanish rule.

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[4] Resolution of 23/10/1821, Esteban, 1962.

[5] 1821 norms regarding plans presentation for building permits (never applied), 1821 building taxes, 1823 Public Works Act, 1824 decree on street construction and tracing, Aliata, 2004a.

[6] Act of 14/12/1821on street tracing, decree of 14/12/1821 on street tracing and *ejidos* of *pueblos*, Esteban, 1962, 14-16.

[7] Decree of 31/12/1824. Esteban, 1962, 18-23.

[8] According to the regulation project submitted by the Comission and passed by the government on 31/12/1824. Esteban, 1962, 30-32.

[9] Submitted to the government on 25/02/1825, passed on 26/04/1825. Esteban, 1962, 40-51.

[10] Esteban, 1962. Massini Correas, 1965.

[11] Decree on "Reformas y mejoras en los establecimientos públicos", Buenos Aires, 11/04/1826, en *RORA*, tomo 2, 119.

[12] His works were praised later in the press by such prominent figures as Juan María Gutiérrez in "La primera sociedad literaria y la primera revista en el Río de la Plata", *Revista del Río de la Plata*, I, Buenos Aires, 1871. Also *Revista de Buenos Aires*, Buenos Aires, noviembre de 1867, n° 53 and 55. See also De Paula, 1965. Aliata, 2004b.

[13] "Memoria de la Comisión Topográfica", Esteban, 1962, 73-79

[14] Untitled paper presumably by Romero, submitting his proposal of demarcation line and survey criteria, Diciembre 2 of 1824. AGN, Sala X, 13-4-4. The proposal was passed as "Edificios", 07/12/1824. ROP, n° 13, libro 4°, Buenos Aires diciembre 16 de 1824, pag. 203-204.

[15] The sheets are kept in the Archivo de la Asesoría de Investigaciones Históricas de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, 1150-43-2. They cover approximately the north half of the city, according to the Memoir of the Topographic Comission for the years 1824 and 1825, submitted to the government on 28/03/01826, Esteban, 1962, 72-79.

[16] "Project of correction: black lines the centered direction of the streets; brown lines those that should have the fronts of each block; dots of the same color found in the apexes with posts that will mark out the blocks that are projected" [Proyecto de corrección: líneas negras la dirección centrada de las calles; líneas de color marrón las que deben tener los frentes de cada manzana; Puntos del mismo color que se hallen en los vértices con postes que amojonarán las manzanas que se proyecta colocar]. Transcription form the "legend" of sheet n° 1.

[17] In order that buildings be at the distance o 5 and a half *varas* from the centric line" to obtain a width of 11*varas*; "each side will be located at a distance of 8 *varas* from the cenbtric line so that the street will have a latitude of 16 *varas*", "Edificios", diciembre 7 de 1824, cited above.

[18] The *quadra* was both the name given to the blocks and a surface measurement unit. In Buenos Aires Juan de Garay established at the foundation that the local *quadra* should measure 140 *varas* in each side.

[19] Assimilation of regularity to beauty still valid in the opinions of the Topographic Comission about the first two sheets of the Romero's plan: "a certain rule is attempted to offer comfort and beauty to the streets" [se intenta una regla cierta con que proporcionar comodidad y hermosura de las calles], "Informe de la Comisión Topográfica acerca de las primeras dos láminas del plano de José María Romero", Abril 8 de 1825, AGN, Sala X 13-8-5.

[20] "la delineación de una manzana por iguales distancias, levantadas perpendicularmente sobre el eje que será determinado por los dos puntos céntricos de sus dos aberturas, en los extremos de la misma manzana, *debiéndose tomar el término medio cuando dichas dos aberturas no fuesen iguales*", my emphasis. "Anchura de las calles de la capital", 4 de noviembre de 1826, *RORA*, tomo 2, 153.

Appendix

PLANO DE BERTRÉS

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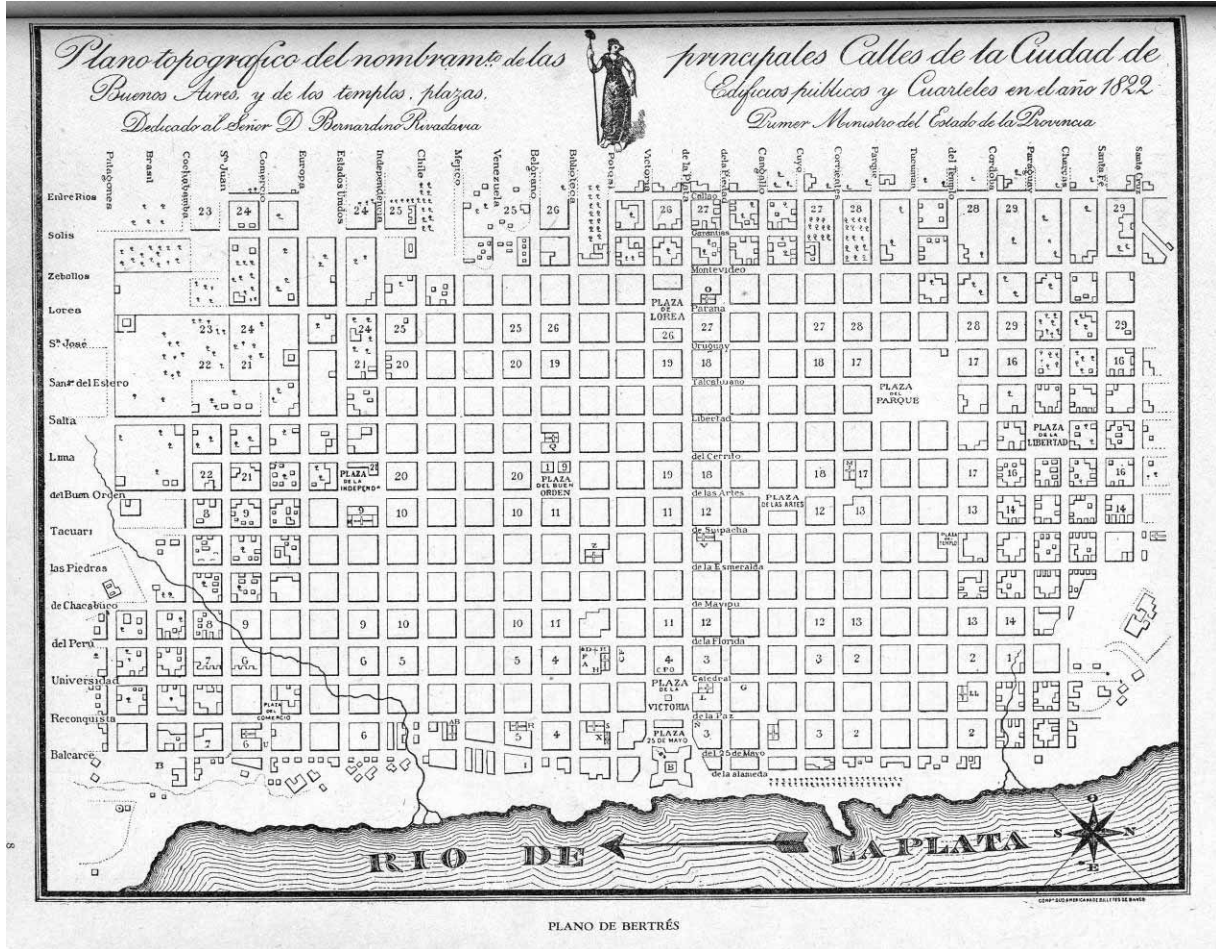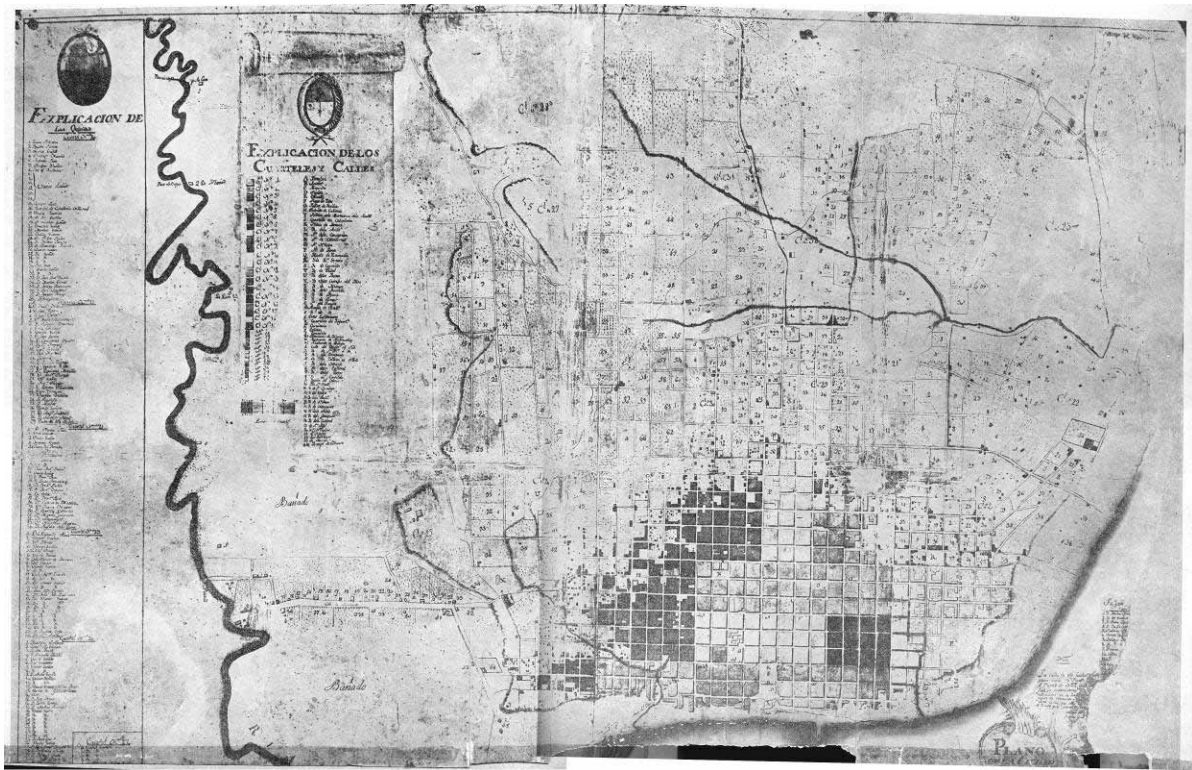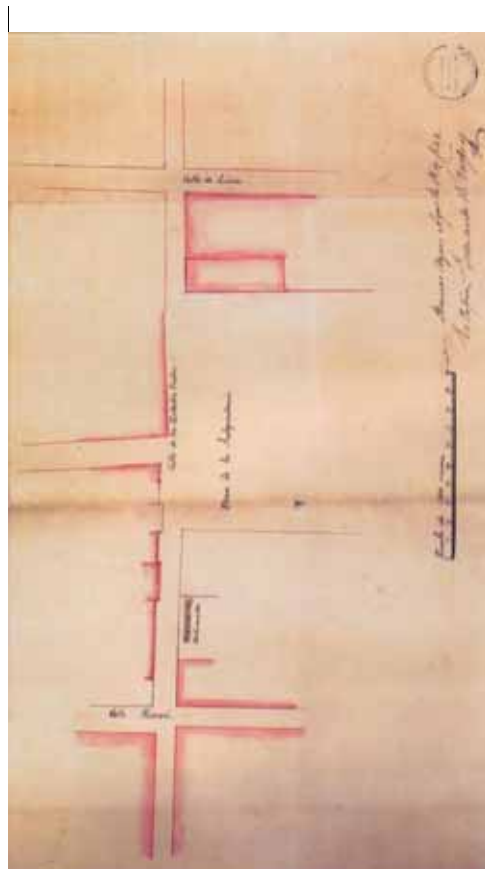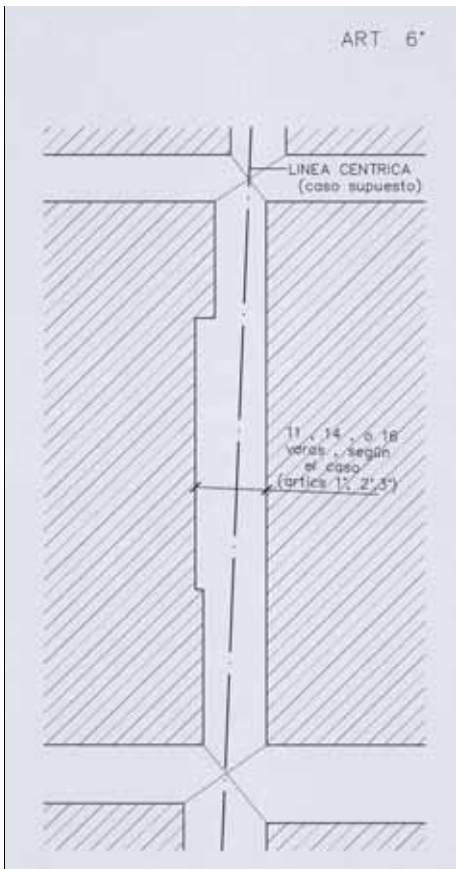
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Fig. 1: Plano Topográfico del nombram.^{to} de las principales Calles de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires y de los templos, plazas Edificios Públicos y Cuarteles en el año 1822..., Felipe Bertrés, 1822. In Taullard, Alfredo, Los planos más antiguos de Buenos Aires (Buenos Aires, Ar.: Peuser, 1940).

Fig. 2: Plano de la Ciudad y Ejido de B^s A^s Año de 1817, José María Manso, 1817. AAIH, 912-30-1 and Taullard, Alfredo, Los planos más antiguos de Buenos Aires (Buenos Aires, Ar.: Peuser, 1940).

Fig. 3: Plano Topográfico de Buenos Aires y sus suburbios, José María Romero, 1824, Archivio di Stato di Reggio Emilia, Italia (courtesy of Fernando Aliata).

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Fig. 6: Delineation of a sector of Estados Unidos street, Eduardo Taylor, 1862, Archivo Histórico de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires, Legajo 4, 1864, Obras Públicas.

Gated communities in SPMA: a new pattern of urban segregation?

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Gated communities

Gated communities constitute an urban phenomenon that is currently spreading through every Brazilian metropolis, as well as a topic which is being increasingly studied by Latin American specialists.

Terminology can vary according to the country or region: *gated communities* in the United States, *condominios* in Chile, *countries* in Argentina and *loteamentos fechados* or *condomínios fechados* in Brazil. These are all names for the closed residential areas which are spreading throughout almost every major western city, defined by Blakely and Snyder as "*residential areas with restricted access, where the public spaces were usually privatized*". (1995:2)

Marcuse (2002) had already pointed out that closed and segregated residential neighborhoods are not a recent form of urban of living. The existence of ghettos, citadels or enclaves can be seen throughout our history (for example, the Jewish ghettos in Venice during the 16th century).

In the Latin American context of developing countries, security is pointed to as being the central problem which gives rise to the choice of this type of residence.
In the United States, spatial segregation is usually accepted as part of an assertion of social and ethnic identities. Anglo-American Protestant culture seems to more easily accept social and spatial segregation. This is not true for Latin America. A civic culture of social integration is manifested in a socially mixed physical environment. According to Sabatini (1998) this widespread social mingling could be linked to the Catholic cultural ethos and the phenomenon of a cultural *mestizo*, or melting pot.

Latin culture defends the idea that sociability between different people can lead to greater social tolerance. The public space is thought to be the right place for socializing. The privatization of public space is thus a major issue facing gated communities in Latin American countries.

Svampa in Argentina (1994) and Ribeiro in Brazil (1997) point to rising social inequalities and social exclusion as the consequences of economic globalization, the restructuring of social relations, crisis of the State crisis, deindustrialization and growing urban insecurity.[1]

Spatial segregation patterns in São Paulo's metropolitan area

During the 1970s, the first closed settlements[2] were established on the west side of the metropolitan region. These new closed communities seemed to be a solution to the

growing problem of urban violence. These communities consisted of horizontal gated areas, located on large tracts, in suburban regions. The first was called "Alphaville" and was located in Barueri, a city in the São Paulo metro area's north-western suburbs. New horizontal gated communities began to be established in suburban cities such as Barueri, Santana do Parnaíba and Cotia, all of them originating new areas of metropolitan sprawl. These communities were established mostly in the poor and sparsely populated south and west regions

Gated communities have historically been associated with large suburban areas, upper class housing (homes with at least three bedrooms and two bathrooms), and vast expanses of green and collective leisure areas.

Gated communities, which were initially located in suburban areas and populated by the upper classes, at present are serving other social classes and have new and distinct characteristics (size and location, home sizes, collective area services, etc). An initial desire for comfort was replaced by a need for security and an attempt to gain status (Pasternak and Bogus 2003).

> "*At that moment, the appeal - more than the security of living in a gated area - had to do with the comfort of living in a place where several urban needs were met without having to cross large distances and without transportation problems. This residential solution spread to other urban areas, and vertical gated communities became a living solution for the upper class population, which, due to the increase in urban violence, began to search for new ways of living that were comfortable and safe, located in the city's higher-class areas.*"[3] (Pasternak and Bogus, 2003:12)

To understand the growing proliferation of gated communities in São Paulo and other Brazilian cities, the issue of security cannot be the only consideration, the "*status*" of living in this kind of residence must also be considered.

According to Pasternak and Bogus "*there is also the search for status (…); in contemporary society people are distinguished by their consumer capacity, as a dimension that involves projects and life style.*" (2003:13)

According to Caldeira, (2000:211) during the 20th century social segregation was expressed in three different manners within the urban space of São Paulo.
The first lasted from the end of the 19th century to the 1940s, producing a concentrated city divided into different social groups compressed in a small urban area and segregated by residence types.

The second urban form, the center-suburban type, prevailed as a form of city development from the 1940s to the 1980s. During this period different social groups were divided by great geographic distances: the middle and upper classes were concentrated in central areas with good infrastructure and the lower-income classes moved to distant suburban areas which were impoverished.

During the last fifteen years, a new urban form has been configured and is now changing the city and its regional metropolitan configuration. When comparing the *rich center* X *poor suburbia* pattern, recent changes are creating spaces where different social groups are sometimes very close to each other but separated by walls and security technologies. These groups have no social contact and do not use the same public areas. This is what Caldeira calls "*fortified enclaves.*" These are privatized spaces for living, working, leisure activities and consumption. They are closed and controlled spaces for people who don't want to divide public spaces with the poor, marginalized or even homeless inhabitants of the city.

In much the same way as Caldeira analyzes São Paulo, Sabatini (1999) advocates a change in residential segregation patterns for Santiago, Chile, from a macro scale to a micro scale, from a center-suburbia to a "fractal" model.

Gated communities are meant to be secure and comfortable residential areas where the quality of life is better and there is social homogeneity. They consist of neighbourhoods closed off by walls, barriers, fences and gates. They are designed with the intention of providing security to their residents and preventing invasion by non-residents, through the use of security devices (guards, doors, barriers, alarms and cameras).

Since the 1980s, there has been a noticeable increase in the number of gated communities within São Paulo's Metropolitan Area. In 1994, the "*Lei de Vilas*" (Vilas Law) enabled the indiscriminate installation of small gated communities within every residential area of the city of São Paulo.

Gated communities in São Paulo's metropolitan area

A walk around some of the areas of the city of São Paulo, and even around some of the other cities in the metropolitan area, allows to see that there is noticeable evidence of an increase in the number of new residential gated communities and communities under construction.

Research of the databases at the Embraesp (Brazilian Company of Asset Studies - Empresa Brasileira de Estudos de Patrimônio) of all residential construction in the São Paulo Metropolitan Area (SPMA) since 1985 shows a notable increase of this kind of neighborhood.

Noteworthy first and foremost is that gated residential communities only began to be built after 1992. Since 1992, SPMA has concentrated a total of 1140[4] new horizontal gated communities. These communities are not homogeneous and efforts are needed to analyze their specialties.

Analysis of the following tables and maps makes it possible to understand important issues about São Paulo's residential gated communities.

The first communities were constructed in 1992. In the first three years, from 1992 to 1994, there was less construction (4, 17 and 12 respectively). Between 1995 and 1999, construction of new communities increased; but it was only after 2000 that the number of gated residential communities became significant in the context of the SPMA.
In Table 1, there is a noticeable increase in gated horizontal communities among the total numbers for real estate construction since 1985. If in 1992 gated communities represented only 2% all housing built, in 2004 they represented 35% of all residential construction. Although gated communities have become more and more important since 2001 in the metropolitan real estate market, in 2005 their overall construction decreased substantially (from 236 in 2004 to 87 in 2005).

A large part of the 1140 communities built (65%) were built between 2001 and 2004. It is worthwhile to look at the location of these communities: 83% of them are in the capital (the city of São Paulo). Half of all of the gated communities' residential units are within the capital. This large concentration can be seen in Table 2 and also on all of the following maps.

The SPMA is made up of a group of 39 municipalities. Table 2 shows all of the metropolitan cities possessing gated residential communities. From a total of 39 cities, only 19 have gated communities. Even among these only seven cities have more than 10 gated communities. Of a total of 1,140 communities, 949 (83%) are within the city of São Paulo.

According to Brazil's 2000 Census, the city of São Paulo held 58% of the metropolitan population. The concentration of residential construction in the city is compatible with a concentrated demand and also indicates that the capital is leading in real estate investments. This concentration shows that even with recent urban sprawl the capital is still the center of the metropolitan residential real estate market.

To analyze the residential typology of the gated communities we will use the number of bedrooms and the number of bathrooms of residential units.

An analysis of the number of bedrooms in all of the gated communities built shows a major concentration of 3 bedroom units (40.3%), followed by 2 bedroom units (37.5%). Homes with 4 bedrooms total 21.8%. Homes with 1 bedroom (only three) and 5 bedrooms (only one) are insignificant.

Table 3 shows the distribution of community construction by number of bedrooms per year. Until 1998 the number of bedrooms was not very representative. Since 1999, units with two and three bedrooms have made up the bulk of gated community housing. Two bedroom units were more representative between 2000 and 2001. Since 2003, with 3 bedroom units have been on the rise.

MAP 3 shows the construction according to the number of bedrooms. Houses with two (green) and three (blue) bedrooms are dispersed among all areas. However, three bedroom units are especially concentrated around the central district of the capital. On

the other hand, four (pink) bedroom units are quite concentrated in the southwest region of the city.

Of the 249 total units with four bedrooms, 202 are located in the southwest region of São Paulo, especially in the Santo Amaro, Brooklin, Morumbi and Alto da Boa Vista neighborhoods; 10 are in the north zone (Tremembé), 9 in the west zone (Mooca and Lapa), 4 in the east zone (Vila Carrão), 12 in Cotia, 8 in Guarulhos, 3 in Alphaville (Barueri), 2 in São Caetano do Sul and 1 in São Bernardo do Campo.

Out of 1,140 launches, 33.7% have only one bathroom and 40.8% have two bathrooms. Units that have three or more bathrooms represent only 25.5% of the total. Until 1998, the number of bathrooms was not an important characteristic. Since 1999, one and two bathroom units were predominant. Since 2003, units with 2 bathrooms became more representative, concentrating a larger number of gated community units.

Units with only one bathroom represent almost half (49.6%) of the total. Units with two bathrooms account for 37.1% of the total, while units with three or more bathrooms represent only 13.3%.

Map 8 shows construction according to the number of bathrooms per unit. Units with only one (orange) bathroom are located mostly in the northern, eastern and extreme western regions of the capital and in several other municipalities. Units with two bathrooms (green) are dispersed among all areas of the capital and other municipalities, while those with three (blue) bathrooms are dispersed, yet slightly concentrated in the southwest region of the capital.

The units with four (pink) bathrooms are extremely concentrated in the capital's southwest region. Of the total of 138 four bathroom units, 7 are in Cotia, 1 in Alphaville, 1 in Guarulhos, 5 in São Paulo's north zone, 1 in the east zone, and the remaining 123 are in the southwest region of the capital. This area concentrates a highly-educated population with high levels of income.

In order to identify the main residential typology in São Paulo's Metropolitan Area, an analysis comparing the number of bedrooms and the number of bathrooms was done. Table 4 shows the units rates according to quantity of bathrooms and bedrooms. Units with 2 bedrooms and 1 bathrooms (medium standard) represent almost half of the total, concentrating 43.7% of all units built. Housing units with three bedrooms and two bathrooms (low pattern) represent 29.2% of total. Finally, units with four bedrooms and four bathrooms (high pattern) concentrate 5.9% of the total.

Usually residential units have more bedrooms than bathrooms. Only those units aimed at high income classes, containing four bedrooms, have the same number of bathrooms.

Maps 5 (2 bedrooms and 1 bathroom), 6 (3 bedrooms and 2 bathrooms) and 7 (4 bedrooms and 4 bathrooms) show the location of the three major typologies in the SPMA.

Gated horizontal communities with 2 bedroom and 1 bathroom units (Map 5) are mostly concentrated in the east zone of the city of São Paulo and other suburban areas (north and west) and among some other municipalities, such as Guarulhos, Mogi das Cruzes, São Bernardo do Campo and Cotia.

As shown by Map 6, 3 bedroom and 2 bathroom units are concentrated in the east and north regions, around the expanded central area and in the extreme western region of the capital. The presence of this type of gated community in the other municipalities of the metropolitan region is almost the same as the low-cost housing.

Map 7 shows that almost all of the units with 4 bedrooms and 4 bathrooms (92%) are located exclusively in the southwest area of the city of São Paulo. Of all 138 releases, only 4 are located in the north zone, 2 in the east zone and 2 in the the extreme western zone of the capital in addition to 1 in Guarulhos, 1 in Barueri and 1 in Cotia.

Preliminary conclusions

In the period between 1992 and 1995, 1,140 new horizontal gated residential communities were built in São Paulo's Metropolitan Region. The amount of communities built is impressive, especially in 2003 and 2004, when 437 new gated communities were released.

From the perspective of the metropolis, the city of São Paulo concentrates 83.2% of all construction. São Paulo and the other 18 municipalities of the SPMA (about half) also have gated residential communities. The maps with the location of metropolitan gated communities show that the municipalities situated in the most suburban areas (north, south, east and west) of the metropolis are the ones that are not targeted by this specific real estate market.

In the city of São Paulo, the "Lei de Vilas" (Vilas Law)[5] was passed in 1994, enabling indiscriminate installation of small gated communities (in the old "village" style) in every residential area of the city. This can explain the high concentration of gated communities in São Paulo's municipal area.

These "villa" areas sprawled into all municipal areas, including the city's east zone, which is usually thought of as a low-income neighborhood.

In the east zone very small gated communities can be found, with small residential units, usually with no more than two bedrooms and one bathroom.

On the other hand, there are also some high-income gated communities in the east zone of the city of São Paulo although it is historically recognized as a low-income neighborhood.

The conclusion to be drawn is that residential gated communities can no longer be associated with suburban areas, upper class housing or large tracts of urban land.

Two questions need to be underscored: with the sprawl of gated communities at least inside São Paulo's municipal area, do the gated communities represent the fractal segregation model highlighted by several authors?

And, regarding low-income gated communities: can the homeowner of these small residential units afford the price of the security apparatus usually associated to gated communities?

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[1] As noted by Castells and Mollenkopf (*Dual City* – 1991) social fragmentation leads to urban fragmentation. See also Friedmann 1997 and Sassen 1996.

[2] In Brazil we have two different kinds of gated residential areas: closed settlements (a regular settlement closed off by walls after the lots were sold) and gated communities (residential areas that include already constructed homes).

[3] This text refers to the establishment of the first vertical gated community in São Paulo in 1973 – Condomínio *Ilhas do Sul*, in Alto de Pinheiros.

[4] All data about gated communities in the São Paulo Metropolitan Area is from the databases on enterprises from the EMBRAESP (Brazilian Company for Asset Study).

[5] Law n. 11.605 from July 12, 1994. "Art 1- Paragraph – The horizontal residential complex type R3-03 is constituted by isolated habitational units, grouped, townhouse or superposed, in gated communities, located in areas that admit their residential use. / Art. 2 - The horizontal residential complex type R3-03 can only be established in lots or tracts with an area equal to or lesser than 15,000 m²."

'Skin-deep' Making and planning culture in two New Zealand urban settings

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Introduction

'Culture' and its blood relative 'creativity' are much in vogue in today's policy discourses. They are acclaimed as the new drivers of economic prosperity; catalysts of social wellbeing and reconciliation; botox for urban wastelands, yet pivotal to sustainability; and the essence of an exciting, perhaps terrifying, post-modern, post-industrial era. Both terms are applied with a lissom and luxuriant optimism to everything from works of exceptional talent through to the quotidian atmospherics of the workplace or the street; and used with so much abandon that some may now consider them hackneyed, debased and devoid of useful meaning. As Tusa observes of 'creativity' (and this might easily be extended to include 'culture'):

> Stripped of any special significance by a generation of bureaucrats, civil servants, managers and politicians, lazily used as political margarine to spread approvingly and inclusively over any activity with a non-material element to it, the word 'creative' has almost become unusable[1].

Culture, rhetorically at least, has moved from New Zealand's policy margins over the last ten years, encouraged by a more receptive political climate and influenced by overseas fashions and advice from consultants on the international culture/creativity circuit[2]. This has been reflected in the revision of institutional frameworks, notably at the local level where culture is specifically identified as one of the interlinked constituents of sustainability, now the paramount purpose of local government - to be fostered through the promotion of cultural, social, economic and environmental wellbeing. Interest in urban affairs and design has also grown at all levels of governance, with connections drawn between cultural dynamism, quality of life, and civic prestige.

After a review of the evolving orthodoxies of urban cultural policy, which posit an important role for local governments in the identification and mobilisation of cultural assets and capacities, this paper aims to explore the degree to which this shift has substantively changed attitudes and practices in selected New Zealand cities. In particular, it examines how cultural enterprise is (or is not) nurtured and enhanced through local government planning and policy initiatives and processes. It does this through the methodology of two historical case studies, drawing on archival and policy documentation, along with interviews with stakeholders. The first focuses on the revival of a heritage townscape in Napier[3] and the second on the development a creative arts-based event in Nelson[4]. Arguably both provide insights into the *realpolitik* of cultural policy and practice in the New Zealand urban context - and perhaps elsewhere.

'The cultural turn'

Most works on culture – and many on creativity – begin with an attempt to unpick etymology and show how concepts underpinning the terminology have evolved in conjunction with shifting currents in the history of ideas and popular usage. Over the twentieth century the usage of culture (and creativity) moved from Eurocentric romanticised, idealised and evaluative conceptions of human perfection and civility or, in the case of creativity, the production of something without precedence - usually connected to an especially gifted individual - to looser all-encompassing conceptions deemed to be more democratic and egalitarian. The "omnibus conception"[5] of culture draws on anthropological definitions as "ways of living", reflective not only of enlightened advancement and elite, often abstruse art forms, but also of everything "material, intellectual and spiritual"[6] held in common by a particular human group. Culture was also "ordinary" and found in the "known meanings and directions" of tradition conferred through socialisation and heredity; and in "new observations and meanings"[7] produced through discovery and ingenuity.

Arguably cities are a fusion of culture and creativity congealed and inscribed; stages for the drama of social life; and crucibles of human ingenuity; and 'great' cities, according to Hall, are those led with vision and flexibility, where cosmopolitan ways of living flourish in an atmosphere that ignites the "sacred flame of the human intelligence and the human imagination"[8] Today, however, it is also argued that culture is their business mainstay. Goods and services are increasingly imbued with symbolic and aesthetic values; and cultural products and ambiences are appreciated as significant sources of wealth and competitive advantage[9]. Central to this is the perceived dynamism and potential of the creative industries - agglomerative enterprises that commercially develop and profit from individual creativity such as screen and music production, architecture and design, performing arts, digital media, fashion, advertising etc. Furthermore, there appears to be a correlation between quality, vivacious, edgy places and congregations of creative professionals[10]; and cultural producers, particularly artists, have been identified as important agents in urban regeneration and re-imaging[11]. Cultural tourism is a rapidly expanding niche market, with affluent travellers seeking unique and authentic experiences of people and place through savour of the arts, heritage, architecture, festivals, food and ethnic lifestyles etc.[12]

Rather than as a public subsidy sump, culture was re-forged in the 1980s as a strategic economic development instrument. Policy stances (often involving partnerships between levels of government and the private sector) have favoured cultural consumption, or cultural production, or a hybrid of the two[13]. Outmoded and rundown townscapes have been refashioned into 'consumption landscapes' featuring iconic architecture, new or refurbished cultural infrastructure, funky downtown apartments, and 'festival markets' - to attract more investment, skilled workers, tourists and shoppers. Sustainable cultural businesses have been nurtured through networking, workspaces, venture capital, business support, copyright protection etc. The British consultancy Comedia has taken a leading role in promoting a more holistic and integrated agenda

emphasising the revitalisation of the public realm, social inclusion and wellbeing, along with employment and wealth generation where economic development is combined with urban design, community cultural development, transportation and retailing policies etc.[14] 'Creativity' is championed in 'creative city' methodologies aimed at replicating 'creative milieux' through cultural quarters, clusters, altered mind-sets and institutional innovation[15].

The 'creative city' is recent mutation of the 'cultural planning' concept, endorsed by Comedia and others as an innovative, strategic, collaborative, place-based, democratic process for marshalling cultural resources (tangible and intangible, traditional and emerging) to tackle the complex problems of globalisation, suburbanisation, sustainability and social schism. The term is loosely employed but generally implies the assimilation of cultural perspectives into mainstream local government policymaking, where the cultural field is framed in all embracing, interconnected "omnibus" terms[16]. It is advocated as an enriching, reflexive, ethical and even radical alternative to current planning practice, which in Young's view, at least, is "in the throes of a paralysing identity crisis…shrinking…at the very time culture is expanding." [17]

New Zealand's 'cultural turn'

Cultural policy was traditionally deemed a central government responsibility in New Zealand until relatively recently and, with the exception of education, little more than a nicety extended to high arts patronage and heritage conservation (delivered through autonomous crown entities established mid-twentieth century and thereafter poorly resourced). Although culture was not considered a mainstream local government concern there was an implicit understanding that facility provision was a local responsibility and many local authorities invested in libraries (generally their most substantial expenditure), community halls and museums -financed through rates and fund-raising. Although a few of the larger urban authorities began to appreciate the economic benefits of culture towards the turn of the twenty-first century – notably New Zealand's capital Wellington - the prevailing mentality saw culture not as an asset, but as welfare; and cultural planning, where it existed, was largely geared to facility management[18].

The stature of culture altered when the current Labour Government came to power in 1999 and the Prime Minister symbolically assumed of the role of Minister of Culture and Heritage, restructuring the portfolio around national identity, artistic excellence and economic development goals. In 2002 the Government identified the creative industries as one of three key national economic growth sectors targeted for special assistance. Culture was made an explicit local government concern in the Local Government Act 2002, which gave councils greater policy discretion generally and obliged them, in partnership with central government, business, voluntary agencies and individuals, to promote sustainable development through integrated strategic ten-year Long-Term Council Community Plans (LTCCPs) based around an agreed set of 'community outcomes' developed through local consultation. The statute is not prescriptive – the constitution of culture is a matter for the community to decide - but guidance provided

by national agencies favours a comprehensive definition. First generation LTCCPs were produced in 2006. A review of a selection revealed that most councils equated cultural wellbeing with the unique character of their localities and sought to establish competitive advantage through branding; few successfully integrated the four domains of wellbeing; or demonstrated consistent linked engagement with other levels of government and outside agencies.

The New Zealand Historic Places Trust (NZHPT) is the national body primarily responsible for the identification and retention of physical heritage, but local authorities play a critical role in heritage protection through environmental planning processes laid down in the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA)[19]. This empowers councils to draw up local registers of heritage buildings and places, and regulate to ensure their qualities are preserved.

The following case studies illustrate the evolving relationship between local government and cultural enterprise in two provincial cities embedded in regions recognised for fine landscape, abundant produce and clement weather - attractive to tourists and retirees. The first case exemplifies the 'traditional' dimension of William's cultural conception, and the second the 'new' and ingenious.

The Napier Art Deco Trust

The force 7.8 Hawke's Bay Earthquake of 1931 is New Zealand's worst territorial disaster[20] and the city of Napier's master creation narrative. Whilst catastrophic at the time in terms of life and property (fire destroyed the central business district in a matter of hours), seventy-six years later it is regarded as having beneficially delivered a unique opportunity to rebuild where "the faults of the past could be avoided", along with four-thousand acres of uplifted estuarine land for town expansion[21].

Most of the central business district was rebuilt within two years of the earthquake, notwithstanding the economic privations of the Great Depression and laissez-faire political climate. Although these circumstances inhibited the realisation of more radical visions and urban reforms, the 'New Napier' was notable for its modern 'Art Deco' architecture, waterfront beautification and suburban extensions:

> …government, professionals and individuals…went far beyond the need to provide basic shelter or commercial accommodation…to create out of adversity something of great beauty, which has survived as a heritage of distinctive value and as a site of national and international significance[22].

Napier's Deco is, in fact, an eclectic mix of modern architectural styles and influences, given an antipodean twist through the use of vernacular materials and indigenous motifs. The four local firms, 'Napier Associated Architects', who collaborated to rebuild the town, favoured this mix. 'Art Deco' also conformed to national building codes promulgated after the earthquake (reinforced concrete, integral minimalist decoration and height restraint). It was relatively inexpensive and appealed to the Depression - and

disaster - jaded popular imagination for its progressive optimism and 'Roaring Twenties' associations. That it survived to achieve "national and international significance" can largely be attributed to the passionate tirelessness of Napier's Art Deco Trust and - initially - to the discerning eyes of outsiders.

What charms one generation is habitually shunned by the next. Deco buildings were being demolished from the 1960s to make way for tower blocks, the new symbol of urban advancement and prosperity. At the time there was slender interest in the preservation of the mundane, utilitarian, or recent past. Apocryphally Napier's special qualities were first noticed in the early eighties by a group of European experts who switched attention from the imposing colonial mansions on Napier Hill, to gaze down upon the concrete town and pronounce it the real "treasure"[23]. It was remarkable, not for singular buildings, but for the stylistic coherence of the townscape and idiosyncratic interpretations of an international architectural movement.

This prompted the Ministry of Works and Development[24] to commission a catalogue on Napier's Art Deco to raise awareness and encourage the community to preserve its 'unique' architecture[25]. In 1983 the Hawke's Bay Museum & Art Gallery mounted a photographic exhibition based on the catalogue, extending it to include images from the nearby town of Hastings, which had also been reconstructed following the earthquake, predominantly in the Spanish Mission style. Following the demolition of another outstanding Deco building, a small number of cultural enthusiasts formed the Art Deco Group to promote preservation by educating the public and local government about the value of its heritage, not only for its intrinsic historical and aesthetic values, but also its significance as a tourist asset. It produced an Art Deco Walk leaflet and premiered *Newest City on the Globe,* a surrealist television documentary made by New Zealand writer Peter Wells. This attracted substantial public interest and was seen as:

> …a watershed for the group, and of course for heritage preservation in Napier – the city that always thought it had no heritage. It inspired the members of the Art Deco Group to commit for the long haul because they could see that here was a once-in a life-time opportunity to put their city not just on the map but on the globe, but also a ground swell of popular support that would make the task much easier to achieve[26].

The Group organised guided walks, unsuccessfully opposed another demolition, developed Deco merchandise (sold in the Museum shop), sponsored architectural publications, and networked with art deco societies abroad. The NZHPT designated an area with the highest concentration of quality Deco buildings a Heritage Precinct in 1985. This provided statutory recognition of the quarter's significance, but protection was only accorded to individual buildings scheduled in the NZHPT register. Whilst Napier City had the power to act independently, it merely replicated the NZHPT list in its plan at the time. The NZHPT designation did prompt the Council, however, to conduct a study of the inner city in 1986. Art Deco Group submissions argued, inter alia, that a building inventory be made and measures introduced to encourage sympathetic

development, along with restoration and maintenance assistance. The response was disappointing[27].

The Group was incorporated as the Art Deco Trust in 1987 under the presidency of Museum Director Robert McGregor. Its objectives prioritised the promotion of Art Deco tourism, maintaining the commercial viability of the buildings, establishing a register of buildings and public education[28]. In 1988 it initiated annual Art Deco Awards and held an 'Art Deco Weekend' in 1989. From small beginnings designed to generate civic pride, fun and an understanding that Art Deco was more than old buildings, this weekend event (now biannual) has grown into a major tourist attraction for the city and region. With the assistance of students and some Council support, the Trust prepared an inventory of Napier's Deco Buildings[29] and collaborated with the Council on a design guide. In 1992, after preparing a business plan, the Trust secured NZ$54,000 from Council to appoint McGregor as a full-time paid director and establish its own premises (including a shop). The Trust continues to receive this sum from the Council. In Council rhetoric, a "grant", in Trust rhetoric "a payment from the Napier City Council in return for the Trust's promotional, tourism and preservation services to the City"[30]. In 2007 this constituted 11% of the Trust's income, with 29% coming from retail sales and 24% guided walks. Twenty-three thousand people took guided walks in 2006/7[31]. The guides continue to be trained volunteers. Over the years the Trust has produced or encouraged a substantial literature on local history and architecture, and provides guidance to developers and building owners' renovation and maintenance. It now employs a staff of five including a full-time events co-ordinator and in 2005/6 its turnover was NZ$1.6million[32]. In 2006 it commissioned an independent consultant to undertake a local economic impact study which estimated Art Deco tourism had a direct economic impact of NZ$11million and NZ$23million counting indirect[33]. In 2007 the Government nominated the Deco Precinct to UNESCO as a potential World Heritage Site.

Although Napier now brands itself the 'Art Deco City', Council has been slow to develop policy safeguards, at least in the view of the Trust, which has relied on public persuasion, believing statutory planning mechanisms provide limited protection at best[34]. Napier's District Plan (proposed in 2000 and operative in 2007) acknowledged the Deco Quarter in the local planning framework for the first time, but special regulations apply only to signage, and individual listed buildings (requiring consents for alteration or demolition). The Art Deco Trust believes that the signage regulations are not enforced. A senior planner confirmed this, attributing it to resource shortages and a failure of political will (when put to the test), but thought it an advance that "rules were in place"[35]. The Council has also introduced special development controls for a suburban Deco neighbourhood, provides modest painting grants for building owners, and funded a part-time 'Deco Ambassador' out of the city promotions budget. Despite the collapse of resolve over signage, Council officers consider that heritage is a political priority, particularly given the World Heritage nomination. Heritage consultants completed a study of the precinct in 2005 that is expected to provide a basis for a review of District Plan heritage provisions described as "a gradual evolving process"[36]. The ad hoc heritage listing of earlier years has been replaced with a formal process. Every building in the precinct is now being researched, graded according to significance, and

registered if appropriate. The LTCCP[37] lists nine Community Outcomes. "Communities that value and promote their unique culture and heritage"[38]is last on a prioritized list with health and safety (considered environmental wellbeings) at the top and social and cultural wellbeings (collapsed together) at the bottom. Art Deco heritage is identified as a key cultural and tourism asset, and an environmental issue in a strategic priority to offer citizens and visitors lifestyle opportunities. Elsewhere it is nominated as a national and international point of difference, with Council support for the Art Deco Trust, restoration incentives, education and funding to improve signage mentioned as key initiatives. It is left to an obscure cultural policy, prepared by a consultant for Council's community development division, to define cultural wellbeing[39]. While this covers "leisure, cultural heritage, contemporary arts practice, cultural diversity, built in environment and creative industries"[40] the policy is restricted to art (largely public art) and heritage, where working with the Art Deco Trust is an ongoing priority.

Gradualism and pusillanimous enforcement frustrate the Trust. Like many of the implementation partners nominated in the aforementioned cultural policy, it seemed unaware of the policy's existence and cynically dismissed it as another "cut and paste" council document[41]. Despite the Trust's 'partnership' role, there is little ongoing interaction. Meetings are rare and letters go unanswered. It finds Council officers conservative, bureaucratic and incapable of being entrepreneurial. Although Art Deco weekends generate local 'buzz' and income, and are politically celebrated as a community event, the Trust continues to carry the risk and is obliged to pay for many council services such as traffic management plans. Undoubtedly there is some ambiguity and tension in the multiple roles of the Trust: as heritage activist, 'partner', preserver and tourist service provider. It does, however, have the advantage of focussed purpose and its achievements are considerable, reflecting shrewd and tenacious leadership backed by a high level of volunteerism. In twenty years it has reconfigured Napier's identity, developed viable tourist ventures, and engendered civic pride. Whilst the City Council may now have the same objectives, policy development has been reactive, sluggish and remains fragmented and uneven in implementation. It is constrained, according a city councillor, by its broad remit, lack of finance (there is a local resistance to rate increases) and statute (planning legislation deemed a particularly "blunt instrument")[42]. It remains to be seen whether the City can develop a robust protection framework capable of withstanding the vicissitudes of fashion and the market. In the eyes of another outsider, British travel writer Duncan Fallowell, it still has far to go:

> This art deco thing – they are not taking it seriously. They think conservation is a matter of printing brochures…the iconic Gaiety de Luxe Cinema…all that remains is the outdoor Moorish balcony with a round-headed window; the rest has been chopped up into a café, a model railway exhibition and a Two Dollar Shop[43].

The Nelson World of WearableArt

From Art Deco Napier, attention now turns to the WearableArt of Nelson. Described as a "No 8 wire story of creativity"[44], the Montana World of WearableArt™ (WOW) Awards

began as a one-off fundraiser for a rural art gallery co-operative near Nelson in 1987. Held in a tent, it attracted two hundred people, and sponsorship of NZ$1,000 from a local café owner[45]. Twenty-one years later WOW is staged annually over a season of ten shows in an auditorium on the waterfront in New Zealand's capital Wellington. Audiences are now around thirty-five thousand and the event attracts sponsorship from prominent national and international corporations, as well as government agencies. Mini-shows have been held abroad and the event is touted as reflecting "the colour and personality of New Zealand…into the 21st century"[46].

The event continues to be directed by its creator, sculptor Suzie Moncrieff, and managed by a private company, which superseded the non-profit incorporated society of earlier years. With a permanent staff of six women (including Moncrieff and her sister) the company is still Nelson-based in offices and an art department in the 'World of WearableArt and Classic Cars Museum' complex[47]. This improbable combination was a multi-million dollar joint venture between WOW and a Nelson family food-processing business, which largely financed the project and provided the cars[48]. The museum showcases WOW's historical collection, attracts fifty thousand visitors a year[49] and when it opened in 2001 appeared to dispel local fears that WOW "would outgrow its Nelson roots …Something unique to Nelson has been made secure"[50].

Wearable art, per se, is not unique to Nelson. It has its origins in the artistic adornment of human body and ritual, both cultural universals. Wearable art (artwear or body art) as an artistic genre has a less certain pedigree and sceptics doubt that it is an art-form at all: "'wearable art'" is a double misnomer since the stuff on display is neither wearable nor art"[51]. Leventon[52] traces it back to nineteenth century English Arts and Crafts and the American sixties counterculture movement when female artists used it to confront the patriarchal dictates of fashion, mass production, consumerism, and the art establishment. She sees it as an "art of materials and processes" existing "at the intersection between art, craft and fashion. It is of all three, but wholly owned by none of them"[53]. WOW claims that its 'WearableArt' is unique in that it not only "takes art of the wall", but "out of static display"[54]. It combines visual and performance art in a competitive, choreographed theatrical spectacle involving dance, music and sophisticated lighting effects. Although dismissed by the local high arts establishment as pandering to popular taste and the media as "evidence of a culture rendering itself impotent"[55], it became a major tourist attraction and focus of civic pride in Nelson before it 'out grew its roots' and left for Wellington in 2005.

Moncrieff's philosophy is inclusive. She argued Feeney missed the point by failing to distinguish between the artistic merit of the garments and the "unashamedly" populist show in which they were presented[56]. WOW blurs boundaries of: art, craft and fashion; professionalism and amateurism; the eternal and the ephemeral. The competition is open to anyone and while many of the entries come from artists and designers a professional background is not essential. The company has worked in partnership with tertiary institutes and secondary schools recognising "they are the nursery of new and cutting-edge art"[57]. The event now attracts entries from overseas designers, with a third of the garments in the last show coming from abroad[58]. Garments must be 'wearable'

and a certain size, but can be constructed from any material or technique and do not have to be serious, practical or commercially viable[59]. The event is themed in categories around the awards (over $NZ100,000, substantial by New Zealand standards) and throughout its Nelson period relied on a high level of voluntary support – models, dancers, dressers, ushers, makeup artists, sound technicians etc. - were recruited from the community. Forty percent of a crew of four hundred and fifty were paid in 2004[60]. The competition gives the artists media exposure and, according to WOW's[61] publicity, has launched numerous successful creative careers.

The character, growth and success of WOW owed much to the cultural traditions, mentalities, enthusiasm and ownership of the people of Nelson[62]. It became a flagship event, stimulating associated activities such as the Council backed Arts Festival (initiated in 1995) and contributing directly and indirectly to the development of regional tourism and creative industries.

The decision to move to Wellington was triggered by a 2003 economic impact report, done by independent consultants commissioned by WOW drawing on funding from central government's economic development agency. This showed the event brought in NZ$6.5million and nine thousand visitors (seventy-eight per cent of whom said they would follow the show elsewhere) into the region, with retailers receiving forty-three percent of the benefit, and restaurants and cafés twenty-four percent[63]. WOW claimed it did not intend to shift at this time, but the consultants advised it to seek an alternative location if it wished to grow and subsequently brokered a confidential five-year deal with the Wellington City Council, providing financial support for a venue, marketing and awards; paid out of the City's NZ$1.5million event-development fund (a fighting fund set up after the city failed to secure several sporting events)[64]. The City agreed (claiming this was unrelated to the WOW deal) to spend NZ$6.9million to upgrade its waterfront events centre[65]. At this time Hervey says WOW received NZ$40,000 from the Nelson City Council, NZ$37,000 of which went back to the Council for the rental on the Trafalgar Centre, the basketball stadium used to stage the event since 1990. In addition Nelson made a one-off payment to upgrade seating following pressure from WOW, but rejected requests for other facility improvements or for financing an economic impact assessment. The Tasman District Council (the other administrative and geographically larger rural authority in the region) offered no support on the basis that commercial or tourist activities were not core business[66] although its LTCCP counts tourism as one of four leading economic sectors in the region and its website insists that it has one of the largest regional counts of professional artists that, along with lifestyle, create the area's distinction[67].

WOW acknowledges that the support it received from Nelson City was invaluable in its early phase. From the outset, however, it was treated as a community service, rather than as a viable economic prospect. WOW is reticent about whether it was perceived as a women's business pandering to women's interests and consequently marginalised. Anecdotally, however, allusions were made to the patronising chauvinism Moncrieff received from local politicians, with mayor Peter Malone (1980-1992) reportedly dismissing an early WOW development proposal with "Girlie, I think the best thing you

can do is leave town"[68]. There is an enduring frustration that the Nelson Council persistently saw the contribution it made as a donation rather than an economic investment and leverage opportunity[69]. Both Nelson and Tasman did not consider it their role to support a commercial operation and the City would annually inspect WOW's books to ascertain that it was making no more than a modest profit: "council did not want us to make money, so at the end of the day we were a private company that was being told by the city that they didn't really want us to be too profitable"[70]. When the company proudly presented the results of the impact study to Nelson City Council, the response was indifferent and after a fifteen-minute discussion, councillors moved on to discuss the Santa Parade[71]. Tasman's mayor publicly stated that he did not regret refusing to fund the event, despite its contribution of NZ$1.5million to his district in the previous year[72]. The impact study consultancy's recommendation that the councils fund a purpose built venue "for the goose that laid the golden egg" was rejected in spite of a history of local agitation for improvements in the region's cultural infrastructure generally. WOW was adamant that it did not want to enter into a bidding war once the decision was made, but said that had the region's councils backed a three-year national advertising campaign proposed in late 2002 it would have felt morally bound to stay in the area.

The decision to 'finally leave town' was personally hard according to Moncrieff, but she (and Nelson's mayor at the time) likened it to a teenager growing up and leaving home[73]. Apart from facilities and funding, Wellington offered synergies with the nation's premier arts institutions; robust transport and tourism infrastructure; and potential to move the event further into the international arena (parallels are drawn with Cirque du Soleil).

There is a sense too that WOW thought the community had taken the teenager for granted:

> …(it was a) "comfortable old slipper"…``cash cow'' for many of the city's businesses...``Nelsonians have done very, very well out of WearableArt… (WOW) have just managed to make ends meet"[74].

This complacency was shaken by the economic impact results and more particularly news of the move, which was ardently debated in the press. While some citizens saw it as inevitable, others questioned the ability of the event to maintain its special character in a larger commercial environment. Some saw it as an opportunity to promote Nelson in a new market; others counted the potential loss to Nelson's retailing and tourism businesses[75]. The local Member of Parliament lambasted the councils for their lack of vision and cohesion:

> We have lost an icon event that gave Nelson life and vitality and which created millions in economic activity... Its loss strikes at the heart of who we are and what we aspire to be… Those who accept this decision as an inevitable consequence of WOW's growth are small-minded. These people accept Nelson as a sleepy hollow and a provincial backwater. They lack vision for the sort of place Nelson should aspire to be in this new century…Our councils are guilty of short-

sightedness…The WOW fiasco… highlights the weakness of our fragmented council structure…Our local councils have been incredibly naive about the competition for hosting such sporting and cultural events…Our sporting and cultural venues are a disgrace for a region of our size. Progress continues to be stalled by the inherent parochialism of our two council structures[76].

A year later the community was ruing the loss of "a world-class event that put the hippie and retirement community on the map"[77], with retailers and restaurateurs reporting a dramatic decline in turnover[78]. In the aftermath of the move Nelson City voted NZ$55,000 for an events manager, agreed to upgrade the Trafalgar Centre, and more recently budgeted NZ$200,000 for an events strategy, although this is meeting resistance from retirees who consider it luxury[79]. The Nelson LTCCP does not define cultural wellbeing, but recreation, arts, crafts, heritage, festivals, lifestyle and a unique identity contribute to "A fun, creative culture", one of its six 'Community Outcomes' and cultural funding is now couched as economic strategy[80]. The plan later signals the need to define that "unique identity".

Wellington, by contrast, has branded itself "Creative Wellington- Innovation Capital", and "New Zealand's arts and cultural capital." Inspired by Richard Florida, it aims to "attract smart, innovative people and creative, forward-looking enterprise"[81]. Its LTCCP identifies tourism, major events such as WOW (estimated to inject NZ$8million into the local economy), and the creative industries as economic drivers[82]. Hervey[83] speaks of it as an "affirming environment", where "culture and attitude" are as important as financial support. Wellington, unlike Nelson-Tasman, is prepared to invest public funds in supporting commercial ventures, believing that successful businesses are aligned with successful cities. In addition to finance and venue, the Council provides free of charge services such as permit processing, security etc. WOW now makes a profit and is more professionalized. It still relies on some voluntary support (everyone on stage is paid) and continues to work in partnership with tertiary institutes in Nelson and Wellington. The Company maintains its Nelson roots remain - museum visitors outnumber those attending the show - but it now considers itself a truly Wellington event, despite the forebodings of Nelsonians who considered it imbued with the spirit of the region and unlikely to excite sophisticated, cynical, commercial Wellingtonians[84]. Hervey pays particular tribute to the vision and courage of Wellington's mayor and council, who have defied the conventions of traditional local government and rate-payer resistance to engage in commerce and who see civic purpose as more than roads, parks and rubbish collections.

Conclusion

This paper aimed to evaluate how the 'cultural turn' observed in international urban policy over the last two to three decades – and in New Zealand over the past decade – has influenced planning and practice in the smaller worlds of two provincial New Zealand cities. It shows that while culture may have moved to the policy foreshore in national intent, it remains stranded in the policy backwaters of the cities under scrutiny. Irrespective of the prominence now given to the promotion of 'cultural wellbeing' in the

statutory framework and of the value placed on culture by those communities, as articulated in their Community Outcomes, there appears to be limited appreciation of its multifaceted strategic possibilities; confusion over the meaning and ambit of the concept itself; and little evidence that it is being assimilated into mainstream thinking and activity. Rather, culture is randomly or reactively incorporated into discordant policy agendas. Community initiatives are often stalled in process or stymied by perceived impecuniousness, parochialism, and fragmented structures. The appropriate role of these local governments in cultural leadership and facilitation remains ambiguous and a welfarist/service delivery impetus endures. Consequently initiatives unique to the locality and demonstrably able to deliver benefits to the local economy, civic identity and social felicity were inadequately resourced and safeguarded. In Nelson this contributed to the loss of a significant asset to another city; meanwhile Napier's asset remains susceptible to market forces and reliant, in part, on the steely fervour and longevity of a community trust.

The requirement that culture be an explicit concern of New Zealand local government is still in its infancy, as indeed is long-term strategic planning at the local level. Both obligations call for major changes in orientation and aspiration and even in Britain, where the 'cultural turn' is arguably more entrenched and glittering, a recent study remarked that:

> …despite the importance of culture in people's everyday lives…At local authority level, culture has neither established itself independently as an unquestioned good…nor has everyone been persuaded that culture has a vital role to play in the delivery of other mainstream council services[85].

Furthermore, New Zealanders (especially those of European descent) have been slow to appreciate that they, and the places in which they dwell, have distinctive cultures. In both the cases discussed, acknowledgment was built through lengthy, intrepid advocacy on the part of committed individuals and assisted by the recognition of outsiders. It is also possible that a more cultural orientation in some New Zealand city settings is compromised by a lingering anti-urban and anti-intellectual ethos.

The Wellington City Council is testament, however, to the notion that local bureaucracies can be creative, take risks, and demonstrate flexibility and leadership (in the style promoted by Landry). Wellington City had the will to seize an opportunity and enhance it with imaginative policy support. The 'culture' of governance itself is undoubtedly a potent factor in the realisation of original and successful policy outcomes – and cultural outcomes in William's "material, intellectual and spiritual" sense. It may also be the 'culture' of genius locus. Wellington is a relatively wealthy, well-educated community, endowed with the nation's premier high cultural organisations and an internationally acclaimed film studio. Over the last fifteen years it has forged a truly urban identity and worked to make that distinctive. Of the all the local authorities alluded to in this paper, it has best embraced cultural policy as an integrated strategic tool, albeit conspicuously in economic development – not required of New Zealand's local governments prior to the 2002 statute, but one unconventionally pursued by

Wellington's leaders with ferocious vigilance from nineteen-nineties in response to economic decline arising from public service restructuring and corporate exodus. As with cities overseas, Wellington looked to culture as a post-industrial anodyne. It not only seized, but created opportunities for culture to flourish through tourism initiatives, public art, creative industry clusters, subsidised workspaces and incubators.

Cultures are complex, liquid and unpredictable. They are made and remade by people living together in particular environments, not by public bureaucracies, and cultural planning may even be inherently a contradiction in terms. That said local councils –and their own cultures - play a vital role in establishing the ambience and infrastructure (hard and soft) that encourages local culture - in all its spontaneity, diversity and purpose - to evolve and thrive; or conversely, to stagnate.

Endnotes

1. Tusa, John, *On Creativity: interviews exploring the process* (London: Methuen, 2003) p. 6.
2. For example: Chris Smith, Charles Landry, John Montgomery and Richard Florida.
3. Napier is located on eastern coast of New Zealand's North Island in the Hawke's Bay region. The original town was laid out in the 1850s.
4. Nelson is located on the northern coast of New Zealand's South Island in the Nelson region. The original town was established by E.G. Wakefield's New Zealand Company in 1841.
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Guiding Considerations of Public Interest in Conflicts about Development in Coastal and Marine Environments

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Introduction

Planners have partially justified their existence as a discipline by claiming that the planning discipline is one that determines consensus about definition of the common good or public interest. Plans are justified with some certainty that they are prepared by planning practitioners and would 'protect' or serve public interest[1]. Some think that planners have abandoned public interest ideals. For example, Phillip Adams in condemning planners wrote:

> It's 'public' that has become a dirty word – as in public health, public transport, public education and public broadcasting. Public as in public space, public spirited and, God forbid, public as in public ownership. The public sector is being flushed down the public toilet.[2]"

Others argue that while one of the *raisons d'être* of planning is to protect the public interest, this notion of public interest is contested terrain especially in pluralist societies such as Australia and is defined through a range of democratic processes including reviews of government decisions[3]. The shift to performance based planning in some planning systems[4] and the need for developers to meet qualitative and quantitative performance based criteria, has also resulted in decreased public participation and restricted scope for "third-party" appeals against planning decisions. In fact, a lot of small planning and building proposals are "self assessable" in all Australian planning systems, totally excluding third party involvement in the development assessment decision.

The reality of contemporary planning is that we need to rethink our interpretation of the concept and determine new ways in which planners may protect or consider public interest issues, especially in coastal and marine environments where public and private interests need to be served while achieving sustainable development. That requires a re-examination of public interest as a planning concept. In addition, it is also necessary to examine associated concepts applied in thinking about management of coastal environments, including conflict resolution, and planning values such as 'equity', 'justice' and 'effectiveness'.

Planners and managers are also expected to use collaborative approaches, enabling all voices to be heard in the decision-making process. Environmental Conflict Resolution (ECR) is an important tool in the planner's toolbox facilitating the resolution of conflict and different views about sustainability of proposals; and conflicting attitudes to natural resource management where people need to continue living together in a community and share natural resources – as in many of our coastal communities. In addition, the

planning discipline's values of 'justice' and 'equity' need to be explicitly expressed in decision making processes, rather than a narrow focus on 'efficiency' or 'effectiveness'. This is particularly relevant when considering environmental policy decision making in relation to publicly owned natural resources, as noted by Raymond (2003) who believes that "efficiency" has become the single dominant standard to judge the quality of decision-making because policymakers increasingly see public resources in utilitarian terms[5].

The ultimate aim in bringing these bodies of literature together is to derive a set of principles, ensuring that substantive ecological, economic and social planning issues are taken into account in the application of ECR techniques to resolve conflict or differing views about the appropriateness of development or use of natural resources in coastal and marine environments. The principles form part of a wider research study, in which the principles and indicators of good practice are used to assess whether public interest ideals are represented in analysing the effectiveness of conflict resolution processes in disputes about coastal and marine resources.

Attributing achievement of substantive outcomes

One of the key issues in deciding whether substantive outcomes like public interest are achieved is the problem of defining what the results should look like! Both Reade[6] and Taylor[7] believe that planning practice is hampered by vague, imprecise and ambiguous terminology, making it difficult to attribute observed "effects" on the ground, or 'outcomes' to particular planning policies.

A number of theorists (Forrester 1987[8]; Sager 1994[9]; Storper 2001[10]; Yiftachel et al 2001[11]) also believe that there is a tendency in the planning discipline to serve the stronger interests of the powerful elite, thus limiting the capacity of planners to achieve desired community outcomes. Those community outcomes are described variously as "urban places" building, community-building and institution building. Therefore, the planning emphasis on serving the elite also obstructs facilitative planning and achievement of distributive justice. The effect of this dominance on economic planning results is also exacerbated by problems in communication and process.

In assessing the appropriateness of development in coastal or marine environments, it is not just important to get the process right, it is also crucial to determine the degree to which substantive planning outcomes (e.g. protection of natural landscapes or ecological processes) are achieved in any conflict resolution process undertaken in the process of deciding applications for coastal development. Indicators to measure effectiveness of substantive planning outcomes need to be informed by literature about the use of planning instruments to achieve planning objectives, concepts related to 'public interest', the application of the 'public trust doctrine' in the coastal environment and achieving justice – a difficult concept to "operationalize" in plans, especially in relation to balancing the 'interests' of all the parties.

Procedural justice is generally seen as an important value of the planning discipline. In the past, planning proceduralists generally believed that justice is achieved if the planning process is inclusive and fair, and if the appropriate techniques are used to generate and evaluate planning options[12]. However, procedural justice is not the only form of justice identified by theorists as being important in developing better decision-making and planning. Campbell refers to a second dimension of justice:

> *"…procedural understanding of justice is not on its own an adequate basis for the situated ethical judgements required of the planning activity. In this I am echoing Paul Ricoeur's conception of ethical intention and, for that matter, practical wisdom, as aiming `at the "good life" with and for others, in just institutions'…[Ricoeur 1996,152] It should be clear that this is not a concern with value in an economic sense."[13]*

Campbell (2002) also rejects the idea that procedural justice is achieved by being the impartial expert planner constraining individuals to reason as `disinterested interests' to achieve a `fair' decision through consensus. She advocates that planners should celebrate the idea of `togetherness in difference' and accept the broader notion of justice as defined above because it would clarify the various planning roles in society at a time when the discipline seems to be confused about what interests (i.e. a developer's interests or community's interests) are served by planners. Most importantly it would suggest a reprioritising of the concepts of 'responsibility' or 'duty' over that of rights – consistent with views of theorists concerned with protection of the commons. This body of theory also relates to debates about distributive justice and is an important consideration if the sustainable management of coastal and marine waters is to be achieved, and the needs of future generations considered.

Distributive justice forms another element in any application of the social learning paradigm[14] the main planning paradigm in which greater public participation was encouraged through greater emphasis on fairer process and improved opportunities for public involvement. It was thought that this improved involvement in the decision-making process would result in reduction of NIMBYISM[15] and better acceptance of decisions.

Public Interest defined

Not all planners agree that the concept 'public interest' is still relevant. Moroni (2004) provides several arguments as to why public interest may be discounted as a relevant planning concept[16], but concludes that the concept is still relevant and planners need to reconstruct their interpretation of public interest, enabling planners to deal with issues realistically without having to invent another term. Campbell and Marshall (2002) and Grant (2005) separate out substantive considerations of public interest (e.g. protection of historic buildings) for which there are a range of subjective judgements about the value of such places and the idea of having "something at stake"[17] either as an individual (e.g. a house) or as a group (some facility). The values at stake may also be amenity or environmental values. Voogd (2001) notes that, for public interest to be

conceptualised as a planning value, there needs to be collective identification of a 'social dilemma' – a situation in which an individual's actions prejudice the provision or maintenance of a 'common good' or 'public interest'. Alternatively, the situation may be one in which a common good may only be maintained at considerable costs to individuals.[18]

Campbell and Marshall differentiate between rights based and dialogical approaches to conceptualising public interest which is important in thinking about which ECR techniques may be appropriately applied when managing conflict in a planning process. Communicative planners[19] generally advocate a rights-based approach to interpreting public interest, derived from Rawls's theory of justice[20], which stands within the tradition of liberal philosophy. This philosophy requires that "*we acknowledge the subjectiveness of values and assume that individuals should be free to pursue their own conceptions of the good life, constrained only to the extent that in doing so they do not prevent other from doing likewise*".[21] According to Rawls's theory of justice, citizens have shared perceptions of justice even though they may be deeply divided over defining good, mainly because they have similar moral values and agree to advance the same primary goods – same rights, liberties and opportunities as well as certain all purpose means such as income and wealth[22]. This shared perception of justice enables people to share "overlapping consensus" in making some decisions for the community. A significant problem for communicative planning is that the process of arriving at principles of justice is not derived collectively as preferred in Habermas's theory of communicative action. The implications are that a rights-based approach to defining public interest would not need to acknowledge that not all citizens have equal ability to make use of formal rights enshrined in law.

The dialogical approach to defining public interest focuses on arriving at consensus and agreement based on procedural norms and rules which are agreed in advance by the parties. This is relatively compatible with the collaborative approach to planning. The idea is that the use of open dialogue encourages the emergence of shared solutions because *new forms of knowledge and understandings are uncovered*.[23] Alexander (2002) notes that interactive processes need to weigh various decision considerations which often involve competing interests, conflicting rights or incompatible values. Therefore, he argues that, it is impossible to consider process alone, in any planning debate, without examination of the disputed substantive matters.

Alexander (2002) further argues that once substantive matters are dealt with in a plan or policy that is approved after public consultation, those substantive public interest elements should no longer be litigated (e.g. through approval of individual development applications)[24]. Matters to be considered in thinking about public interest include the size of the plan area of influence, degree to which community values are homogeneous (this also relates back to complexity of the planning issue), the degree to which plan-making process has been captured by dominant interests in the community and the weighting of each relevant consideration when planning options are assessed.

In the coastal management literature, debates about conflict focus on the acceptability of facilitating competing activities in coastal and marine environments, and the need to achieve justice in both outcome and process matters. Because the seabed, coastal water and air are generally not privately owned, NIMBY concerns may be different because the investment being protected is not personal, but community based investments. For example, concerns may revolve around loss of fishery stocks, loss of shellfish harvesting areas, reduction in water quality preventing recreation, or loss of safe anchorages for yachts. In addition, one aim of investment protection is to provide resources for future generations of the community as a whole.

In the environmental context, it is sometimes difficult to define "public interest", especially where there are a number of private and public interests, many of which could be non-financial. Courts also have difficulty grappling with the idea of "intrinsic values" of particular environments and who should represent intrinsic values. The *number* of people concerned does not establish public interest, but is one factor to be considered[25].

Environmental groups seeking to represent environmental values and become a party to a legal conflict about specific types of development and desired environmental outcomes, also face the hurdle of proving they should be accepted as having a legitimate role in defending "public" or "special" environmental interests (e.g. a species or preservation of a particular environment - such as wetlands). In assessing whether a group has standing to argue their position in the Court, Judge Sackville, of the Federal Court of Australia, provides useful criteria in that a group needs to have one or more of the characteristics as summarised below:

- The group involves genuinely held convictions and has special interest that goes beyond that of ordinary members of the public; group may demonstrate interest in the preservation of a particular environment;
- The group has status as the peak environmental organisation in the region;
- The group has undertaken studies in the area which is the subject of the dispute; it is respected by the Commonwealth as a significant and responsible organisation – evidenced by the receipt of financial grants from the Commonwealth Department of the Environment;
- The group is recognised by a state government in the form of membership on advisory committees is evidence of a groups legitimacy;
- The group undertakes or coordinates projects or conferences, reflecting its status as a respected and responsible group[26].

Judge Sackville noted that groups need to argue substantive issues. Allegations of non-compliance with administrative procedures, participation in an initial environmental impact assessment process, and "*preservation of the environment*" as an organisational goal is **not** sufficient to establish a group's standing in the Court.

Further problems arise if environmental groups seek government funding to support their court appeal. Boer[27] lists additional broad capabilities needed by environmental groups who seek public funding for appeals in the "public interest" including the need to contribute in terms of finances, expertise and effort in obtaining evidence and preparing material for the Court. Consideration could also be given to the extent to which an environment group can formulate an environmental problem as a legal issue.

The coast, public interest and the Public Trust Doctrine

Debates about public interest issues on private land are complicated by the debate about what constitutes the rights that are traditionally associated with freehold or leased property. For example, in most planning systems, if public actions reduce normal rights associated with private ownership, the 'public' may pay compensation. However, in coastal and marine environments, the assumption is that the foreshore and seabed and the waters above are held in trust by the State for the benefit of the public. In the United States of America (U.S.A.), this is called the 'Public Trust Doctrine'. In other countries colonised by the English, Spanish, and Dutch, the terms vary. Van Dyke (1992)[28] urges coastal managers to consider the public nature of the oceans (including foreshore, seabed and water column along with other natural resources) when providing guidance for management. He notes that:

> *"The public trust doctrine should, in nations where it applies, govern decisions in order to protect the interests of the whole community and the interests of intergenerational equity. This doctrine requires that conflicts be resolved in favour of keeping oceans whole and protecting the interests of the public of today and in the future. Managing resources as commons should be preferred over privatising such resources. If private developments are allowed, the public should receive financial benefits from such developments."*

Generally speaking the public has a right to use the coastal waters for a variety of recognised public uses – originally identified in Roman times as navigation, bathing, fishing, and activities such as repairing nets, mooring /maintaining boats, building jetties and placing cargo[29]. Remaining private activities may be limited by the 'public' through the use of laws, government policy or local by-laws. So there is considerable flexibility within and between countries in the interpretation of the original Roman doctrine.

However, the marine environment is difficult to administer. People have expectations about "free" use of the marine environment that have been passed down through generations – expectations which may be difficult to meet as there is more competition for marine space. In recent years, there has been considerable depletion of marine resources as documented by many authors[30]. As technology has enabled new industries to be established in the marine environment, people are referring to it as the new "agricultural frontier" and new industries require certainty about the long term use of particular space (Norse 2005). Frontier mentality is a phrase coined because of the sudden rush to harvest marine resources[31]. Given its difference to terrestrial environments, highly valued attributes of marine environment are often difficult to

identify, including changing patterns of how the marine "commons" are managed, the uncertainty about adverse effects spatially of long-term leasing of ocean space and the potential magnitude of the adverse environmental effects of large mariculture or aquaculture – especially given the State's inability to enforce fishery regulations and quotas at a distance.

Partnerships have been formed between user-groups (e.g. fishers) and government, excluding public interest organisations because rights have only been given to those who exploit resources. Norse believes that environmental groups who have championed conservation of marine diversity have relatively weak public support, and until public support broadens, such groups will not have a mandate to argue for more sustainable systems of resource exploitation in the marine environment.

In recent years, a number of management models have been generated to manage coastal and marine systems. Multiple use "zoning" applied in the marine environment has failed where agencies lack the political capacity to exclude powerful user groups[32]. However, zoning preserves agency options for future allocation decisions, with all parties being given relatively equal rights of access. But incompatible uses are not necessarily separated as in land-based zoning models. Norse's (2005) critique of zoning is that it is based on the presumption that all marine ecosystems and users are heterogeneous – another unsustainable proposition[33].

Integrated coastal zone management (ICZM) principles have been established in several jurisdictions[34] attempting to guide analysis of public interest rights in the coastal marine area. Issues debated include rights of users of the surface of non-navigable waters and a variety of effects on:

- Common property of natural and artificial changes (i.e. erosion and accretion) to lands in the marine environment;
- Treaties signed with indigenous people – particularly if related to particular areas of coast;
- Effects of over harvesting common property marine resources such as shellfish; and,
- Different modes of public access (visual, walking, vehicular, boating) to and along the coast (ecological affects and potential conflict between various users) where one activity precludes another from using the same space.

Regional ocean governance (ROG) models have been developed in the USA to provide for the voluntary establishment of "regional ocean councils" under the umbrella provided by the National Ocean Council. ROGS develop regional goals and set priorities in managing regional issues and facilitate research and information which meets the needs of managers and support ecosystem based decisions[35].

There is a concern that existing law and legal principles influencing interpretation of the law may not provide for future uses not yet anticipated by government[36]. Also the law has not provided adequate solutions for conflicts between various public trust

interests[37]. There is considerable confusion about the interpretation of legal provisions, once use and development debates move offshore into the marine environment deemed to be common property. For example, in California, planning for ports and harbour development now requires accommodation of increased conflict associated with accommodating public interest - perceived by industry to be "new" conflict associated with the introduction of environmental regulation.

> *'Ports which prior to the 1970s would think in terms of dredging and filling several thousand acres of wetland, now must think in significantly reduced scale often involving less than a hundred acres[38].'*

Ports have incurred extra costs in planning and engineering design, increased environmental expert advice and increased investment in environmental mitigation costs. Boschken (1982) believes that the West Coast ports had been more successful in managing uncertainty, complexity and conflict because they were growing and attracted the type of personnel who have used new technology to improve productivity, forged partnerships with key environmental groups and have taken advice in hiring respected local environmental experts who could anticipate the concerns of review agencies and community groups.

Many of the conflicts and issues of resource depletion have been exacerbated by the rapid growth in aquaculture over the last 10 years. This industry requires that areas of the foreshore or seabed and coastal waters are managed as private property for industrial purposes for up to 35 years with possible consequential adverse effects which are not internalised by the aquaculture producers. However, there are a number of competing claims on coastal resources including: coastal defences and infrastructure such as roads, bridges and ports; aggregate extraction; fishing, mari-culture and aquaculture; discharge of pollutants and stormwater effluent; generation of wave/wind energy and conservation of species and ecologically significant areas using marine reserves and protection tools.

Any collaborative approach to managing the various private interests in the coastal marine area is made more difficult by the lack of information about the effects of people's activities in coastal waters, and where information is available it is often controlled by sectoral groups (e.g. fishing industry). Research by Steel et al (2005)[39] suggests that planners should not make assumptions about the knowledge of people entering debates and participating in dispute resolution processes. Steele et al (2005 demonstrate that there is a considerable lack of understanding by USA citizens about the nature of coastal and ocean habitats, and that in lower socio-economic groups the lack of knowledge is even more critical because these groups rely on the mass media (television, newspapers and radio) for their knowledge of coastal and ocean policy issues. While USA coastal residents seem to be slightly more aware of coastal issues, they were also more knowledgeable about non-coastal issues.

Dealing with an angry public: characterization of environmental conflict

Although people have become more educated about environmental issues, planners have not been able to halt continued degradation of environmental resources, especially in the coastal and marine environments, with increasing potential for marine ecosystem collapses (Chapin et al 2000).[40] Difficulties in identifying the adverse environmental effects of specific activities and combinations of people's actions mean that management of communication about environmental matters often translates into management of conflicting views. Conflict about environmental decision making in recent years has fundamentally changed human society in many ways. Scientists have faced increased challenges; new disciplines have been created (i.e. conservation biology) and public involvement in environmental decision making has increased at all levels of government – increasing the potential for environmental conflict.

Conflicts may be analysed from a variety of perspectives. Experts often perceive conflict as being generated from the gap between the knowledgeable and the ignorant. This perspective increases the power of experts and those with funds to hire expertise.[41] Lach (1996) acknowledges that environmental decision-making is carried out in an environment influenced by politics, science and economics and believes that conflict arises when '*those who benefit from the status quo are challenged by those who seek change*'.[42]   In this perspective, uncertainty of knowledge, stakeholder interests and values are acknowledged. Uncertainty of knowledge is emphasised by Innes and Booher (1999) who believe that decision-making in complex environments requires an acceptance that a trial and error approach is needed in environmental decision-making.

The degree to which the public interest has been explicitly considered in environmental disputes is also an important issue. Comino (1996) notes that groups advocating for the environment in environmental conflicts need to have considerable fortitude and resources to demonstrate that they have the right and capacity to use litigation if their concerns are not considered in environmental decision-making[43].   Burgess and Burgess (1994) reinforce this view by emphasising that having an alternative such as litigation increases a group's power in the process of conflict resolution. In many cases, environmental groups have power having demonstrated their capacity for litigation by fighting and winning a number of cases - forcing developers to consider mediation as an alternative. Burgess and Burgess believe that:

> " *open acknowledgement of the inevitable and appropriate role of power contests in these (environmental) conflicts is important. By acknowledging the inherent limits of mediation and consensus-building in altering power relationships, mediators will help advance the prestige of the environmental mediation field by reducing the number of instances in which mediation is oversold by people claiming that the field may deliver more than it actually can.*"[44]

There are a considerable number of situations in which the public are angry about an individual planning issue because they feel hurt, misled or threatened.   Susskind and Field[45] acknowledge there are situations in which values collide and resolution is difficult because people feel their beliefs are being ridiculed or ignored - with significant implications for their identity and ideas about what they hold dear. Suskind and Field identified these as "intractable conflicts", which need to be de-escalated before resolution is possible.[46]   They suggest that planners proceed with four basic principles in mind:

1. *'Fairness in process and substance matters, especially where there have been past inequities.*

2. *Discussion around the design and implementation of controversial developments requires meaningful input from all stakeholders.*

3. *A community must be left substantially better off if it is expected to "host" a development.*

4. *Decision-makers (including citizens as stated in Principle 2) should have access to the best technical advice available, but technicians should not make what are essentially political decisions.'[47]*

Campbell (2003) attributes intractable conflict to fundamental differences in world views, values and beliefs between the parties – the principle characteristic of most environmental disputes. Campbell warns that to understand these conflicts and the degree of intractability, it is necessary to understand the ontology of each stakeholder group – that is the description of the frame through which the groups perceives the dispute and the range of problem-solving techniques to which they may be open[48]. Campbell (2003) argues the following factors may be used to judge the degree to which a conflict is likely to be intractable:

- Fundamental or deep rooted moral conflict.
- Fundamental value differences between the parties.
- Fundamental conflict about world views, values, principles or societal structures.
- Length of time the conflict has persisted.
- Severe power imbalances between disputing parties.
- Potential for coercion or escalation to violence.
- Rigidity of positions, high level of authority.
- Strongly held beliefs or positions.
- Complexity of issues, interlocking issues.
- High stakes distributional issues.
- Pecking order conflicts or one-upmanship.
- Threats to parties' individual or collective identities.
- Frames held by participants.

Obviously, there is more likelihood of intractable conflict if there are a number of factors evident in a dispute. Such intractability places significant demands on the skills and

insightfulness of the mediator or planner working with the parties. It could also be argued that conflict resolution processes may not be appropriate at all if many factors are present in the dispute.

Campbell then advocates a system of conflict resolution design - once a conflict is identified it is important to take three important steps in *characterizing* the conflict:

1. Diagnose the dispute by preparing a conflict map showing all positions;
2. Identify conflict overlays – where superficial matters overlay complex subsurface issues.
3. Reduce surface issues so that core issues may be addressed.[49]

Once the conflict is characterised, it is important to have criteria to judge how effectively the intractable dispute is managed to conclusion. D'Estree et al (2003) believes that in addition to the normal process factors, outcomes may also be categorised as outcome related – consensus, public acknowledgement of outcome, quality of outcome (effectiveness and efficiency, equity, environmental sustainability and public acceptability), and relationship quality. A good outcome would improve or transform relationships and enhance community capacity to draw on collective resources[50]. Criteria to judge change also include communicative measures according to d'Estee. She includes measures such as a shared system of understanding, recognising similarities, developing friendships and deeper intimacy.

Choosing disputes to which ECR techniques may be applied and those disputes which are better left to litigation is also advocated by O'Leary and Husar (2002). They suggest that an assessment of possible settlement options should be done before a mediation strategy is accepted. Identification of barriers at an earlier stage ensures public trust in the conflict resolution process. Examples of cases which may be more effectively addressed through litigation include dealing with a recalcitrant polluter, and where lawyers are unwilling to participate in ECR techniques because they believe they cannot advocate strongly enough for their clients[51].

Another range of factors measuring success of conflict resolution are suggested by Dukes (2004), who also acknowledges that ECR may not be the only solution to an environmental conflict[52]. Those factors include settlement rates - difficult to measure without asking participants to judge whether another method may have been more successful. Dukes also examines evidence of change in participants relationships by factors such as "reduction in conflict and hostility", "improved relations" and "cognitive and effective shift in behaviour". The satisfaction of participants is also discussed by Dukes, but there is no acknowledgement that long term monitoring of participant satisfaction is important in environmental disputes, given the need to measure environmental sustainability of the agreement.

Dukes (2004) expresses the need for further research which examines the effectiveness of facilitated meetings and mediation conducted by agency officials as third parties instead of qualified mediators. In these situations, he suggests that qualified mediators

are only brought in where they bring added value to a complex environmental dispute. According to Dukes, this area of conflict resolution is increasing rapidly with little review of its effectiveness, or the effectiveness of officers who cannot be *neutral* third parties. In the USA, government departments are now required to have conflict resolution processes such as this in place. The need for research about the effectiveness of agency conflict resolution processes is supported by Emerson, et al (2004)[53], who also identify some of the difficulties for researchers in finding data to answer some of the questions identified by Dukes.

The situations in which ECR techniques and mediation in particular may not be appropriate are examined in detail by Horn (2005). For example, mediation may not be the most effective method to deal with a dispute in which more than one group claims to represent public interest and future generations are not satisfactorily considered. Because the mediation process is generally carried out under a confidentiality agreement (a basic tenet of mediation), the transparency associated with being accountable for environmental decision-making may be compromised[54]. She also questions the degree to which mediators may be neutral in an environmental conflict given they need to comply with policies and regulation in complex legislation and environmental plans.

Principles to guide ECR processes

Planning in coastal and marine environments has a strong public interest component that needs to taken into account when negotiating desired environmental outcomes with community groups and industry, who may have competing interests in the use of marine, natural and physical resources. The literature suggests that there will be different views about what constitutes the public interest, which may be an element in any conflict. The general principles draw on interim conclusions of the various reviews to focus attention on key matters. They provide guidance about how to judge best practice in the application of ECR techniques in coastal and marine environmental conflicts. This guidance is useful in what is often a very messy planning context with poor data, many parties (coastal planner or manager, agency officials, industry sector, developer and submitters (often representing conflicting communities of interest), politicians, and the "neutral" third party or mediator.

Principles may categorised in terms of the nature of the conflict; the particular context - location and the intrinsic ecological, economic and sociological values which make up the substantive "public interest" and could be threatened by activities; the parties to the environmental conflict, their rights and interests; power relationships (agencies, industry sectors, environmental groups and indigenous people); the third "neutral" party; and monitoring

Nature of the Conflict

1. It is important to determine which ECR techniques through to litigation should be used in resolving conflict about public interest in the coastal environment. This will

be influenced by the expectations of the parties involved and the institutional context for decision-making process.

2. Decide whether the environmental conflict is intractable – indicated by the presence of any or a number of the following factors:

   - Fundamental or deep rooted moral conflict.
   - Fundamental value differences between the parties.
   - Fundamental conflict about world views, values, principles or societal structures.
   - Length of time the conflict has persisted.
   - Severe power imbalances between disputing parties.
   - Potential for coercion or escalation to violence.
   - Rigidity of positions, high level of authority.
   - Strongly held beliefs or positions.
   - Complexity of issues, interlocking issues.
   - High stakes distributional issues.
   - Pecking order conflicts or one-upmanship.
   - Threats to parties' individual or collective identities.
   - Frames held by participants.

3. De-escalation of an intractable conflict is important before ECR techniques may be applied. Following questions are a useful check to decide whether de-escalation is possible:
   - *Is there fairness in process and substance matters, especially where there have been past inequities?*
   - *Will discussion around the design and implementation of controversial developments result in meaningful input from all stakeholders?*
   - *Will the coastal community be left substantially better off if it is expected to "host" the specific offshore development and associated land-based infrastructure?*

4. Decision-makers (including citizens as stated in Principle 2) should have access to the best technical advice available, but (planning) technicians should not make what are essentially political decisions.

The Environmental Context

5. In managing the coastal and marine environments, agencies need to consider the ocean as a global commons which is also to be used by future generations. This should preclude activities which unsustainably exploit ocean resources and long term commitment of marine space for private activities – especially if adverse effects of use and development are irreversible. All current interests need to be mapped using three dimensions, because some interests change throughout the water column.

Parties to the Conflict

6. A non-government group advocating public interest values in the coastal environment should be able to justify their involvement using the some or all of the following criteria:
   - The group involves genuinely held convictions and has special interest that goes beyond that of ordinary members of the public. For example it may demonstrate interest in the preservation of a particular environment.
   - The group has status as the peak environmental organisation in the region.
   - The group has undertaken studies in the area which is the subject of the dispute. It is respected by the government as a significant and responsible organisation – possible evidenced by the receipt of financial grants to achieve their purpose.
   - The group is recognised by a state government in the form of membership on advisory committees is evidence of a groups legitimacy.
   - The group undertakes or coordinates projects or conferences reflecting its status as a respected and responsible group.
   - If the group seeks public funding for appeals in the "public interest" , it needs evidence that it can contribute in terms of finances, expertise and effort in obtaining evidence and preparing material for the Court.

7. Planners should identify specific areas in coastal waters, where application of ECR techniques may transform a conflict into a situation in which new relationships can develop and the parties involved move beyond a case-by case resolution of individual conflicts (e.g. a new understanding between marine farmers and yachting organisation about management of sheltered bays in a region). Issues to be considered include the question: *What kind of change is realistic?* Planners also need to be aware of the processes by which changes in individuals translate into improvement of inter-group relations.

8. Councils should provide resources and support for community groups seeking to participate in longer resource consent processes.
   Some funding agreements may last more than 2 years if the issues require more ongoing scientific analysis and environmental monitoring. Extra support may avoid group 'burnout'. Provisions need to be publicly accountable.

Power Relationships

9. Power relationships need to be explicitly considered in the implementation of the coastal plans, in plan implementation and in application of processes like ECR. Trust in the planning system is compromised if power relationships are ignored.

10. Planners need to be conscious of the need to consider the potential for bias in favour of current stakeholders who may already have an investment in the marine environment (e.g. jetties, infrastructure, and aquaculture industry).

Distributional justice (not just procedural justice) is an important element of decision-making in the coastal and marine environment, because of the strong public interest in the long term protection of marine, natural and physical resources, and inter-generational concerns;

The Third "neutral" Party

11. Decision-making authorities managing coastal and marine environments, should have provide clear policies to their staff about the use of "third-party neutrals" in ECR, training of internal staff or politicians who perform this function, and criteria to assess the suitability of independent third-party neutrals and the circumstances which give rise to their use in pre-hearing meetings.
    For example, independent third-party neutrals should be used when the Decision-making authority (i.e. a Port) is both an applicant and decision-making authority, and when issues are complex with a large number of submitters.

Monitoring

12. On-going monitoring of environmental conflict resolution outcomes and processes in achieving overall sustainable management of the coastal and marine environment is important if the capacity of people to participate constructively in coastal planning is to be enhanced over time.

Conclusions

The principles need to be general and applicable in a wide range of different planning office cultures. While community issues in managing human activities in the coastal and marine environment vary dramatically in western countries, because of the nature of the land and seascapes and climate, the principles may be applied in different legal regimes and planning contexts because they build on theory and general experience, rather than on historical experiences in each national context.

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[14] Friedmann J. (1987). *Planning in the Public Domain*. Princeton University Press, New Jersey P181 Outline of the Social Learning paradigm.

[15] NIMBYism refers to the "Not In My Back Yard" syndrome in which people react to undesirable unwanted projects in their location –a protectionist attitude.

[16] Moroni, S. pages 153-159 2004 Towards a Reconstruction of the Public Interest Criterion. *Planning Theory*. 3:151-171. The first justification for the non-existence of public interest as a criterion for planning is that it does not exist as a fact. The interests of individuals and groups is so varied that it is impossible to say that there are interests held in common. Secondly, Public interest does not exist as an extra-individual value. In this interpretation, individuals are perceived as the only moral identity which should be taken into account in making decisions about public matters. Claims by groups, communities and structures have no legitimate (ethical) claims about planning outcomes. Moroni's third justification is that the public interest does not exist as an overriding substantive value because we have to accept strong value plurism. There is inevitably going to be conflict because of diversity of values in regard to all matters.

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[19] Both Campbell and Marshall (2002) Op.cit. and
Moroni S. (2004) Towards a Reconstruction of the Public Interest Criterion. *Planning Theory* 3:151-171

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[22] Rawls (2001) Op Cit. Pp 58-59. Rawls distinguishes five kinds of primary goods that are fundamental to social life and rest on the political conception of a person being free and equal, endowed with moral powers and capable of being a cooperating member of society. The five primary goods are paraphrased as:

1. The basic rights and liberties - freedom of thought and liberty of conscience. These rights and liberties are essential institutional conditions required for the adequate development and full and informed exercise of the two moral powers.
2. Freedom of movement and free choice of occupation against a background of diverse opportunities.
3. Powers and prerogative of offices and positions of authority and responsibility
4. Income and Wealth, understood as all-purpose means generally needed to achieve a wide range of ends whatever they may be.
5. The social bases of self-respect, understood as those aspects of basic institutions normally essential if citizens are to have a lively sense of their worth as persons and be able to advance their ends with self confidence.

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*3. few laws that effectively constrain human activities."*p425.

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[36] Osherenko, G. (2007). New Discourses on Ocean Governance: Understanding property rights and the public trust. *Oregon Law Review* (Forthcoming 321-381). Pp357 "Justice Black predicted, '*Once private property rights in ocean waters are recognized, I am uncertain where lines can be drawn……We should not forget that the ocean belongs to no one nation, but is common property of all*'".

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- Acknowledge the concerns of the other side.
- Encourage joint fact finding.
- Offer contingent commitments to minimise impacts if they do occur and promise to compensate knowable but unintended impacts.
- Accept responsibility admit mistakes and share power.
- Act in a trustworthy fashion at all times.
- Focus on building long term relationships.

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Prince Island's development: noble intentions, poor results

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Introduction

The occupation and the urban growth in the municipality of Vitória are the result of a succession of landfills which have interfered in its territorial conformation since colonial times. Several studies, carried out since 1999, have examined the landfill areas within the administrative boundaries of the capital city of Espírito Santo State in order to identify alterations, repercussions in physical and socio-economic terms, in particular of the Island of Vitória[1]. The main sources used in this study consist of the Government Messages and Reports, presented to the legislative both at a local and a state level. Sources were further enlarged to include an inventory developed at a national level involving specialists of eight universities, as well as its original sources[2]. Figure 1 shows the proportions of the landfill areas and allows comparison between the total of the municipal area and the area of the Island of Vitória itself. The region that includes Prince Island is indicated at the bottom-left corner[3].

Some other pieces of research have succeeded, each one focusing on single areas, with the help of undergraduate scholarship-research students. Their outcomes indicate that the official reasons to justify land-fillings have always been related to the modernization of the city. Up to the 1950s, the main purposes were sanitation and accessibility; it was in that decade, however, that the government started claiming the need of territorial expansion[4].

Figure 1 - Land-fill areas in the municipality of Vitória.
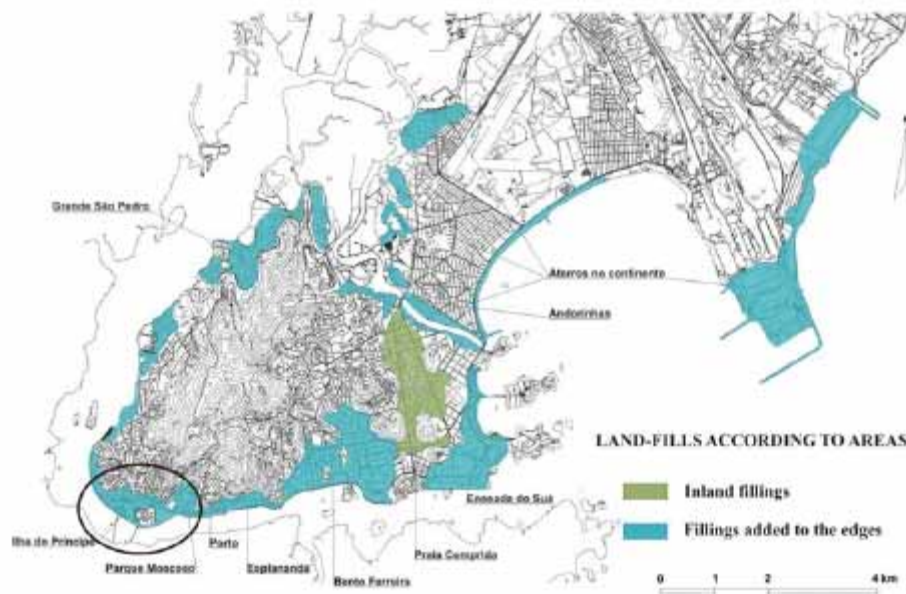
This research examines a landfill area in which the whole process lasted from the 1920s up to the 1980s from implementation to final stage, including its urbanization. In order to discuss the contradiction between political determination in carrying out the landfills and the proposals to make them materialize[5], this research also analyzes the succession of landfills within Prince Island's region and its countless urbanization proposals. Particular emphasis is given on the proposal made by the Argentinean naturalized Brazilian town planner Lorenza Adina Mera, for two main reasons. Firstly, for the important role she played in the national scenario at that time, guided by her beliefs and attitude towards planning and, secondly, by the virtues of her own plan, together with the reasons that might have led the government of the state of Espírito Santo to commission her for the task.

It is important to note that while research on landfills in Vitória has made considerable progress, the study about Adina Mera and her achievements constitute work in process. Nevertheless, the outcomes of both investigations combined are worth publishing as an original piece of investigation and a means to further reflection on the subject.
In addition, this study clearly demonstrates the long period of time - between the beginning of landfill works and the end of the urbanization - as a result of the government's intermittent alterations in intentions. Such an attitude made the irregular occupation of the site easier, leading to its current conformation, which well expresses the whole examined process. Furthermore, this study exposes an uncertainty that resulted both in financial and political onus to the government, far beyond the quality, nature and type of the island's current occupation. These arguments suggest that it might have been a government strategy to always invite prominent people, in order to plan that region as a marketing resource, overshadowing its uncertainties.

Prince Island: landfills and urbanization projects

The article *Revolução Urbanística em Vitória*, in Revista Capixaba (July 1968, no.17) describes the region of Prince Island as follows: *"Prince Island has always been one of the ugliest areas of Vitória, a region of extreme poverty, where never-avoided invasions helped to breed agglomeration without any urban planning or hygiene. To add more misery to such a picture, slum dwellings spread, while the rubbish along the island's boundaries produced sites capable of supporting extra shelter"*[6].

Nevertheless, such an image reveals deep contrast to the original intentions of the government. The examined documents point out that land-filling and urbanization happened in a number of intermittent phases. The foundation stone was laid in 1926 by Washington Luís Pereira de Sousa, the country's president at that time, and the initial intervention was concluded in 1928, with the assembling of the first bridge linking the Island of Vitória to the continent.

The bridge to the continent and the expansion towards the eastern side of Prince Island.

The first reference to landfill in Prince Island's region found in government reports relates to this bridge to the continent and it is part of the expanding activities of the Port

of Vitória[7]. The 1926 Report stated that "*the works of the rock wall along the bay, the sanitation pier and landfills to link the southern to the northern part of the canal ha[d] already made considerable progress, what allow[ed] to assemble the parts of the so-called Six Bridges, also named Florentino Avidos in 1928*[8]". At the same time as the government established a contract to carry out the works for the Port of Vitória, the *Societé de Construction du Port de Bahia* was commissioned for Prince Island's contour pier works "*of the stake-boards type, the landfill of the fringe marshy areas and mangroves, as well as the opening of streets in the existing and added land*"[9].

The 1929 Report emphasized that these works would not represent any onus to the State, so the *Societé* had to obtain its own financial resources and get revenue from the selling of the new land. The state would be responsible for the paving of the streets and sidewalks, the support walls, the rain-drainage, and the provision of water and sewage, stating that "*Vitória w[ould] be provided with a wide area for building in a picturesque and easy-access place*"[10]. Such an aspiration was expressed in an article issued in 1929 by the magazine Vida Capixaba, focusing on the benefits of Prince Island's marshes and mangrove landfills. The government envisaged a new neighborhood for the city as part of the Plan for Urban Gentrification and Remodeling of the Capital to be prepared by the well-known architect-engineer Saldanha da Gama[11].

Since then, up to the end of 1930, references to landfill interventions in the region were scarce in government reports. Investments were restricted to complementary or minor works, representing a gap of almost 10 years of unsubstantial works in the region. During that period, the state government moved its attention to the links between the capital city and the countryside, with investments in road and rail infrastructure[12]. It was only in 1939 that landfills were considered again, but only in a few streets of Prince Island. No emphasis was given to the region as government directed its attention to the so-called Novo Arrabalde, an area situated in the opposite direction to the city[13].

According to Rangel (s. d.), in 1917 - more than 10 years before the first landfill - a project already indicated the transference of a public hospital, then located on a small hill in the surroundings of Prince Island. This indication was considered again in the 1931's Urbanization Plan for Vitória, proposed by Henrique de Novaes[14]. Figure 2 presents an overview of Prince Island in 1936 and shows the few number of landfills accomplished up to that year.

Figure 2 General view of Prince Island in 1936.

It is important to point out that neither of the plans expressed intentions has materialized up to the present date. In spite of all plans, only minor works were carried out in the region from 1930 up to 1943[15]. Up to the 1950s, little change occurred in this situation. Actions, and, in turn, investments of the following government were directed to the beaches in the northeastern part of the Island of Vitória. Santos Neves promoted an extensive landfill adjacent to the Port, aiming at extending the commercial area of Vitória up to the so-called Esplanada da Capixaba, almost disregarding plans, efforts and investments that had been previously carried out in the area of Prince Island. Along with Esplanada da Capixaba, Santos Neves's plans were oriented to the lands in the opposite direction. His landfill proposals involved the opening of an access from Saint John's Fortress (Forte São João) towards Bento Ferreira region (also object of extensive landfills during the 1960s), on the way to Novo Arrabalde, which had already begun to consolidate[16].

These facts show that it was not for the lack of financial resources that Prince Island and its region were mostly forgotten for about 30 years allowing irregular occupation. The government reserved only "good intentions" for the region. Nevertheless, as the initial quote of this paper indicated, small land-filling did not cease. This was done by individuals and groups taking advantage of the opportunity to make room for their irregular housing.

In 1957 the local government issued a law establishing the procedures to conclude the works and the limits of the land-filling from the area situated between Florentino Avidos Bridge and Smith Harbor[17]. According to that law, the new area gained in the bay was to be divided in plots and sold in public auction. However, all necessary works continued unfinished and, with an uncertain future, up to 1960. The 1961 Report describes the provision of federal government resources to deepen the access canal to the Port of

Vitória. This made the landfill to the eastern part of the island viable, so it joined Prince Island to the Island of Vitória. The local government aspiration was once more, the "*beautification of the capital city*" together with the gaining of land "*needed for its growth*"[18]. This was the first response to the law issued in 1957, and the way to make the landfill viable was only through federal investments in the Port of Vitória.

It is worth pointing out that it took more than 30 years for the conclusion of the land-filling, but its urbanization was still uncertain. Figure 3 presents an overview of Prince Island in the early 1960s with the landfill concluded, but not yet urbanized. In this respect, the Port (i.e. federal government resources) was responsible for the conclusion of the land-filling, but the embellishment of the city did not materialize.

Regarding this, in the year of 1967, Governor Christiano Dias Lopes Filho, finding nothing "*picturesque*" in the situation of residents in the region, set up a work-group to elaborate studies aiming at the urbanization of Prince Island itself and its surroundings, including their landfills, with the hope of "*new-quality spaces, in the city center*"[19]. Again, the solution was to use the waste obtained to deepen the access canal to the port.

The picture outlined above reveals that, almost a decade after Prince Island had been incorporated to the Island of Vitória, the situation of the region was not assured at all, although it was not for the lack of financial resources, good intentions, ideas, plans or projects.

At that time, among the urbanization plans that had been produced, no reference was found in government reports to a particular one. Our investigations up to present have not been able to find out the reasons for such an omission. As contradictory as it may appear, it was commissioned by the Administration of the Port of Vitória[20] and encompassed a great deal of virtues. These related facts make it an intriguing piece of investigation.

The Argentinean-Brazilian urban planner Adina Mera and her proposal

At this stage, it is important to present some information about the plan itself and the planner commissioned to produce it as related to the government's intentions. Meticulously designed by Adina Mera, it was oriented to the urbanization of the landfill area to the eastern part of Prince Island, including the Island itself. She presented it in 1962 to the Administration of the Port of Vitória. So far the only document found (and the only source of investigation) is the written report for the project and refers to a set of drawings, tables, sketches and maps not accessible yet[21].

Apparently, any information about Adina Mera and her work does not seem to be of much consideration since no published study has been identified. In an attempt to enlarge the sources, I carried out a set of interviews either with Miss Mera's professional peers or her personal friends[22]. Some additional information about her has been identified from the archives of The Regional Council of Engineering, Architecture and Agronomy - Section of the Rio de Janeiro State - CREA/RJ and the Institute of Architects of Brazil - Section of the Espírito Santo State - IAB/ES[23].

Lorenza Adina Mera was born in 1927 somewhere in Patagonia, Argentina[24]. Her fascination for the so-called first world led her to Paris where she took a postgraduate course[25]. Given her tall slim and elegant figure, together with the help of a close Parisian friend, she was able to support herself with some modeling work. By the late 1940s she came to know Ms. Henda Freire at the Argentinean House of the *citè universitaire* in Paris, where both lived. At that time, she developed meningitis and was advised to avoid the severe Parisian winter temperatures. Maria do Carmo Schwab points out this event as the main reason for her coming to Brazil around 1951, when once again she worked as a model. Four years later she was able to finish her post-graduate course in Urbanism at the National Architecture School of the University of Brazil [Escola Nacional de Arquitetura da Universidade do Brasil], nowadays Federal University of Rio de Janeiro. According to CREA-RJ's archives, she was granted the title in January 1956.

Interestingly, Mera was taking some disciplines at the undergraduate course in Architecture and at same time doing her post-graduation in Urbanism. One of the subjects she did with Maria do Carmo Schwab was Brazilian Architecture, which she knew very little, according to Schwab, but on which she would became an expert some years later. Schwab, Fernandes and Azevedo believe she took some disciplines at the Undergraduate Architecture Course to revalidate her first degree, in accordance to Brazilian regulations. Detailed information about Mera's First Degree is still unclear, but the important fact is that she gained legal permission to work as an Urban Planner registered at CREA/RJ.

Mera fitted well into the elite of Rio de Janeiro. Oliveira and Nicolaeff, in their contextualization about that time, remind us that the ruling elite of the capital (DC) was much the same in professional, cultural, social, economic and political terms. Mera had a very good professional relationship with Helio Modesto, a well-known carioca architect with strong political and professional contacts[26]. She had the opportunity to be introduced to and work with Burle Marx, Afonso Eduardo Reidy, and some planners in the circle of Lucio Costa and Oscar Niemeyer.

All interviewers agreed that her adaptability was a great virtue[27]. Her characteristic of deep commitment was ideally suited to her choice of urban planning at that moment. Metropolitanization was top of the agenda so she joined a team responsible for the study that led to the creation of Metropolitan Regions in the country[28]. Those facts emphasized her versatility and competence, also expressed in the articles she wrote for IBAM's Magazine for Municipal Affairs [Revista de Administração Municipal - RAM][29]. During her professional life she was actively involved with architects and the Institute of the Architects of Brazil - Regional of Rio de Janeiro State - IAB/RJ. Her contribution and participation were so intense that she reached a position as a member of the Higher Council at a national level.

In October 1976, a commission formed by five regional representatives indicated by the Higher Council produced a document expressing IAB's ideas about the urban policy in

Brazil; Mera was among them as a representative of IAB/RJ. The document stated that *"[t]he people's active and direct participation [wa]s paramount to processes of elaboration and implementation of an urban policy. [...] Only the power and the inherent pressure of public opinion and support, well organized and informed, w[ould] assure a process of reform, of our urban reality, even if it [were] partial"*[30].

In his interview, Santos overstates that Mera was one of the "*arms*" of the SAGMACS[31] group in Rio de Janeiro, primarily formed by a staff led by the Dominican French priest Joseph Lebret to apply the principles and methods of the movement known as Economy and Humanism. In Brazil, the group, initially from São Paulo, included some important professionals who in 1956 developed a plan for the urban agglomeration of the capital city[32]. SAGMACS came to influence a generation of professionals of the social sciences all over the country, such as Helio Modesto, Francisco Whitaker Ferreira and Antonio Bezerra Baltar, Mera's close friends, with whom she kept in contact for many years and shared her experiences, ideas and ideals.

At a time when decisions and know-how were centralized, the group believed the locals understood their realities - needs and problems - better than outsiders. However, they did not have the technical resources to deal with them adequately and make their realities prosper[33]. Consequently the group identified a need for widespread knowledge and decentralizing actions. The SAGMACS' report for São Paulo, for instance, recognized the Urban Department of Municipality as the best qualified to carry out the Master Plan with its own professionals. In this respect SAGMACS would only be in charge of general recommendations to the municipality[34]. The ideas expressed by Francisco Whitaker Ferreira, who always expressed strong commitment to the Economy and Humanism movement, constitute one of the pillars of the Course on Methodology and Projects for Urban Development - CEMUAM[35].

Ferreira's book of 1966 set up a series of guidelines devoted to the organization of the territory based on updated social and economic demands. That was necessary to strictly organize activities for human needs, aiming at higher standards of living of the population involved. His definition of development followed the movement's commitments[36]. Ferreira classified living conditions into nine fundamental groups: housing, education, health, leisure, transportation, consumption of goods and services, work and income, communication, and environment. The quality, availability or provision of these conditions can be evaluated according to three levels: the basic, fundamental or essential for human living; the comfort or commodity level in which living conditions are made easier, and the overwhelming or conquering level, that improves mankind's cultural and social activities and skills. The author also identified a set of seven variables of the territory: separation, polarization, localization of uses, system of uses, land occupation density, road structure, and composition of built elements.

After having defined these conditions and variables, he proposed a cross tabulation among them and variables could be evaluated by a Table of Conditions and Interferences. Ferreira presented three levels of interference: essential, intermediary and desirable, which, once completed, would allow a comprehensive assessment of

living conditions, leading to a hierarchy of needs. Along with the evaluated levels, this process would indicate possible solutions. This book is of seminal importance for CEMUAM's methodological approach.

Mera shared the same point of view and supported it in a publication in 1965, an IBAM's Technical Sheet, which specified much the same as Ferreira's proposed living conditions regarding the provision of urban facilities[37]. She was convinced that municipalities that acquired technical knowledge were more qualified to design their own plans than outsiders[38].

At this stage, it is worth noting that local authorities in Brazil have always had administrative autonomy but scarce financial resources to fully exercise it. The state and federal government were in charge of most financial and technical support, and there was a Department for Municipal Affairs to assist local government. The situation remained unchanged from the 1940s up to the constitutional revision in the 1980s.

It was in this scenario that CEMUAM was conceived. The course was designed for professionals from public or private institutions with actions towards local development like municipalities, state secretaries or councils of planning and inland affairs, institutions for municipal assistance, as well as courses, regional and federal institutions oriented to urban development at a local level. Its objectives were to prepare personnel to integrate or to be in constant contact with local planning teams of small and medium sized cities. The focus was on development regarding local authority, resources and needs for better management in all aspects of municipal administration, such as urban services and infrastructure, administrative, financial or legal issues.

Any course candidates should be formally recommended by an institution as indicated above. In addition, the candidates had to sign a Commitment Term as an agreement to apply the acquired knowledge at the institution, after their period of training[39]. CEMUAM was an eight-month full-time course, five months in Rio at IBAM and three months in a previously selected Brazilian municipality within a given region. During the first five months, the students would get in contact with the methodology itself, the municipalities' problems and possibilities, as well as with their group. There was specific training for team work with the aim of incorporating local personnel.

During the first five months field work was prepared and data on local reality started to be approached. A list of life conditions and possible infrastructure and service was prepared to be checked along the period of field work. A three-week pilot was also developed to test the methodology, its steps and the group's general attitudes. Referring to the groups, it was important that they should assume a didactic approach in sharing their knowledge with the locals, employees in particular and, if possible, the population.

CEMUAM started to form professionals in 1965. Mera coordinated the course up to 1976, issuing six editions along that period. Then she came to the conclusion that it was a finished work and found no purpose in continuing such training. Azevedo points out

the one of the reasons for her decision relates to the fact that the course did not fully achieve one of its main goals - the training of professionals to work for the local government. She would often complain that many ex-CEMUAM students' - the *cemuars* - took the course as a bridge for Master and Doctorate degrees. A *cemuar*, was (and still is) understood as a select group of professionals with guaranteed competence and valuable expertise. Contradictory to Mera's pursuit, such an excellence resulted in distorting her original intention.

IBAM did not share Mera's conviction and invited a close friend of hers, a former student of the course, to coordinate its eighth edition in 1978. From 1978 onwards eleven editions of the course were made once a year until the last one in 1988. It was the same year when a new revised constitution was approved and established a financial reform in the three levels of power - country, state and municipalities, making the latter more independent in financial terms. Resources were directed to the local government and states were forced to extinguish their technical assistance departments. CEMUAM, primarily financed by state and federal governments, could not survive. Along seventeen editions CEMUAM qualified not only Brazilians but also other Latin American professionals, totaling over 350 urban planners.

Soon after leaving CEMUAM in 1977, Mera abandoned her work as an urban planner; she grew disillusioned with her profession. Most interviewers argued that after giving up planning, she would fiercely avoid any conversation involving the matter. In 1981 she left the city of Rio de Janeiro to raise goats on a farm in the mountains nearby. At that time, she had already developed cancer. She returned to Argentina, possibly expecting to be closer to a sister, her only relative, but she became disenchanted with the whole situation she found in her home country, and returned to Brazil. The business at the farm was not doing well; the goat breeding declined and she died not long after, in December 1984.

In 1994, IAB/RJ issued the *Adina Mera Award for Projects in Low-income Housing* to celebrate the 10th anniversary of her death, in recognition of her passion and contribution to the class of city planners. Her passion was also revealed in many poems she wrote, either praising or censuring some aspect of the city, but always dedicating them to a professional friend, who she believed would support or contest her thoughts[40].

At this point it is important to comment on Mera's proposal for Prince Island as it may reflect many of her professional beliefs and attitudes as discussed above[41].

To obtain information for her proposal to Prince Island, Mera made contact with the Federal University of Espírito Santo and organized a survey carried out by the students of Sociology ("the course in architecture did not exist in Vitória", as her architect friend Schwab points out). The research took into account not only local and immediate problems but it was broadened to contemplate possible consequences of the urban growth that could affect her proposal. It started with a detailed diagnosis of the urban agglomeration as a regional center, as well as of the ability of the city to influence its surroundings and how to supply the demands of urban infrastructure and services. She

produced a series of nine maps to illustrate the various aspects of her research. Each map analyzed a specific topic which led to some accounts or scenarios addressing to a set of options or distinct proposals. The proposals were later detailed in another set of drawings of seven maps[42].

The initial set of nine maps included detailed investigation, comprising land-usage according to neighborhoods; potential consumption of the population; distribution of the population according to territorial and socio-economic characteristics; provision of electricity (public and private), telephone; water, sewage and surface drainage; food availability; pedestrian and motorized accessibility (transportation and traffic); and fishery, to define a preliminary zoning. A study about the population growth and its effects on the availability of urban facilities led to a series of propositions that were beyond the requirements of the original commissioning. However, it was in line with the planner's vision and was of paramount importance for the success of the urbanization of the region.

Mera presented her proposals with the aid of the seven land-use maps. The proposals included a new bus station, a commercial and produce center, institutional areas, fishery facilities, and areas for ship repairing (considering the expanding activities of the Port). In addition, it considered recreational activities (open green spaces and squares) for pedestrian areas. All facilities were structured for adequate access into and out the Island of Vitória. Other proposals involving urban accessibility in general terms for the municipality comprised private, mass and trucking transportation with the definition of parking areas for each of them, all based on a hierarchy of the road system map that helped subdivide the previously defined blocks into smaller plots.

She proceeded by defining the necessary phases for the execution of the public works from first to last to be implemented. She also set conditions in the cases of demolition and replacement of irregular dwellings in the region, along with guidelines and pre-requisites for any necessary property acquisitions by the government in the interest of the society, to assure viability of the proposals.

In spite of all these considerations, Mera's detailed and careful urbanization plan by itself would not be enough to change the fate of Prince Island. In the following years the region continued to expand by land-filling, for which the government kept on committing nothing but "good intentions".

The expansion to the western part of Prince Island.

The analysis of the expansion process towards the western part of Prince Island falls beyond the scope of this paper. Some words can demonstrate that the situation did not experience much change.

In 1967, with the help of the Port of Vitória, among other institutions, a new proposal for land-filling was made. Guanabara Company for Technical Consultancy in Urban Affairs, [Empresa Técnica de Urbanismo e Consultoria da Guanabara] was commissioned to

study the technical and economic viability of the proposal. The Port of Vitória was to be in charge of the work as it had the experience in similar land-filling.

It was when the land-filling "*reclaimed*" the marshy areas of the western part of the Island. The reclaimed area was more than three times the area of the land-filled completed some twenty years before, along Esplanada da Capixaba, adjacent to the Port of Vitória[43]. The project was carried out by a group of preeminent engineers and an architect, taking into consideration the use of this land along the same lines indicated in Mera's proposal. However, this time they focused more on accessibility aspects of the region and the city[44]. It is possible that the fact of Mera's proposals had not been implemented could exacerbate such an emphasis on accessibility. In other words, if Mera's proposals were taken into consideration that emphasis might not have happened.

To sum up, reiterating the government's "good intentions" of integrating the new acquired land to the urban area of Vitória, again it projected the same purposes suggested by Mera, based on the provision of the same sort of urban facilities and equipment she projected. The government, yet again, justified its position on the basis that a "*progressive urbanization project would ensure radical transformation of the area's complexion bringing a new dimension to the State's metropolitan center*"[45].

In this respect the government authorized the start of the work to implement the new project[46]. The efforts were not sufficient and in 1971 the government continued to persevere. In 1972, to make it possible the construction of the new bus station, 60 families were resettled along the northwestern fringe of Maciço Central in the Island of Vitória[47] and in 1973 the government decided to remove and relocate the 326 irregular dwellings[48]. As already argued, during the 1950s land-fills were oriented towards the northeastern part of the Island of Vitória. Then, government shifted, once more, to another direction and concentrated investments in the western part of Prince Island[49].

In 1976, a report by COMDUSA stated that "*the project for Prince Island w[ould] provide the Capital with an area of 150.000 square meters and its conclusion [was] dependent upon the location of the access of the so-called Second Bridge*"[50]. By the late 1970s, the region was still used to dispose rubbish and solid fill, turning into a place "*where a favela was growing bit by bit, lacking minimal conditions for living*"[51]. The same report argued that the studies which initially dealt with the uses to be given to the land-fill "*evolved*" [sic] according to the new uses envisaged to the place. The government continued on and on promoting and changing the purposes for that area from 1969 up to the 1980s. COMDUSA, whose primary activity was to undertake the public works for sanitation and urbanization of those areas, was not able to conclude the necessary land-filling of the marshy areas.

It is worth noting that in this extensive period of time, the studies always "*evolved*" with regards to new or updated definitions and changes in intentions to the sites. The project for the construction of the Second Bridge was presented in 1977 and the land-filling support started and finished in 1979. At the beginning of 1980, from the Second Bridge

towards the western part of the Island of Vitória, the land-filling reaching the region of Santo Antonio was only 35 percent concluded[52].

The local newspaper *A Tribuna* (April, 29 1980) pointed out that an approximate 200-square-meter area was to be urbanized. A public bidding was published and the submissions for the execution of the work were to be judged the following month. The article also detailed that the bidding was for the work of a retaining wall, land-filling and paving[53].

Concluding remarks

The facts presented point out that since 1929 many land-fills have been added to the edges of Prince Island and, as they succeeded, the purposes for their utilization changed while irregular occupation was taking place. The unstable policies, along with the disposal of waste material and solid fill, did not contribute to its occupation as desired by governments.

Nowadays the residential part of the Island constitutes an area lacking appropriate urban infrastructure and public spaces. Despite the absence of high-rise buildings, it has high occupation of the plots and scarce public spaces which make it a high-density area both in population and in construction terms as well. Figure 4 is a detail of Figure 1 and reveals the morphology of Prince Island's residential area and its surroundings, nearly four times the original island. This figure also illustrates the streets length and design, as well as the positions of the buildings inside the plots.

Figure 4 Prince Island and surroundings.

The occupation, quality of constructions and public spaces of the land-fill region present characteristics that are far beyond the investments that were made. Irregular occupations succeeded and remained, resulting from both a lack of implementation by the government and an excess of these plans. The excess was due to long periods of

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changing intentions and indecisions by the government regarding its urbanization. Such situation, in a way, kept the residential area isolated within the Island to the added area as well as to the city as a whole. This is related to access, provision of infrastructure and services, and especially to "indecisions" or changes in the orientation of the desired growth for the city, whose land-fills proposals have never been clear by government.

As an additional argument, it is possible to assume that the government, in its "good intentions" towards the area, has always commissioned important professionals (Mera included) in order to produce skilful and adequate solutions for the site. If the governments really demonstrated good intentions for the area, they showed uncertainties about its development. In this respect, commissioning might have worked as a way of appeasing society - the elites in particular, by expressing commitment to the development of the region. If this is taken as true, the proposed plans can be seen more as marketing than commitment.

Adina Mera's efforts would never be able to change the situation in spite of her meticulous examination and propositions. Apparently, the State Government was unsure about the area itself and about the growth of the city as well.

The facts presented in this study highlight a sound contribution from Mera, not only in terms of planning and teaching, but also for the political role she played, promoting the necessary changes towards a more consistent and effective definition of an urban policy to meet the highest social ideals.

One wonders how a person that used to write odes to the city could abandon it. The fact is that she did not live long enough to find out what happened a few years later, and the evidence presented as follows, in one way or another, indicates victory for Mera's ideas and ideals.

Fernandes argues that in 1988 the "right to the city" was eventually recognized as a collective right, with the promulgation of the Federal Constitution, which established the autonomy of municipal government in legal, political and financial terms, to an extent that Brazilian Federalism has been considered one of the most decentralized in the world[54].

In addition, the Federal Law no. 10.257, entitled "*City Statute*", was enacted in 2001 to regulate the original chapter on urban policy introduced by the Federal Constitution of 1988, after an intense negotiation process that lasted over 30 years. Fernandes claims that the Constitution not only recognized Lefebvre's "right to the city" in Brazil but also "confirmed and widened the fundamental legal-political role of municipalities in the formulation of directives for urban planning, as well as in conducting the process of urban development and management".

He follows by adding: "Moreover, the City Statute indicated several processes for municipalities to integrate urban planning, legislation and management so as to democratize the local decision-making process and thus legitimize a new, socially

oriented urban-legal order. Several mechanisms were recognized to ensure the effective participation of citizens and associations in urban planning and management: audiences, consultations, the creation of councils, reports of environmental and neighbourhood impact, popular initiative for the proposal of urban laws, public litigation and, above all, the practices of the participatory budgeting process"[55].

These pieces of evidence show that Mera's ideals definitively started taking shape. Those technicians who did not return to the local government after training, and disappointed her by following an academic career, by taking their masters and doctorates, ironically may have defined that shape even more. Today, many *cemuars* may well constitute a legion of university lecturers and professors, who have formed generations of Architects and Planners whose minds and hearts will perpetuate some of Mera's ideas.

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[1] The Federal Republic of Brazil includes 26 States, totaling 5.563 Municipalities and one Federal District (DC). The state of Espírito Santo, of which Vitória is the capital city, is one of the smallest states in Brazil. Vitória is some 600 hundred kilometers north of Rio de Janeiro city. The municipal government is the unit of local government and it comprises rural and urban areas. The municipality of Vitória is an exception among most municipalities of the country. It is 100% urban and includes the Island of Vitória, some smaller islands and a mainland, totaling 81 square kilometers. The built-up area of the island represents about one third of the land surface. The remaining area consists of a mountain, Maciço Central, surrounded by marsh areas and mangroves. The total population of the municipality amounts to some 350.000 inhabitants. Other four cities that surround the capital city form a continuous urban area (conurbation) that shelter**s** more the 1.500.000 people, according to the latest official projection for 2004, based on the 2000 census. See: http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/ and also http://www.ibge.gov.br/cidadesat/default.php [accessed in March 17th 2008].

[2] Such an inventory is published in Leme, M. C. da S. (Org.). **Urbanismo no Brasil 1895 – 1965**. (São Paulo, Studio Nobel, FAUUSP, FUPAM, 1999), and later included in the CD-Rom **urbanismo.br,** and is also available though the web address: www.urbanismobr.org.br.

[3] Figure 1 (and Figure 4 presented later) uses as a base the 2005 Map of the Municipality provided by Prefeitura Municipal de Vitória. These figures have been produced based on old maps, drawings, photographs as well as descriptions from a variety of sources. As such, they constitute a graphic representation of the land-fills obtained for approximation, not intending to be geographically accurate.

[4] Freitas, J. F. B. Intervenções urbanísticas em Vitória, 1900-1950: modernização e expansão territorial. **Anais do XXII Simpósio Nacional de História: História, acontecimento e narrativa** (CD-Rom. João Pessoa, PB, 2003, 12p.). See also, Freitas, J. F. B. Os relatórios e mensagens de governo e as intervenções urbanísticas em Vitória – 1930-1955. **Anais do IV Encontro da ANPHU-ES: História, representações e narrativa** (http://anphues.cjb.net. Vitória, ES, 2002, 14p.). Freitas, J. F. B., Aterros e decisões políticas no município de Vitória: efeito cascata. **Anais do VIII Seminário de História da Cidade e do Urbanismo** (CD-Rom. Niterói, RJ, novembro de 2004[a], 22p.). Freitas, J. F. B. Contradição política para aterros no município de Vitória: convicção para a implementação e indecisões quanto à ocupação. **Anais do V Encontro Regional da ANPUH-ES: Estado & sociedade** (http://anphues.cjb.net Vitória, ES, 2004[b], 17p.). Freitas, J. F. B. O aterro da Esplanada Capixaba: a "modernidade" privada. **In Anais do XXIII Simpósio Nacional de História – História: Guerra e Paz** (CD-Rom. Londrina, PR, Editorial Mídia, 2005, 12p.). Freitas, J. F. B. Mendonça, E. M. S., Campos, M. M., e Almeida, R. H. Cidade e Território: impactos ambientais urbanos (Presented in the Feira e Congresso Internacional - O Desafio da Inovação na Gestão das Cidades, Vitória - ES, 2006).

[5] The research focusing on the landfills and urbanization projects of Prince Island started in July 2007 and it is still in progress. It has been designed to take two years in order to cover the whole period between 1920 and 1980. The difficulties faced, as well as the obtained results so far, suggest that complementary research might be necessary.

[6] Bonino, P. Revolução Urbanística em Vitória. **Revista Capixaba** (Vitória, mês 07, edição nº 17, 1968) p. 69. All translations from Portuguese quotes are indicated in italics, and have been made by the author.

[7] For further details see Freitas, J. F. B. 2004[a].

[8] Nowadays, Florentino Avidos Bridge is also called Five Bridges because it is made of five metallic sections linking Prince Island to the continent. Formerly, the sixth section used to link Prince Island to the Island of Vitória. Today this section is called Dry Bridge (Ponte Seca) because it is over the landfill area that extended the territory of Prince Island to the Island of Vitória. It started being built in 1926 but it was aspired since 1910, when the government issued Decree number 7.994 on May 12th. For further details see: Espírito Santo. Governador (1924-1928: Avidos). **Mensagem lida ao Congresso na 3ª sessão da 12ª legislatura pelo Exmo. Snr. Presidente do Estado do Espírito Santo, Dr. Florentino Avidos referente as realizações dos anos de 1925 e 1926** (Vitória, [s.n.], 1926) p. 106 and p. 118. See also Espírito Santo. Governador (1924-1928: Avidos). **Mensagem Final Apresentada pelo Exmo. Snr. Presidente do Estado do Espírito Santo, Dr. Florentino Avidos ao Congresso Legislativo, a 15 de Junho de 1928, Contendo Dados Completos de todos os Serviços Prestados no Quadriênio de 1924-1928** (Vitória, [s.n.], 1928).

[9] Espírito Santo. Governador (1928-1930: Aguiar). **Mensagem Apresentada ao Congresso Legislativo na 2ª Sessão da 13ª Legislatura em 07 de setembro de 1929 pelo Doutor Aristeu Borges de Aguiar, Presidente do Estado do Espírito Santo.** (Vitória, [s.n.], 1929) p.169.

[10] Espírito Santo. Governador (1928-1930: Aguiar) 1929, p. 169.

[11] Comissão de Remodelação da Capital. Governo Aristeu Aguiar. Comissão de Remodelação da Capital. O plano do Engenheiro Arquiteto Dr. Saldanha da Gama. **Vida Capixaba** (Vitória, mês 06, edição nº 181, 1929).

[12] Espírito Santo. Governador (1928-1930: Aguiar) 1929, and Espírito Santo. Governador (1930-1943: Bley). **Major João Punaro Bley (1930-43) - Relatório apresentado ao Excelentíssimo Senhor Presidente da República, pelo Major João Punaro Bley, interventor federal no Estado do Espírito Santo – 1943** (Vitória, [s.n.], 1943). See also Freitas, J. F. B. João Pessoa, PB, 2003, and Freitas, J. F. B. Vitória, ES, 2002.

[13] The plan for the Novo Arrabalde was designed in 1896, for the expansion of the city. It was only in the 1920s that the region started being occupied but its consolidation only begun some 30 years later. Prefeitura Municipal de Vitória. Prefeito (1937-1944: Monjardim). **Síntese geral das obras realizadas no quadriênio 1937-1942** (Vitória, [s.n.], 1942). See also: Mendonça, E. M. S. Freitas, J. F. Campos, M. M. Prado, M. M. Almeida, R. H. de, e equipe. **Cem anos do projeto de um Novo Arrabalde Vitória (ES) – 1896-1996** (Vitória, Núcleo de Estudos de Arquitetura e Urbanismo - NAU, DAU - UFES, 1996).

[14] Novaes, H. de. Plano de Urbanização de Vitória. In Rangel, B. L. **O município de Vitória sob o regime Revolucionário – Triênio 1930-1933** (Rio de Janeiro, Oficina Alva Gráfica, [s.n.]) p. 182-200.

[15] Espírito Santo. Governador (1930-1943: Bley). 1943.

[16] For further details, see Mendonça, E. M. S. Freitas, J. F. B. Campos, M. M. Prado, M. M. Almeida, R. H. de; e equipe. 1996.

[17] Cais Smith was one of the harbors of the Port of Vitória. Prefeitura Municipal de Vitória. **Lei nº 664 de 16 de julho de 1957.** (Vitória, [s.n]. Pasta Resoluções, Decretos e Leis) 1957.

[18] Espírito Santo. Governador (1959-1962: Lindenberg). **Mensagem Apresentada à Assembléia Legislativa na Abertura da Sessão Legislativa de 1961 pelo Dr. Carlos Fernando Monteiro Lindenberg Governador do Estado** (Vitória, [s.n.], 1961).

[19] Espírito Santo. Governador (1967-1971: Lopes Filho). **Um Estado em Marcha para o desenvolvimento Governo Christiano Dias Lopes Filho, Mensagem apresentada pelo Governador Christiano Dias Lopes Filho à Assembléia Legislativa, em 15-6-1968, encaminhando sua prestação de contas referente ao exercício de 1967** (Vitória, [s.n.], 1968) p. 38.

[20] The Federal Law number 8.630 issued on February 25th 1993 authorized the State Company to operate under Federal rules. The Espírito Santo State Company is nominated CODESA (Companhia Docas do Espírito Santo SA).

[21] Mera, A. **Projeto de Utilização da área do aterro que liga a Ilha do Príncipe à Ilha de Vitória.** (Vitória, Administração do Porto de Vitória, 1962, mimeo.).

[22] Interviews carried out from December 2007 to February 2008 include personal and professional friends from Vitória and Rio de Janeiro as follows: 1) Freire, Henda da Rocha, Mera's personal friend and one of the persons that knew her prior to her arrival to Brazil. The interview was carried out and recorded in Rio

de Janeiro on February 1st 2008. This interview also had the participation of Azevedo, Marlice Nazareth Soares de, another personal and professional Architect friend and former student of Mera. 2) Schwab, Maria do Carmo, Architect and personal friend of Mera during Schwab's Undergraduate Course in Architecture in Rio de Janeiro while Mera followed her Postgraduate degree in Urban Planning. Interview: carried out on the 19th of December, 2007 in Vitória. 3) Interviews carried out (and not recorded) at the Brazilian Institute for Municipal Administration [IBAM - Instituto Brasileiro de Administração Municipal] in Rio de Janeiro with Business Administrator Pinto, Mara D. Biasi Ferrari and, Architect and Urban Planner Santos, Alexandre Carlos Albuquerque, in turn Consultant for Special Projects and, Economic and Social Development Director, both professional peers for a short period of time (January, 31st 2008). 4) Nicolaeff, Alex, Architect and professional peer (Rio de Janeiro, February, 6th 2008); 5) Fernandes, Almir, Architect and Urban Planner professional peer (Rio de Janeiro, 7th February 2008); 6) Oliveira, Aloysio Müller de, Lawyer and close personal friend from the 1950s up to mid-1970s (Rio de Janeiro, February, 19th 2008). Transcriptions of these interviews are still in progress and when completed will be submitted to the interviewers for approval to make them available in the Brazilian National Library.

[23] CREA - Conselho Regional de Engenharia, Arquitetura e Agronomia is the institution that regulates professional's activities, from which one has to obtain a permit to work as an Urban Planner. The President of the Institute of Architects of Brazil - Section of the Espírito Santo State - IAB/ES, Repsold, Gregório produced an *Introduction* attached to Mera's proposal for Prince Island, to illustrate her professional activities in the State at the time she died in 1984. The compilation was to support a Local Councilor [Vereador] to propose a *post-mortem* tribute to be approved by the Municipal Legislative in recognition to her professional activities in the State of Espirito Santo. Such an introduction was also based on interviews.

[24] Place of birth stated in CREA-RJ files is Port Nest, a possible misspelling for Port Brest (Patagonia, Argentina). This is still to be clarified.

[25] Her undergraduate background is unclear. An Argentinean newsletter of 2004 recognizes her as the first female industrial engineer of the country in 1944. Further details in the following link accessed in March 17th 2008. http://biblioteca.iapg.org.ar/iapg/ArchivosAdjuntos/Petrotecnia/2004-6/NovedadesEmp.pdf. Petrotecnica Novedades Empresarias, Diciembre 2004 p. 116-126.

[26] Modesto, H. Mera, A. Rios, J. A. et al. *Plano Diretor da cidade de Fortaleza* (Fortaleza, Prefeitura Municipal de Fortaleza, 1969).

[27] After her professional contact with Burle Marx she developed landscape projects both in Rio de Janeiro and Espírito Santo, in the latter, for the Companhia Vale do Rio Doce - CVRD, is one of the most profitable enterprises of the country. Nicolaeff, witnessed Mera giving a speech on goat rising as a special guest in a seminar.

[28] Brasileiro, A. M. (Coord.), *Região Metropolitana do Grande Rio: serviços de interesse comum*. (Brasília, Estudos para Planejamento, 13 IPEA/IPLAN, 1976).

[29] Mera, A. Diretrizes para o zoneamento. *Revista de Administração Municipal*, (Rio de Janeiro, IBAM, 69: Mar/Abr. 1965) p. 95-100; Mera, A. Paisagem Urbana e forma da cidade. *Revista de Administração Municipal*, (Rio de Janeiro, IBAM, 78: Set/Out. 1966) p. 323-48; Mera, A. Pesquisa para o zoneamento da Guanabara. *Revista de Administração Municipal*, (Rio de Janeiro, IBAM, 104: Jan/Fev. 1971) p. 71-102; Mera, A. Planejamento e Habitação. *Revista de Administração Municipal*, (Rio de Janeiro, IBAM, 61: Nov/Dez. 1963) p. 423-42.

[30] Mera, A. et al. Instituto dos Arquitetos do Brasil, Os arquitetos e a Política Urbana. Trabalho apresentado pelo IAB/RJ ao IX Congresso Brasileiro de Arquitetos, São Paulo: 25-29 de outubro de 1976 *Revista de Administração Municipal*, (Rio de Janeiro, IBAM, 139: Nov/Dez. 1976) 49-59.

[31] SAGMACS stands for Sociedade para Análise Gráfica e Mecanográfica Aplicadas aos Complexos Sociais.

[32] Further details in: Lamparelli, C. M. Louis-Joseph Lebret e a Pesquisa urbano-regional no Brasil - crônicas tardias ou histórias prematuras. *Espaço & Debates*. (São Paulo, v. 37, p. 90-99, 1994) and Leme, M. C. S. A pesquisa pioneira de Lebret sobre as condições de habitação em São Paulo. *Espaço & Debates.* (São Paulo, v. 24, n. 45, p. 110-113, 2004).

[33] Freitas, provides an interesting discussion along these lines comparing a self-built area and a complete dwelling unit development in Vitória. See: Freitas, J. F. B. *Townscape and local culture: the use of streets in low-income residential areas in Vitória, Brazil*. (Unpublished PhD. Thesis. University College, London, University of London, 1995).

[34] More details in the following link, accessed in March, 17th. 2008. http://www2.cronologiadourbanismo.ufba.br/apresentacao.php?idVerbete=42.

[35] CEMUAM is the acronym for Curso Especial de Metodologia do Urbanismo e da Administração Municipal [Special Course for the Metodology of the Urbanism and Municipal Administration]. The acronym was kept but its name has later changed to Curso de Metodologia e Projetos de Desenvolvimento Urbano [Course of Methodology and Projects for Urban Development].

[36] Ferreira, F. W. **Condições de Vida e Planejamento Físico** (Rio de Janeiro, Cadernos de Administração Pública nº 66, Fundação Getúlio Vargas - FGV, 1966).

[37] Mera, A. Equipamentos Necessários à Vida de uma Aglomeração Humana **Folha Técnica IBAM 5** (Rio de Janeiro, Instituto Brasileiro de Administração Municipal - IBAM, 1965).

[38] Meras' ideas and the contribution of Ferreira to the methodological approach adopted by CEMUAM are well expressed in the document: Mera, Adina, **Urbanização e orientação do desenvolvimento urbano.** (Instituto Brasileiro de Administração Municipal - IBAM, Rio de Janeiro, 1971, mimeo.).

[39] VIII CEMUAM – Curso de Metodologia e Projetos de Desenvolvimento Urbano - 10 de abril a 8 de dezembro de 1978. (Rio de Janeiro, Promotional folder for the Course, ENSUR/IBAM, 1978).

[40] Mera, A. **Poemas** [from 1973 to 1975]. (Plans for a book to be edited by IBAM. Rio de Janeiro, 1987, mimeo.). I also had access to several versions of this collection of 11 poems (i. e. the manuscripts, typed versions with or without corrections made by Mera. These have been digitalized and are now available in the IBAM Library together with the mimeo plan).

[41] Mera, A. 1962, mimeo.

[42] The set of maps included in the report have not been found and were not available by the time this paper was finished.

[43] Espírito Santo. Governador (1967-1971: Lopes Filho). **Desafio & Proposta: Desenvolvimento do Estado do Espírito Santo – 1967-1970: Christiano Dias Lopes Filho** (Vitória, [s.n.], 1970) p. 38.

[44] The Engineers are Harry de Freitas Barcellos, Décio da Silva Thevenard, and Olavo Machado de Vasconcellos and the Architect is Luís Paulo Calmon Dessaune.

[45] Espírito Santo. Governador (1967-1971: Lopes Filho) 1968.

[46] See Espírito Santo. Governador (1967-1971: Lopes Filho) 1970, p. 114-16. More details can also be found in Freitas, J. F. B. 2004[b].

[47] Dias, T. **São Pedro** (Vitória, Secretaria Municipal de Cultura, Coleção Elmo Elton, v. 6, 2001). See also ESPÍRITO SANTO. Governador (1971-1974: Santos). **Mensagem à Assembléia Legislativa – 1973 – Dr. Arthur Carlos Gerhardt Santos** (Vitória, [s.n.], 1973) p.147.

[48] Espírito Santo. Governador (1971-1974: Santos). **Mensagem à Assembléia Legislativa no governo Dr. Arthur Carlos Gerhardt Santos em 1972** (Vitória, [s.n.], 1972) p.43.

[49] Freitas, J. F. B., João Pessoa, 2003.

[50] Espírito Santo. Governador (1975-1978: Álvares). **Mensagem à Assembléia Legislativa em 15 de março de 1977, relativa ao ano de 1976 - Elcio Álvares.** (Vitória, [s.n.], 1977) p. 212.

[51] Espírito Santo. Governador (1975-1978: Álvares). **Mensagem à Assembléia Legislativa relativa ao ano de 1977 - Elcio Álvares** (Vitória, [s.n.], 1977) p. 274.

[52] Espírito Santo. Governador (1978-1982: Rezende). **Mensagem enviada à Assembléia Legislativa em 1º de março de 1980, pelo Governador Eurico Vieira de Rezende, relativo ao ano de 1979** (Vitória, [s.n.], 1980) p. 237, See also, Espírito Santo. Governador (1978-1982: Rezende). **Mensagem enviada à Assembléia Legislativa em 1º de março de 1981, pelo Governador Eurico Vieira de Rezende, relativo ao ano de 1980** (Vitória, [s.n.], 1981) p. 438.

[53] A Tribuna, **Aterro já tem edital** (Vitória, April 29th., 1980).

[54] Fernandes, E. Constructing the `Right to the City' in Brazil **Social & Legal Studies** (Los Angeles, SAGE Publications, Vol. 16 (2) 2007 - 201-19).

[55] Fernandes, E. Implementing the urban reform agenda in Brazil **Environment & Urbanization** (London, International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED). Vol 19 (1) April 2007 - 177-189). p.181-2.

Bom Retiro: permanence of urban fabric and movement of foreigners

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Introduction

Up to the end of the nineteenth century, the most densely urbanized area in the city of São Paulo remained surrounded by a "belt of chácaras" (agricultural-production and weekend-leisure areas). With the development of coffee plantations and construction of the railway operated by the São Paulo (Brazilian) Railway Company Ltd., those green areas underwent an intense urbanization process, giving rise to a group of districts that were (re)structured, shaped, and transformed with the participation of different groups of foreigners. The social and spatial paths of those foreigners and the strategies of material and symbolic appropriation of those districts are not dissociable, at each moment, from the changes in the economic political and social context of Brazil and the immigrants' countries of origin.

The development of those districts are in consonance with the development and the transformations of the traditional downtown area of the city of São Paulo. Since its origin, the downtown area was structured beyond the paradigm of the Central Business Districts (CBDs) characterized by the density of activities considered central – retail trade, private services, leisure areas – excluding public administration activities, public services, and central administration of the productive sector[1]. The São Paulo downtown area didn't follow this model because it incorporated not only retail trade, leisure and services areas, but also a comprehensive group of institutions and facilities of extra-local importance such as wholesale trade, governmental bodies, schools, etc., in addition to dwellings. The districts surrounding the downtown area were developed as its extension, by the dissemination of administrative activities, by the arrangement of business centers closely connected to industrial production and specialized service centers, and by the presence of diversified groups of residents. One can also include those districts in the category of central districts expressing the ambiguity that characterizes them – neither a district (neighborhood) nor a downtown area[2]. Their daily activities are not restricted to the neighbors but incorporate an experience in line with the metropolitan life that starts to be created in São Paulo in the first half of the twentieth century.

Central districts are continually rebuilt, not necessarily through the logic of demolition that dominate the production and reproduction of urban space in São Paulo, but through the permanence of their physical structures, requiring an understanding of the economic processes operating in the city beyond the real-property capitals, as well an understanding of the territory appropriation strategies that are combined to make possible the coexistence of diversified groups and similar universes of social representation.

Foreigners are fundamental for the understanding of physical, demographic, economic and social transformation processes, as well as cultural standards and consumption habits existing in the city of São Paulo. By the end of the nineteenth century, from the time slave labor was replaced by salaried work, Brazil attracted large numbers of immigrants. It is estimated that 75% of immigrants arriving in the country from 1850 to 1950 were Portuguese, Spanish, and Italians. From the almost 4 million immigrants that came to Brazil from 1890 to 1930, around 60% remained in the State of São Paulo, working in agricultural and industrial activities. Those immigrants participated in such activities as industrialists and front-line workers. (Oliveira, 2001; Hall, 2004:121.) In 1936, more than 8500 factories in the state São Paulo employed more than 250,000 workers.More than 4500 of those factories belonged to Brazilians, 2,248 to Italians, 579 to Portuguese, 309 to Syrians, 150 to Germans, 76 to Japanese, 53 to Austrians, 24 to English, 22 to French, 12 to Americans, 4 to Canadians and 310 to people coming from other countries.[3] In the city of São Paulo, in 1893, about 55% of residents were foreigners and in 1934, 67% were foreigners or foreigners' descendants.

Although foreigners are present in many central districts of São Paulo, in Bom Retiro the permanence/passage of immigrants takes a particular configuration. Each group establishes not only labor but also residential relationships with the district, and in this double insertion each group builds social, cultural, political, and religious institutions. Foreigners get settled in what is already built and existing, considering that the district has few moments of physical renewal. It is a district where "tenants" change successively, and each group imprints its material and symbolic marks making the district an overlapping of identities.

This paper analyzes the process that promotes the consolidation of Bom Retiro as a garment district as the basis of the particular form by which the relations between spatial and social processes are drawn in the district, the importance of foreigners in this process and the relations between this process and the development of downtown area and central districts in São Paulo.

Bom Retiro: the successive movement of foreigners

By the end of the XIXth century and the first decades of the XXth century, foreigners who arrived in São Paulo came with contracts that included boat tickets, railroad transfers and work at coffee plantations. Those who remained in the capital city or returned from the farms sought housing and work in industrial districts located close to the railroad stations and the downtown area. Bom Retiro was one of those districts. However, the presence of foreigners preceded the urbanization outbreak . The engineers who participated in the opening of the railroad acquired *chácaras* that were used as meeting places of the English community then settled in São Paulo. That was the case of Chácara Dulley, owned by Charles Dimmit Dulley that sheltered an elite club, the São Paulo Athletic Club, where the first football games took place in the city. São Paulo's first public garden – the Botanic Garden – opened in 1825 in one of the boundaries of the future Bom Retiro district – close to river Tietê and adjacent to the downtown area – may be considered an initial mark for the establishment of those

chácaras used as a weekend retreat for the elites, delimiting a leisure area between urban and rural territories[4].

The first urban activities emerged with the opening of the railway in 1867. At a first moment, workshops and construction materials warehouses were installed close to the rails to meet the needs of the company and of its employees – the first category of significant salaried workers. One of the pioneers in the urbanization process of the area that will become the Bom Retiro district, was Mr. Manfred Méier, an Alsace Jew: he bought large tracts of land close to the railroad line, opened streets, divided them into lots ready to receive constructions and installed the city's first large brick factory – *Olaria Manfred*. The English also participated in this process, subdividing their *chácaras* into several building lots[5].

With coffee traveling through the São Paulo Railway, the connection between the capital city and the port of Santos became the major trading axis of what Singer (1968) calls "king product of Brazilian exports". From 1890 to 1900, São Paulo sheltered a significant financial market, with national and foreign banks, wholesale trade consisting mainly in importers, retail-trade stores, hotels, liberal professional offices, farm-owner homes, factories and workers' homes. (Saes, 2004). Along with the soundly insertion in the great coffee business the city's population grew fast: 28,000 in 1860, 65,000 in 1890, and 240,000 in 1900.

That dynamic caused an impact on Bom Retiro's occupation process. In the first years of the XXth century, the urban structure was already clearly defined through the streets connecting the two extremities of the district : the Railway Station and the Tietê river. The main street was called Rua dos Imigrantes (Immigrants Street). In 1882, the first hostel where immigrants who arrived in the port of Santos, traveled through the mountains by the trains of the São Paulo Railway and got off at the Estação da Luz were temporarily sheltered, was built in the district.[6]From 1870 to 1890, many Portuguese settled in the district and from 1900 to 1940, Italians prevailed. Up to 1940 the Portuguese formed the second group of immigrants in São Paulo, totaling almost 15,000 in 1893 and almost 65,000 in 1920. In 1893, Italians totaled 34% of residents; at the start of the twentieth century Italians accounted for 50% of immigrants, and continued as the largest foreign group in the city up to 1940.

Jews started occupying the district in the 1920s. At the end of the XIXth century Jews came from North Africa, Alsace, France, etc. to several regions in the country, but the largest groups of immigrant Jews arrived from 1916 to 1920, during the World War I and the Russian revolution; in the 1930s, when unemployment problems were worsened with the economic crisis of 1929 that reached Europe, and later with anti-Semitism and Nazi persecution and after World War II. Therefore, the first group consisted in Russian Jews coming from the breakdown of the Czarist empire; the second consisted in Polish Jews, mainly from small towns or villages, ant the third consisted in Oriental Jews. The census identified 17,219 Jews in 1940, and 22,808 in 1950, in São Paulo. (Truzzi, 2001; Hall, 2004:144).

Greeks, Armenians and Syrians also lived in the Bom Retiro district throughout the twentieth century. The largest group of Greeks arrives in Brazil in the 1960s – about 80,000. São Paulo received the largest number of Greeks, and a significant number of them settled in Bom Retiro. Since the 1960s Koreans started to settle in the district and, in the last two decades, Bolivians started to arrive.

In this movement of foreigners who arrive and leave the district, the element of permanence to be determined is the working universe that was built in the district combining productive and commercial activities. Although, as several authors stated, Bom Retiro integrated together with other central districts the first group of workers' districts in the capital city[7], since its early occupation a tendency to small and medium-size autonomous businesses was outlined. A study about industrial activities in the State of São Paulo of the early twentieth century shows this   profile of the district:

> "There was also a large number of shoemaker stores, woodworker facilities, pasta, grease, oil, and writing-ink factories, foundries, dyeing and cleaning establishments, shoe factories, clothing and hat manufacturing facilities, that operated in workshops, in warehouse backyards, in sum: in places not seen by the public. The number of small woodworker facilities where sometimes only one man works (...) and of liquor and pasta (vulgarly known as "*macaroni*") factories, is incalculable (Bandeira Jr., 1901: 30)

Those autonomous businesses were somewhat connected to some type of specialization of immigrant groups. The Portuguese participated in manufacturing activities, but a large portion of them opened small and medium-size businesses, mainly in the food industry. Small grocery stores, butchers, greengrocery markets, cellars and bars installed in their homes. They sold food products also as door-to-door salesmen and street-market traders, eventually operating in the wholesale trade business, beyond the boundaries of Bom Retiro. (Hall, op.cit:133)

Italians accounted for the largest salaried labor group of the factories installed at the end of the XIXth century, and also developed other activities in the district: shoemaking shops, woodworker facilities, pasta factories, shoe factories, hat factories, tailors, bakeries, operating in the backyards of warehouses proliferated in workshops-often invisible in the landscape, in addition to backyard workshops that remained midway between commerce and industry. (Truzzi, op. cit.:4)

Unlike Italians, Jews did not come to work as salaried workers. They worked initially as door-to-door salesmen on the streets of the downtown area and in the district itself. Later they established their own businesses, in the clothing segment, making and trading ready-to-wear clothing. Greeks also worked in the clothes manufacturing segment and progressively in the textile industry. As from the 1960s, Koreans took over a large number of businesses and more recently Bolivians have been winning space in the district.

That business trend got strength in the Bom Retiro district as from the end of the 1920s when started a differentiated cycle that was completed in the mid-1940s. In that period a material and economic basis was organized, on which Bom Retiro got consolidated as a ready-to-wear clothing industry and trade center. Along almost two decades, occurred the process of installation of small manufacturing industries and of establishments selling clothes, threads, machines, etc. - establishments of all elements that support clothes production and the marketing.

This process consubstantiated the particular way whereby the relations between the spatial and social process happened in the district: the permanence of the urban fabric – here understood as the physical basis and the social fabric, as well as the continuous movement of arrival and exit of immigrants. Another trend that characterizes the district since the beginning was reinforced – the proximity between homes and workplaces. The home/production/ sale combination managed by the foreigners drew the central district profile of Bom Retiro – as a district containing the ambiguity that functional specialization annuls.

It was the location of Bom Retiro – the close proximity to the railway station combined with the access to the downtown area and other districts – that enabled the industrial activities to be combined with the commercial activities. A series of public improvements accomplished around 1900 got the conditions to this situation attribute. For several decades, the railroad constituted an obstacle to access the downtown area from Bom Retiro, although it was close to it. The construction of a viaduct and the opening of an underpass to cross over and beyond the railway encouraged the growth of commercial activities   along with the industrial production. Bom Retiro was enabled, from this moment on , to overcome the condition of an enclave and to become an integral part of the city.

Bom Retiro: the foreigners and the successive building of a working universe

From the end of the XIXth century to the end of the 1920s the textile industry expanded in Brazil to meet the domestic demand resulting from the increased population growth – especially from the lower-income classes. The fabrics to meet the demand from medium- and high-income classes were not yet manufactured in Brazil, as well as those for personal use. In addition, ready-to-wear clothing for the elites as well the fabrics used by tailors were also imported. The production was made in fabric and thread factories located in different points of the national territory, and the contribution of Italians to the textile industry was essential. The City of São Paulo concentrated large factories, some of them with more than one thousand employees, and almost 1,500 among more than 2,000 establishments all over the country belonging to Italians were located in São Paulo. (Carone, 2001:100-106)

One of the largest factories of the city – Fiação e Tecidos Anhaia Fabril – was located in Bom Retiro in the end of the XIXth century, close to the railway, but the district was not characterized as the favorite location for threading and weaving factories. Although very

relevant, because they determined to a great extent the district's urban functions, such type of factories did not predominate in the area. The trade businesses opened in the district, as from the second decade of the twentieth century, were closely linked to the manufacturing industry and structured according to the new modality of sales introduced at that time in Brazil – selling directly from the factory to consumers. In such combination, the manufacturer was also the trader whose workshop was an annex of the store, or vice-versa. (Maleronka, 2007:44)

Clothing factories were introduced in São Paulo as from 1870, and most were located in the city's downtown area. From the beginning, in addition to the large shops of that time, with more than two hundred employees, the activity was also developed by small businesses with minimum capital – second-hand sewing machines, four or five employees, a leased room – that were set up in spaces with a lower lease amount, around the downtown area. The capital city concentrated the production to meet the demands of the State's interior: in 1920, 70 of the 74 establishments of the State of São Paulo were located in the capital city – but up to that time the making of clothes by autonomous tailors and seamstresses usually prevailed (Maleronka, op.cit:39,44)

In the process of establishing direct sales to consumers through small businesses, as from the 1920s, the role of foreigners stood out. In addition to Italians, Syrians, Lebanese and Jews will be among the major owners of ready-to-wear clothing establishments. (Knowlton, 1950:143) In the 1940s, the progress of the clothing industry and trade in São Paulo was expressed by the installation of an industrial organization in large establishments for their own supply, and by the dissemination of small businesses. In 1946, there were over 6,000 establishments, employing more than 28,000 employees. Tailors' and dressmakers' production was maintained, but it was a moment of transition. Although the "true clothing standardization existing in the United States is not yet a reality in Brazil, credit sales facilities and advertising strategies were already expanding. (Maleronka, op.cit.:45;138)

As from the end of the 1920s the ready-to-wear clothing industry and trade started in Bom Retiro, and in the next two decades such process was consolidated. In that period, the organization of a material base structured the production chain, and the marketing of the ready-to-wear clothing factories was performed predominantly by Jews, whose immigration movement intensified at that time. The dimension those activities acquired in the city is expressed in the following figures: in 1937, 25.1% of the ready-to-wear clothing manufacturers, 16% of knitwear mills, and 24% of hat and umbrella manufacturers of the capital city were located in Bom Retiro (Egídio, 1940:241)

Between 1928 and 1945, 310 manufacturers settled in the district, and those establishments not belonging to Jews were less than a dozen. The first establishments of clothing and white linen came to the district between 1924 and 1927, and were owned by Italians. As from 1928, establishments owned by Jews started to appear. The district's clothing factories produced men's and women's wear such as *manteaux*, *tailleurs*, dresses, jackets, pullovers, cloaks, men's suits, in addition to raincoats, white clothes - blouses, dressing gowns, pajamas, shirts, robes, slips, briefs, *soutiens*, bed

linen, pillowcases, and children's wear such as suits, dresses, coats. Those clothes accounted for about 80% of the installed industry's total production. The remainder factories produced accessories such as umbrellas, caps, belts, suspenders, ties, shawls, handkerchiefs, handbags, and coin carrying cases. There were establishments that performed specific works such as stitches in clothes and embroideries in towels. [8]

Almost all establishments had at most four employees, characterizing them as family concerns. For the type of merchandise they produced and sold, particularly making suits and dresses, the Jews mobilized the craft of artisans and the practice of commercial activities from their countries of origin. Polish Jews, for instance, in the 1920s characterized a population that was almost totally urban and occupationally directed to trade and several professions such as shoemaking, tailoring, and mechanics. (Knowlton,op.cit.:128; Truzzi, op.cit:5)

This universe of installed factories aggregated, in the same period, packaging factories that produced wood and cardboard boxes, factories that manufactured "buttons, buckles, latches, and so on," factories that produced machines and accessories for knitwear mills, machines for weaving and looms, establishments for machine repair and remodeling, even factories that manufacture cash registers as well as graphic shops that produced commercial prints, cards, labels, and delivery notes. In other words, the district became almost totally self-sufficient to produce and market clothing and accessories, lacking weaving and threading factories only. In 1945, there were only two fabric factories in Bom Retiro. The largest fabric production center was located in Brás, a central district close by and of easy access through Bom Retiro.

Almost all factories were located, initially, throughout José Paulino Street, former Imigrantes (Immigrants) Street, where in the beginning of the nineteenth century small businesses selling food products and belonging to Portuguese were concentrated. José Paulino was the main street providing access to the district, as from Estação da Luz, to the downtown area, and to the districts located in the Eastern zone where the weaving and threading factories were concentrated**.**

At that time a large number of licenses for remodeling the existing buildings[9] were requested to the public administration on the streets where the factories were installed. Those activities lacked demolition and were installed in the pre-existing physical structures. At the same time, in other areas of the district, apartment buildings started to replace the existing structures, denoting the incorporation of the district in the modernization process going on in the city in the 1940s and 1950s.

There was a change in the scale of real-property production throughout the 1940s in Brazil, and São Paulo concentrated a huge portion of the national private investment in new building constructions. During the war, real-property construction was intensified as a field of profitable investments in the industry, trade, and agricultural exports, and the capital incorporated was consolidated as a production agent in the urban environment.[10] High modern buildings which combined residential, commercial activities and services emerged in downtown area and in the central districts.

At the end of the fifties, the competitiveness of other areas of the city combined with changes in the legislation and with the elite´s abandonment of the traditional center of São Paulo stopped private investments in downtown area and in central districts. In spite of the bulky public investments, mainly in highways and public transportation, accomplished in the 1960´s and 1970´s, the cycle of land values depreciation that took place in the fifties didn´t step back.. The non attractiveness for the real estate capital allowed the consolidation of the enlarged territory articulating downtown area and central districts as a metropolitan center appropriated for the lower and middle classes. These conditions favored the consolidation and the permanence of Bom Retiro as a garment district. It favored, actually, the prevalence of the commercial capital in urban economy.

As well as Bom Retiro, other central districts, specialized in other kinds of business, were at that time stabilized as powerful job centers of great importance for the city´s economy. Taking into account the functional diversity as well the multiple social groups living in those territories, central districts can be considered a counter-example to the urban model reinforced in São Paulo along the XXth century: more and more segregated spaces, of which poor peripheries and rich exclusive neighborhoods are representative.

It is worth mentioning that clothing factories were disseminated all over the city of São Paulo, and some factories belonging to Jews were located in the downtown area and in other districts. The concentration of so many factories owned by Jews in the district of Bom Retiro was unique, as perhaps the organization of an installed material base encompassing all the elements of the production and sales chain in a limited territory and so strongly concentrated in one group of immigrants was unique too.

It should also be pointed out that the Jews did not make up the majority of the district's population. In 1934, 64.4% of the residents were Brazilian and 35.6% were of other nationalities, including not only Jews, but also 11% of Italians. The high level of organization of the Jewish community elucidates its outstanding presence in the district. Since the immigration process to the capital city started, the community set up institutions to provide social assistance and economic support to the insertion of Jewish immigrants in São Paulo.

In 1912, the first synagogue of São Paulo was built in Bom Retiro by the "Israeli Community of São Paulo," an organization comprising European Jews, whose purpose was to build, in addition to the synagogue, a cemetery and a school, and also to assist immigrants. During World War I the community founded the "Society of Israeli Ladies," for the purposes of collecting donations, promoting means to assist needy families and provide medical assistance, and the "EZRA – Israeli Society of Friends of the Poor," that welcomed the several immigrants coming from Poland, Rumania, Russia, Hungary, and Lithuania during the wartime. In 1922, immigrants mainly from Eastern Europe founded the first school in São Paulo to offer elementary school education together with Jewish teaching – Colégio Renascença, that also provided professional courses for youngsters

and adults, courses for immigrants recently arrived from Europe who sought their insertion in the labor market. [11](Veltman, 1996)

In other words, the community built a network to help the newcomers, with the support of both the Jews living in São Paulo who already were part of the industrial elite and of international organizations.[12] Such network played a fundamental role in the insertion of Jews in significant industry and trade activities, through the creation, in 1928, of the Sociedade Cooperativa de Crédito Popular do Bom Retiro (Cooperative Society for Popular Credit in Bom Retiro). That society operated as a Loans Bank to immigrants, providing credit with favorable terms and without the guarantees required by other banks.

The presence of Jews in the district was also expressed through educational, social and cultural, religious, and political institutions. In the 1920s, the Jewish culture started to be disseminated through theater plays and movie pictures, and the first Jewish newspaper started to circulate. Different groups of political movements prevailed in the district, mobilizing old and young Jews to engage in leftist movements in favor of the State of Israel and the Communist party in Brazil.

In the 1950s, the Jews started to leave Bom Retiro. At that time, Jewish schools, clubs, and jewish institutions started to be created in other districts. A census conducted in 1968 showed that 30% of the Jews lived in Bom Retiro, but other districts already concentrated an equal percentage of Jews. The survey also showed the high residential mobility of Jews and their occupational profile continued to prevail in trade and industry activities – more than 70%. (Veltman, op.cit.:100)

Jews progressively left Bom Retiro in line with the insertion of Koreans in the district, as from 1960, designing a process of transference of commercial capital. The latter, at first, used the district as a workplace and lived in the so-called "Vila Coreana," (Korean Village) in the district of Liberdade, traditionally occupied by Orientals. They worked as door-to-door salesmen and engaged in sewing activities at the factories. They gradually acquired the businesses from the Jews, occupied the houses in the district, and created their churches, schools, and institutions. To undergo this passage, they also organized an immigrant-supporting structure through a kind of consortium to provide the required financial funds – the "Kyes." (Truzzi, op.cit.:10)

In general, those processes are observed through the reproduction of generations by family community ties. What occurs in Bom Retiro is the appropriation by a group of immigrants – Koreans – of the material and economic basis installed by another group of immigrants – Jews. The completion of the existing production and sales structure permitted that, even without any tradition in the field of clothes manufacturing, Koreans keep and develop the economic activity in the district, rebuilding and conforming the working universe to the structural changes of a global economy. It is this transfer process among organized groups of immigrants that shapes the uniqueness of the district's social and spatial relations, that enables Bom Retiro to combine processes of

permanence and mutations and to be recognized sometimes as a district of Italians, sometimes times as a district of Jews, sometimes as a district of Koreans.

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Notes

[1] For delimitation methods and approaches of the downtown area see Panella, Rafaelle (s/d) Centro Historico y Centro Ciudad in Ciardini, F. y Falini, P. (eds) pp.52-73

[2] The term "Central Business Districts" is used by Fernandes (1986) in his study about Bom Retiro.

[3] *O Progresso Industrial de São Paulo*, in Observador Econômico e Financeiro, # 32; September 1938: 163

[4] (Chácara Bom Retiro, Chácara Dulley, Sítio do Carvalho, among others)

[5] Chácara Dulley, owned by English engineer Charles Dimmit Dulley, who worked at the opening of the railroad, dates from 1904 (possibly owned by Dulley's son, Charles John Dulley, an engineer graduated in England).

[6] Five years later, to suit to the volume attained by immigration, the *Hospedaria dos Imigrantes* (Immigrants Hostel), with capacity to accommodate 1,200 people was built and implemented close to the railroad line in the Brás district, facilitating the disembarkation and transportation of immigrants. The *Hospedaria dos Imigrantes* operated till the 1970s. During its 91 years of operation, almost 3 million people were benefited. In 1986, the *Centro Histórico do Imigrante* (Immigrant's Historical Center) was established and, after two years, the Immigrant Memorial was created.

[7] Langenbuch,1971;Fernandes,1986:Truzzi, 2001,among others.

[8] Data on factories were handled based on information provided by the State of São Paulo's Statistics Department. Division of Production and Commerce Statistics (1947)

[9] According to the results of a survey in progress. Mangili, Liziane P. *Transformações e permanências nos bairros centrais de São Paulo.* EESC-USP

[10] About the changes in real-property production in the 1940s, see Melo, 1992: 149

[11] In 1937, the Renascença opened its first own facilities at Rua Prates, on a lot and building donated by the Klabin-Lafer family.

[12] The supporting organizations include the Klabin, Lafer, and Tabacow families, among others, and the Jewish Colonization Association that starting from 1928 is represented by EZRA in Brazil.

Public transport planning in Pakistan: an historical perspective

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1   Introduction

This paper highlights the core problem of the continuing failure of Pakistani cities to develop and manage their public transport systems in such a way as to provide a high level of mobility, equity and environmental sustainability. For at least sixty years public transport policy makers have formulated many different policies for public transport development in Pakistan. These policies make little sense in the presence of an extensive suburban railways infrastructure and high density mixed land use in urban areas.

The purpose of this paper is to provide an historical overview of public transport policy in Pakistan, from the British India period through to recent years, as viewed through the public transport planning literature. This paper outlines the discussion of public transport planning in Pakistan by reviewing (1) current literature and data (2) the history of public transport planning and policy and (3) listing the number of factors overlooked in the development of public transport in Pakistan. The data presented have been collected mainly through policy documents and published scholarly articles. The paper concludes with discussion on the importance of governance, capacity building and urban planning in providing adequate, efficient and effective public transport in Pakistan.

2   Public Transport Planning and Policy – Literature Review

The significance of public transport for urban mobility varies in South Asian cities. Traditionally, South Asian cities are characterized by high population and employment density, mixed land use patterns, short trip length and high share of non-motorized transport (Thomson, 1977; Tiwari, 2002; Imran and Low, 2003; Badami, 2005; Singh, 2005; Imran, 2006; Haider and Badami, 2007; Imran and Low, 2007). However, these characteristics have been changing by spatial structure which consists of medium to low density housing schemes, built at the edge of the city. Usually these housing schemes are designed for the middle to high income groups and only be accessible by public transport and private vehicles: either cars or motorcycles. Therefore, the share of public transport and private vehicles trips are growing at the cost of non-motorised trips in South Asian cities.

Table 1 shows the percentage of total trips made on different modes of transport in Indian and Pakistani cities. The data shows a large share of public transport trips in Indian cities as compared to trips made on private vehicles. On the other hand, the share private vehicles trips are higher in Pakistani cities as compared to public transport trips. One of reason behind the differences in Indian and Pakistani cities is the services

of rail based public transport in Mumbai, Kolkata and the recent opening and ongoing expansion of the Delhi metro. In contrast, Pakistani cities are served by bus or wagon (minibus)-based public transport which provides a very low level of service and comfort. In fact, Pakistani cities entered the 20th century with an urban tram system and suburban railway system. One hundred year later, either these systems were shut down or nearly to shut down. The expansion of Pakistani cities has increased the trip length for most urban residents which make walking and cycling less feasible than before, encouraging a continuously shift from non-motorized to motorized modes. In the presence of low level of public transport services, middle and higher income people lived in larger cities preferred private vehicles either motorcycle or car to travel. There is argument that public transport trips are declining or static with the popular demand or aspiration for private vehicles. An alternative view is that the lack of investment in public transport and ill considered replacement of trams and trains with diesel buses has accelerate the move away from public transport. The historical narratives presented by Imran (2006) support to this alternative view.

TABLE 1

Modal Split in South Asian Cities

Cities	Total Trips (in percentage)		
	Private Transport	Public Transport	Non-motorised Transport
Lahore*	24	16	60
Karachi**	27	23	50
Delhi***	18	40	42
Mumbai***	18	60	22
Kolkata***	5	78	17

Source: Lahore (TEPA and JICA, 1992); Karachi (Malik, 2004); Indian cities (World Bank, 2002)

Numerous factors have contributed to the upward trend of private vehicle use and the declining or static role of public transport in most cities. The most important factor is continuous investment on roads which left few or no funds for public transport provision in most cities of the developing world. For example, Howe (1996) has reported how the heavy investment in roads in Bangladesh has become threat to their social and natural environment. Badami (2005) mentioned that urban transport policy in India has been biased in favour of private transport modes. Imran and Low (2007) reported how scare resources in Pakistani cities are deployed in road development at the expense of public transport and non-motorised transport. They found that road investment policies are not result of any industrial development in Pakistan nor did the private vehicles come to Pakistani cities after WWII happened in developed world countries. But these policies mainly developed due to involvement of the international development institutions and their consultants which favoured roads instead of inherited railway which passed through most of the cities. He concluded that heavy investment on roads left no money for public transport in Pakistani cities.

Tiwari (2002) and Pucher *et al.* (2004) are in the favour of privatization of public transport services to generate funds to operate efficient bus services and to reduce

government subsidies Tiwari (2002) found that large scale privatisation of buses in New Delhi increased a capacity of public transport. Pucher *et al.* (2004) reported that the privately run services in Indian cities have higher productivity, lower costs, and higher revenues per bus km of service. They concluded that privatization does have potential to improve efficiency, but it must be accompanied by institutional capacity building which make ensure an integrated network of public transport services. This suggestion is very difficult to implement quickly because there is a long way to overcome institutional disco-ordination, lack of human, technical and financial capacity among transport organisations in the developing countries (Vasconcellos, 1997; Kah 2001). Even the countries in Europe and Australia, which have well-established institutions, the privatization and deregulation of the public transport has been a significant factor behind the decline in patronage and services (Cervero, 1998; Mees, 2005).

Beside financial factor, there are a number of other factors that have been suggested as having an influence on the level of success of public transport systems. These include, car ownership, traffic volume, parking policies, fuel cost, travel choices and capacity, urban density, urban sprawl, public transport network planning, public transport mode attractiveness and perception and governance (Cervero, 1998; Vuchic, 1999; Newman and Kenworthy, 2000: Mees, 2000; Cox, 2003; Whitelegg and Haq, 2003; Litman, 2004; Kennedy *et al.*, 2005). An investigation into how and to what extent these factors are contributing in the development and implementation of public transport planning and policies in Pakistani cities will be discuss in next section.

3 Public Transport Planning and Policy in Pakistani Cities – Historical Overview

This section will view the public transport planning and policies in Pakistan in a historical context. The discussion has separated the historical overview into three time frames; British India period (up to 1947), 1947-1990 and 1991 onward. Firstly such an analysis provides a picture of public transport development during British India. Then it is important to document public transport policies and development after independence from British India in 1947 because the period since then represents and symbolises the aspirations of the newly independent country. The discussion from 1991 onwards is particularly concerned to explore how public transport policy is accommodated within a sustainable development context. Overall, this section will disclose the history of public transport planning viewed through government transport planning and policy documents and published scholarly papers.

3.1 Public transport in British India

The history of public transport development in British India must start from the development of the Indian railway system. In 1853, the first passenger train started from Howrah to Hoogly (currently in India) (Indian Railway Fan Club (IRFC) website). The region that would later become Pakistan was connected by railway in 1861, by building the section between Karachi and Kotri (ibid). Up to 1865, the important cities of the now existing Pakistan were connected by the railway to the rest of the country (ibid). The railway network in Pakistan was extended to the Afghanistan border and up to Zahidan,

Iran, in 1878 and 1918 respectively (see Fig. 1). In total, British India had an extensive network of railways of 41,000 miles in 1944; of this total 8,070 miles was in the area of Pakistan (Vakil, 1944: 187).

In addition to the intercity railway development and operation, the British government introduced urban public transport services (Qadeer, 1983). The Karachi Tramways Act was passed in 1884 and the first steam tramway was opened for operation in 1885 along with the horse-drawn tram (ibid). Subsequently, these trams were converted to petrol engine trams in 1908. Despite this development, the tonga (horse-drawn carriages) were the only means of public transport in Pakistani cities until the late 19th century (Stalley, 1972).

These urban tramways and inter-city railways were supported by buses providing feeder services (Vakil, 1944). Like Karachi, the city of Lahore was connected with the railway network (see Fig. 2 and 3) and in 1904 the locomotive workshops were established there to fulfill the needs of the extensive railway network (ibid). Additionally, new and wider roads were constructed in Lahore (Goulding, 1924) and bus based public transport was initiated to connect the major civic and government buildings located on the Mall Road (Rudduck, 1965). During the 1920s, British elites built and settled in Model Town on the outskirts of Lahore (Glover, 1999). Model town was not only designed on the principles of Ebenezer Howard's garden city but was also managed by Howard's envisioned Model Town Co-operative Society (ibid). The Model Town Co-operative Society had not only developed their own municipal services but also initiated a bus based public transport service which connected the town to the rest of Lahore (Glover 1999; Russell and Anjum, 1997). Overall, these public transport facilities altered the face of transport system in Pakistani cities.

Irrespective of the debate about the positive or negative aspects of public transport on the economic and social system of British India, Thorner (1955) believed that independence in 1947 provided an opportunity for Pakistan and India to formulate new public transport policy which could be designed according to the newly independent countries' needs which were different from their colonial obligations.

3.2   Public transport in Pakistan - 1947 to 1991

In 1947, the railways constituted the most valuable capital asset of the country and were the single inter-city public transport mode (Hasan, 1998). At that time, Pakistan Railway (North Western Railway) carried the largest amount of passengers in Pakistan (Govt. of Pakistan, National Planning Board, 1957: 487). The First Five Year Plan (1955-60) acknowledged this fact and stated:

> The backbone of [West] Pakistan's transport system is a broad-gauge railway network. It is a system of main lines, one in each of five parallel river valleys, interlinked and stretching from the coast to Afghanistan and India's frontiers (Govt. of Pakistan, National Planning Board, (NPB) 1957: 485).

However, the plan proposed that 'in [West] Pakistan a powerful railway system and growing road transport system operate side by side and should complement each other' (ibid: 485). Accordingly, 70 per cent of the total land transport investment was made for Pakistan Railway (North Western Railway) as compared to 30 per cent for road transport during the plan period of 1955-60 (ibid: figure extracted from Table 7, 510). The Road Transport Board was set up to coordinate the rail and road networks with a inter-city passenger ratio of 75 and 25 per cent in the favour of railway (ibid: 506). It is important to note here that although resources were allocated in the favour of the railways, the plan proposed that the ratio of road to railway would increase to 25:75 as compared to 10:90 in 1947. Moreover this plan did not propose any extension of the railway network. On the other hand 1800 miles of new roads were planned to be constructed along with the improvement of 2000 miles of existing roads (ibid: 46).

In urban areas, motorised traffic was very limited until 1947 (Qadeer, 1983). For example, in the city of Lahore, homes, work places, bazaars (commercial areas) and community places were located in a mixed land use pattern within a short distance. Therefore, walking was the largest mode of transport followed by tonga (horse-drawn carriage) (ibid). In spite of this fact, Omni Bus was operated in the city of Lahore and Karachi, while tramway provided services in Karachi only (ibid). The Omni Bus (public transport) service has been a public monopoly from the beginning of its inception and expanded both in organization and resources over time. On the other hand, the tramway in Karachi was abolished in the early 1970s.

In 1951, the Motor Vehicle Act 1939 was amended and the Road Transport Board was established in Punjab. The main function of the 'Punjab Road Transport Board' was to provide efficient, adequate, economical and coordinated public transport services in the province. In 1957, the '(West) Pakistan Road Transport Board' was established according to the recommendation of the First Five Year Plan (1955-60). Accordingly, the 'Karachi Road Transport Corporation' (KRTC) was created in 1959 to be responsible to run bus based urban public transport in Karachi.

The Second Five Year Plan (1960-65) became the first planning document in Pakistan in which the roads sector was given priority over railways by being allocated more financial resources (Govt. of Pakistan, Planning Commission, (PC), 1960). The perception behind this act was stated in the plan as: 'Road transport is particularly suited to the conditions and requirements of Pakistan (p. 303) … the motor vehicle is more adaptable than the railways to varying degrees of traffic intensity and permits a greater degree of speed and efficiency in haulage over short distance (p.304) … there is close relationship between the volume of transport and the level of economic activity because each depends upon the other' (p. 277). Under these beliefs, the Second Five Year Plan (1960-65) had initiated a new era of road construction in Pakistan.

The large cities of Pakistan were also inclined towards the construction of new roads and implementing road based public transport. The Second Five Year Plan allocated considerable money to the '[West] Pakistan Road Transport Board' to introduce 500

new buses in its fleet for inter-city public transport (ibid: 305). For urban transport, money was allocated to the 'Karachi Road Transport Corporation' (KRTC) for building up a fleet of 1200 buses, procuring 700 vehicles in addition to the 500 obtained in the First Plan period (ibid: 306). The Second Plan took an initiative to encourage the private sector to come forward and run road based public transport. The reason behind this initiative was the rapid population growth which resulted in a corresponding growth in the demand for public transport. Originally, the public sector had a monopoly on public transport in Pakistani cities. After the encouragement of private sector policy, private wagons started their operations along assigned routes to fulfill the growing demand for public transport. Initially, their services were reliable, fast and comfortable, but they eventually became crowded and unsafe. Although many regulations existed and many promises were made over time, the situation has not yet been improved.

Moreover, the Second Five Year Plan (1960-65) supported the inclusion of the 'Karachi Circular Railway (KCR)' as the first (and last to date) rail based urban public transport project in Pakistan (Govt. of Pakistan, Planning Commission, 1960). The KCR was planned to serve the whole of Karachi including the periphery of the city. It was projected as a regular, cheap and efficient transport for the residents of Karachi (ibid: 287). Later, some sections of the KCR were built. This service was very successful in the first 15 years, however, it started to decline due to lack of investment in the infrastructure. In city of Lahore, the Master Plan for Greater Lahore proposed a mass transit system in the form of a 'circular railway' in 1965 to connect existing railway which passes through the city (Govt. of Punjab, 1973). However, the recommendations concerning the circular railway as a mass transit system did not catch the attention of decision makers.

In the early 1970s, public transport was deregulated; this allowed the private sector to compete with public-owned bus services (Govt. of Pakistan, Planning Commission, 1978). However, it was observed that public-owned bus services were given priority over private operators in the allocation of routes. In 1977, the 'Punjab Road Transport Corporation' (PRTC) and ''Punjab Urban Transport Corporation' (PUTC) were established in the province of Punjab (LDA and World Bank/IDA, 1980). The functions of the PRTC and PUTC were to provide an efficient, adequate, economical and properly coordinated system of road based inter-city and urban public transport services respectively. PUTC was also responsible to provide bus stands, develop amenities, purchase, manufacture, maintain and repair buses and other related services in urban areas. Later PUTC developed its own maintenance and body building workshops, central stores, offices and a central transport training institute. Although public-owned Omni Buses were merged into PUTC, it had always been short of buses due to a lack of investment by the government and international organisations. To fulfill this deficiency, PUTC and the Volvo International Development Corporation completed a study for the 'Model Urban Transport System' in Lahore (Volvo, 1980). The PUTC-Volvo Model Transportation System project comprised transport planning, organizational restructuring, capacity building and the provision of vehicles. This study identified different issues for an efficient bus based public transport network in Lahore. It recommended a continuation of the mixed public and private bus system. As a result of

this study, 350 Volvo buses were gifted by the Swedish Government to Lahore. These buses were added to the fleet of PUTC.

Although Omni Buses was merged with PUTC and the Volvo buses were introduced, the PUTC did not expanded its fleet as required to cope with the enlarged system of routes and growing demand in Lahore. Therefore, PUTC tried to attract private sector by starting a 'Leased Buses' scheme on specific routes run and managed by the private sector (LDA, 1997). However, all these efforts were not successful over time and gradually the PUTC bus services declined. Due to lack of investment, new buses were not purchased after 1989. Therefore, the public-owned bus system in Lahore managed by PUTC collapsed after being operational for a couple of years. Finally, the government disbanded the PUTC in 1998.

3.3   Public transport in Pakistan – 1991 onward

a) Public transport in the National Transport Policy, 1991

In 1991, a draft 'National Transport Policy' was published by the National Transport Research Centre (NTRC). This policy suggested the adoption of a bus based public transport system, as compared to a rail based mass transit system, as the preferred urban transport model in the metropolitan cities of Pakistan (Govt. of Pakistan, NTRC, 1991). This approach may have been adopted due the lack of finance available from the World Bank to implement a rail based mass transit system. However, at the same time, heavy and light rail based public transport was proposed in Lahore by the technical and financial assistance of JICA (TEPA and JICA, 1992).

The NTRC transport policy also proposed that government responsibility should be limited to low income groups by providing a sufficient number of subsidised public transport services (Govt. of Pakistan, NTRC, 1991). It was argued that the introduction of low quality public transport in urban areas would convey a negative image of government-owned transportation, ultimately discouraging the efforts towards promoting public transport. This policy also proposed that the government should encourage the private sector to provide efficient and high quality public transport services for the middle class of society. Several steps were proposed to encourage the involvement of the private sector including soft loans from the banks, reduction of custom duty, and tax incentives for the importation of vehicle spare parts.

b) Public transport in the Prime Minister's Public Transport Scheme, 1991

In 1991, 'The Prime Minister's Incentives Scheme to Revamp the Public Transport Scheme' was initiated by the Nawaz Sharf's government (Govt. of Pakistan, Ministry of Communication, 1991). This policy included incentive packages to import taxes, buses and mini-buses for an efficient public transport system. The incentive packages included duty free imports of taxi-cabs, buses and mini-buses, loan arrangements from the banks at 15 per cent annual interest rate and special registration numbers for new public

transport. This policy was implemented and the public transport fleet was up-graded.. However, the policy was changed after the Nawaz government lost office.

c) Public transport in the National Conservation Strategy (Agenda 21), 1992

The National Conservation Strategy (NCS) was the first comprehensive strategy to provide a framework for addressing the specific environmental concerns of Pakistan (Govt. of Pakistan, EUAD and IUCN, 1992). The Transport sectors received very little attention in the NCS. The strategy recognised the wider ecological consequences of transport use, and particular attention was paid to energy and air pollution problems. However, the emphasis was clearly on technical solutions to solve environmental problems associated with improving the energy efficiency of motor vehicles. Although the roles of public transport and non-motorised transport in reducing the impact on the environment were acknowledged, at the same time, fuel efficient cars were promoted by providing incentives in the form of tax and customs duty relief.

d) Public transport through community based Welfare Organization

In 1990s, two cities of Punjab province (Faisalabad and Lahore) made an innovative experiment to run public transport services by creating NGOs in collaboration with local private operators (Anjum, and Russell; 1997; LDA, 1997). Accordingly, the Faisalabad Urban Transport Society (FUTS) was created in 1994 followed by the Lahore Transport System (LTS) in 1997. The FUTS and LTS were registered with the provincial Social Welfare Department with funding arranged from private operators. These NGOs were regulated by the law of social companies and administrated by a governing body. The governing body typically comprised concerned government officers, community representatives, transporters and bus owners.

This model was developed on the basis of public-private-community participation to provide efficient public transport services in the city of Faisalabad and Lahore. These NGOs generated their funds through the private sector, renting existing infrastructure facilities and setting higher fares. The most interesting features of these NGOs were the setting of their own fares (without approval of the government) and enforcement. Initially this experiment (especially in the case of FUTS) was successful in providing efficient, reliable and decent public transport services by incorporating private and community sectors in the decision making process. However, lack of investment by the private and public sector in inducting new vehicles made this venture unsuccessful.

e) The People's Train and Awami (People's) Bus Train Projects

In 1996, under the Prime Minister's (Benazir Bhutto) Development Programme for big cities, a mass transit project was started in the city of Rawalpindi and Islamabad. This system was based on a rail-road mixed mode which contained an urban rail link between Rawalpindi and Islamabad connected with feeder coasters (small buses) in Islamabad. The main objective of this service was to reduce peak hour traffic

congestion, reduce air pollution and make use of existing railway infrastructure (Govt. of Pakistan, NTRC 1996: 3).

Initially, the train service was designed for 6000-8000 commuters per day. Therefore, only three train services at the frequency of 1.5 hour in morning peak and three train services at the frequency of 3 hour in afternoon peak was started. However, after three month of operation, these services were reduced to four train's services per day. Finally, this rail-road mass transit system was shut down due to heavy financial lost. The main reasons behind its failure is an inadequate service planning which includes absence of feeder buses in Rawalpindi, very low frequency, lack of information about timetabling, lack of amenities on railway stations and relatively higher fare without anytime saving (ibid: 8). Additionally, this train service caused traffic jams on the level crossing roads in Rawalpindi.

A similar kind of project Awami (People's) Bus Train was started in 1989 by the Benazir's first government in Karachi, Rawalpindi and Islamabad (Govt. of Pakistan, NTRC 1991). In this project, the National Transport Research Centre (NTRC) has designed and developed a Bus Train (prime mover plus three trailers) using old discarded buses to provide high capacity bus services on peak hour. The Awami Bus Train provided services on the main corridor having sufficient road width. Initially, this project was started in Karachi and after one year of operation, the Bus Train was shifted to Rawalpindi and Islamabad. The Bus Train has for the first time introduced an imaginary 'bus lane' on the extreme left of the road. It was estimated that Bus Train attracted a large number of commuter in Rawalpindi and Islamabad from 1991 to 1993. This service has utilized 45 per cent of its capacity and recovered 68 per cent of its cost from fare in two years of operation (Govt. of Pakistan, NTRC 1996: 19). However, this service was also shut down due to lack of interest from the government in providing public transport services.

f) Public transport in the National Integrated Transport Policy, 1998

In 1998, the Ministry of Communications gave the mandate to the Chartered Institute of Transport (now Chartered Institute of Logistic and Transport - CILT) for preparing a draft 'National Integrated Transport Policy' (CILT, 1998). This policy emphasized land use and transport integration in order to reduce the need to travel and to maximise the accessibility of public transport. However, the policy also suggested a 'zoning plan' for different land uses with reservation of land for future urban transport infrastructure. It is now widely accepted that land use planning based on separated zones will generate more travel and reduce the viability of public transport.

g) Public transport in the Transport Sector Development Initiative (TSDI), 1999

The Transport Sector Development Initiative (TSDI) was a joint effort between the Government of Pakistan, international development institutions (especially the World Bank) and the private sector to collectively develop a comprehensive transportation policy (TSDI, 2001). The TSDI policies were heavily framed by a perception that

privatisation and de-regulation of public transport would bring about more efficient and cost effective transport. In relation to privatisation, the document states, 'each mode should be developed according to the guidance of market forces … the private sector should be encouraged to play its part in public transport … a common platform of public and private sector should be established to discuss issues regarding different modes of transport … existing laws and tax duties should be modified in favour of privatisation' (ibid). It is noted that the emphasis on privatisation has been found in all transport documents prepared with the collaboration of international development institutions. Later, these policies and recommendations were reproduced by the NTRC transport policy in 2001.

h) Public transport in the National Transport Strategy, 1999

In 1999, the National Transport Strategy was developed by the Small and Medium Enterprise Development Authority (SMEDA), under the Federal Ministry of Industries and Production (Govt. of Pakistan, SMEDA, 1999). In the presence of different transport ministries, the SMEDA national transport strategy showed the Nawaz government's intention to attract private investment to the road transport sector. This strategy was approved quickly by the federal government in 1999. It should be noted here that all other transport documents were draft policy documents and not formally approved by the government.

Although the strategy is called the 'National Transport Strategy', it merely focused on the introduction of buses as the mode of urban public transport. Therefore, an institutional reform package for government organisations which enabled them to attract private investment in bus based urban public transport was proposed. Accordingly, a franchise system of bus operation was introduced to run bus based public transport. Therefore, favourable policies, tax incentives and regulations were formulated to attract the private sector to invest in the franchise system of public transport. Government also encouraged commercial institutions and banks to cooperate with private investors to help the franchise system succeed.

At the same time, a SMEDA type of a bus based public transport policy on a franchise basis was introduced by the provincial (Punjab) Transport Department with the help of the World Bank (Meakin, 1998), The goal was to phase out the aged public transport vehicles by introducing a regulated bus system owned and operated by the corporate private sector on the basis of route franchises (Govt. of Punjab, 1998). The main role of government was the regulation of services while operational aspects were left to the private sector. Under this new policy, the government provided a package of incentives to attract private investment. These incentives consisted of a subsidy on the interest of loans, exemption of customs duty on the import of CNG and diesel buses, and subsidised lease of the depots. In response to this policy, corporate private sectors introduced new buses on dedicated routes in various cities of Punjab. The policy was widely appreciated by public transport users due to the improved quality of public transport. Initially, this policy made a significant difference in the quality of public transport but started to decline due to lack of investment by the private sector. Over

time, it was realized that the lack of institutional capacity in the government meant that it was not able to play an effective role in attracting private investment and managing and solving conflicts of franchised bus operations. As a result, the public transport franchising operations in the cities of Rawalpindi and Islamabad were wound up in early 2000.

i) Public transport policies in 2000s

In 2000s, the federal 'Planning Commission' prepared a draft 'Transport Policy' through an in-house process (Govt. of Pakistan, Planning Commission, 2000). This document also presented a bus based public transport system as the transport solution for metropolitan cities in Pakistan. The policy was the first to propose reserving special bus lanes at grade or grade-separated road infrastructure. The policy encouraged revitalisation of the KCR as an urban rail line; the KCR, had been abandoned in the late 1990s. This policy also encouraged the private sector to operate public transport.

The Ten Year Perspective Development Plan and a Medium Term Development Framework (MTDF) were prepared by the Planning Commission to be implemented between 2001 and 2011. The MTDF stated that the 'development of an efficient public transport system primarily based on buses needs to be linked to mass transit systems, with light rail as an option,' (Govt. of Pakistan, Planning Commission, 2005: Urban Development and Housing, 8). However, no money has yet been allocated for the recommended public transport system.

The latest effort to formulate a National Transport Policy was initiated at the end of 2003, through technical assistance from the Asian Development Bank (ADB and Govt. of Pakistan, NTRC, 2003). Stage one of the assistance appeared in the form of a report, 'Assessment of Critical Current Transport Sector Needs,' prepared by international consultants, appointed by the ADB. However, this document was silent on the assessment and development of public transport in Pakistani cities. Stage two of the technical assistance, which will mainly contain sub-sector policy statements, has not yet been started.

In early 2000, the Integrated Master Plan (2001-2021) was prepared in Lahore to guide future development (LDA, 2004a). Like all previous Master Plans prepared for Lahore, this plan favoured the urban road network and ignored the potential of developing public transport. Accordingly, the first five year programme for transportation development in Lahore proposed to include 94.8 per cent of funding for road development, management and maintenance and only 5.2 per cent for a public transport terminal (LDA, 2004a: 21-7). Clearly the plan is a 'road development plan', not, as it is called a 'comprehensive transport plan.'

In 2005, the Government of the Punjab, Transport Department, commissioned MVA Asia Ltd (international consultants) to develop a network for a mass transit system (Govt. of Punjab, Transport Department, 2006). The study recommended a rail based four-line network called the Lahore Rapid Mass Transit System (LRMTS). This rail

system was proposed on the assumption that air-conditioned franchised buses introduced in the past became successful due to the rising income of the growing population. Therefore, people were willing to pay for a better service. However, no evidence was provided in support of this argument.

In 2005, the Government of Punjab prepared a 'Medium Term Development Framework' to be implemented in 2006 to 2009. Under this framework, urban development policy objectives encompassed the establishment of an 'Urban Commission' for preparing a comprehensive urban policy. It was proposed that a 'Provincial Urban Transport Policy' (PUTP) would be developed to guide the future 'Comprehensive Urban Transport Strategy' for Lahore. This strategy will be a part of the proposed Lahore 'City Development Strategy' which would be prepared with the technical and financial assistance of 'Cities Alliance'. The Alliance supported cities in preparing city development strategies that 'link the process by which local stakeholders define their vision for their city and its economic growth, environmental and poverty reduction objectives, with clear priorities for actions and investments' (Cities Alliance, 2006: 1). The strategy would be implemented by the proposed Punjab Large Cities Development Policy Loan (DPL), with technical and financial assistance from the World Bank (World Bank, 2006). The objective of the proposed DPL project complement city development strategy to promote economic growth in the major cities of Punjab. This growth would be achieved through metropolitan level strategic planning, integrated infrastructure investment programmes and efficient urban service delivery. The improvement of urban transport is one of the key areas in the project.

In summary of this historical review, it was shown that a number of policy documents were produced at the national, provincial and local level which addressed public transport directly or indirectly in Pakistan. These policy documents consistently affirmed the need for the development of public transport. Reasons why this development has not happened will be discussed in the next section.

4   Discussion – Why Did All Public Transport Policies in Pakistan Fail?

The review of public transport planning and policy in Pakistan has provided a fascinating example of the ways in which policy paradigms have developed historically, have been gradually changed, and then maintained over time. Despite the unquestionable benefits that public transport planning and policy can bring to Pakistan, there have been many shortcomings in the development and implementation of public transport policy. The primary purpose of this section is to discuss those concerns that were largely overlooked in the development of public transport policies in Pakistan.

4.1   Overstating the role of the private sector in public transport

From the beginning, there was an issue with investing, managing and operating public transport in Pakistani cities. Historically, the provincial governments in Pakistan have owned and operated inter-city and urban public transport services. However, over the years, the government, according to the guidelines of the World Bank, advocated to

encourage the private sector in operating public transport. The decline of state-owned public transport services created a vacuum which was filled by private operators in accordance with these guidelines. Initially, the market was open to private operators in parallel with public-owned public transport. However, the availability of public transport has not grown at the same rate as the population in Pakistani cities (Sohail *et al.*, 2006). Therefore, a large numbers of small private operators, operating Toyota 18-seater, Mazda 25-seater and Suzuki 12-seater buses were permitted to fulfil this gap in a fragmented way (LDA, 1997). Mees (2000) argued that an improvement of 'service quality' and the 'integration' of public transport were needed for making public transport successful. It has been observed that an average headway for small private public transport in Lahore was only 4 minutes while maximum and minimum headways observed were 8 and 1 minutes respectively (LDA, 1997). However, the improved headway has not provided the best 'service quality' which was also managed in a fragmented manner. As a result, a chaotic mass of individually owned small vehicles operated on urban areas, competing for road space. Over time, the public sector became regulators for the private operation of public transport.

Karachi Strategic Development 2020 proposed to revive and extend the Karachi Circular Railway, construction of the BRT and introduction of the LRT (CDGK, 2007). But all these plans were conditional on investment by the private sector. The Punjab government also initiated bus-franchising schemes which offered exclusive rights to private transport operators on selected routes. The public transport operators in turn guaranteed a minimum quality of services on a higher fare structure decided by mutual agreement. However, after operating for few years franchised services in many cities were closed down due to a lack of investment from the private sector and the inability of the public sector to resolve conflicts which arose from this initiative. Now individually owned small vehicle based public transport is back in the city of Rawalpindi.

In the early 1990s, a change occurred in relations between the private sector and the government. TSDI and SMEDA transport policies were developed to promote these stronger public-private relations. The government wanted more involvement by the private sector in the development and operation of public transport. The introduction of franchised public transport in different cities of Punjab province is an example of these relationships. Recently, the World Bank and ADB supported the development of the BRT system in Pakistani cities. These organisations always advocate the involvement (in term of policy making, investment and running public transport) by the private sector. It is important to note here that it has been the private sector which invested in and ran public transport services in Pakistan since the early 1960s. Even now, 20,000 privately-owned buses and minibuses provide public transport services to the people of Karachi (CDGK, 2007). On the other hand, public sector finance has been devoted to roads only. Over the last few decades, government has constructed 46 flyovers, 12 interchange and one underpass in Karachi (CDGK, 2007: Map 25). In contrast, government always looks to the private sector for investment in public transport. International development organisations have always supported and even provided finance for roads. But such support is absent for the development of adequate public transport.

4.2 Lack of capacity among public transport organisations

Kennedy *et al.*, (2005) in their article 'the four pillars of sustainable urban transportation' reviewed the factors contributing to best practice in urban transport. They concluded that adequate finance, infrastructure and urban planning are important for public transport planning but the critical requirement is effective 'governance'. Effective governance included appropriate organisations with the necessary powers, skills, finance and responsibilities for public transport planning. These characteristics of governance were not present in public transport organisations in Pakistan. These organisations have a long history of deficiency in professional, administrative and financial capacity to manage public transport service planning (Imran, 2006; Haider and Badami, 2007).

The federal government has never denied the importance of public transport in Pakistani cities. However, the government shifted the responsibility for public transport to provincial governments in early 1960s. On the other hand, the federal government shared the responsibility for road building with the provinces where the cost of the project was beyond the capacity of the provincial and local governments. As the provincial and local transport institutional capacity was obviously lacking in the Pakistani context, either the federal government provided finance for building roads, or the federal government built roads on their own account. In contrast, the federal government has neither provided finance for the operation of adequate public transport in urban areas, nor operated by themselves or improved the capacity of the provincial transport authorities. However, a federal government helped provincial governments transfer the operational responsibility for public transport to the private sector. In the absence of human resources, coordination, research and financial capacity of public transport institutions in Punjab, public transport has now become fully the prerogative of the private sector. The incomplete routes, high fares, fewer than needed buses, gender discrimination and even the absence of buses in some places are common in the urban areas of Pakistan.

Kah (2001) found through his study of privatisation of urban transport in Sub-Saharan Africa that privatization was ineffective if a strong governance structure was not put in place, He explained that the privatization of public transport became extremely chaotic in the absence of a properly coordinated and regulatory institutional mechanism, as in Senegal and Gambia. Therefore, he concluded that the government has a significant role to play in defining policy, developing a national level coordination and local level implementation, accessing adequate investment and building technical and professional capacity for public transport. This situation was not present in Pakistani cities, therefore, all policies for deregulation and privatisation failed over time. For example, Haider and Badami (2007) reported that recent franchised bus operations in the cities of Islamabad and Rawalpindi were eventually closed down by the private operators due to lack of capacity in the public sector to resolve conflicts. In fact, no one knows how long franchised bus services in Lahore lasted because the institutional capacity of the provincial Transport Department to support it was not strengthened. The government

and the World Bank have simply ignored this reality and have never tried to develop a capacity for the public transport organisations.

Despite the lack of capacity among public transport organisations, Pakistan has a long history of appropriate organisations with necessary skills and funding for road development. For example, the National Highway Authority (NHA) at federal level and the Communication and Works (C&W) department at provincial level are efficient, well-managed public organisations with dedicated funding and strong professional culture. However there is a lack of equally competent organisations in public transport planning. This deficiency is apparent in the poor service quality of public transport in Pakistani cities. In 1977, this problem was realised and a single authority, 'Punjab Urban Transport Corporation', was created to manage public transport in the province of Punjab parallel with the road organisations. The creation of a public transport corporation in Punjab contained the potential to break the path of road building dominance in transport policy. But it did not last long enough due to the unavailability of dedicated funds and a lack of interest from the government to improve its professional capacity. Therefore, it did not make an enduring impact.

Currently, overall responsibility for road development lies with the provincial C&W departments, while public transport coordinating, planning, and monitoring lies with the Department of Transport (DoT). On the other hand, land use planning responsibilities are with the local government (City District Governments). Beside this disintegration, transport (mainly public transport) and land use development are more market driven, as per the guidelines of the World Bank, than they were in the past. A long history of the investment of the private sector in public transport provision has already been shown as a saga of failed experiments. Even if the private sector is willing to invest more, there is a lack of professional and management capacity among counter public organisations to make public transport successful. Therefore, a fully capable public sector to mange public transport planning and integration of transport and land use planning does not exist at present. For that reason, it seems imperative that an effective 'governance' system run by a new dynamic public transport organisation at metropolitan level is important along with dedicated financial, professional and technical capacity for managing public transport.

4.3   Negligence in the development of high capacity public transport

The review of public transport policies showed how a new paradigm of road development emerged, despite the existence of an inherited railway network as an alternative for inter-city passenger transport. In contrast with inter-city transport, the policies for urban transport development were more complex in nature. The previous section demonstrated initial efforts on the establishment of both road based and rail based public transport networks in the major cities of Pakistan.

The development of rail and road based public transport in Pakistani cities highlighted the initial emphasis of the government in national development plans, although such projects were also pursued alongside major road construction initiatives. Traditional

transport planning approaches combined road projects with public transport projects. Cervero (1998), Vuchic (1999) and Newman and Kenworthy (2000) argued that investment in public transport would be combined with disinvestment in road development. Investment in both modes of transport would only make private transport successful. This is evident in the case of Pakistan where some sections of the 'Circular Railway' in Karachi were built, operated and then shut down. Similarly, no serious effort was made to implement the proposal of the Circular Railway in Lahore. Although, JICA took the initiative in the early 1990s to propose a LRT project in Lahore, this initiative was not implemented. On the other hand, a number of high speed grade separated road projects were implemented in all the cities of Pakistan.

The current public transport system in Pakistani cities consists of buses and wagons. The government authorities, in the light of World Bank guidelines, tried to improve bus systems rather than take the initiative in rail based public transport due to the flexibility and lower cost of bus transport However, Hass-Klau et al. (2003) believes that the high cost and inflexibility associated with a rail based mode of travel gives it a high profile as a symbol of political commitment and financial security for public transport. Initially, it was declared that railways should be a back-bone of public transport in Pakistan. But this policy did not last long enough due to the unavailability of finance for railway development. If the demand for public transport in Pakistan would be estimated, only rail based public transport would have the potential to carry large numbers of passengers with higher speeds and smooth rides. The most significant potential of rail over buses is its influence on urban land by enhancing development activity around rail lines and stations. Fortunately, all Pakistani cities have an infrastructure of railways inherited from British rule. Therefore, rail based public transport can play a catalytic role in the urban development and regeneration of Pakistani cities.

In short, Pakistani cities should not be persuaded that the growth of public transport can be managed primarily by improvements to the bus systems. Both the bus network and the rail systems are simultaneously required in Pakistan. However, the future success of public transport depends on the management of the different roles of each mode in an integrated system.

4.4   Failure to utilize high density, mixed land use patterns

Newman and Kenworthy (2000) is the leading advocate of the 'higher density' mixed land use development for the success of a public transport system. They presented a picture of a future sustainable city as high density land use, called 'urban villages' served by rail based public transport. Fortunately, the requirement of high density mixed land use is historically present in almost all cities of Pakistan. For example, 80 per cent of the population in Lahore resides within a seven km radius of the city and comprised an average density of 150 to 250 persons per hectare (LDA 2004b). Luckily, the rail track in Lahore passes through these areas. However, no serious effort has been made to use high density mixed land use and rail infrastructure for the development of rail based public transport. In contrast, a large amount of money has been invested to build

flyovers or underpasses to cross existing railway tracks in Lahore, Karachi, Faisalabad and Rawalpindi.

Urban Resource Centre (URC) (2001) found that the problems of public transport in Karachi were caused by its urban development policies. These policies were prepared to segregate different land use into a zone allocated for them served by a public transport system. Accordingly, lower and middle income people were settled into the cheap land available in the periphery of the city. On the other hand, neither jobs were located near to low income population nor was a public transport system developed. Similar policies were adopted in other cities of Pakistan.

The fundamental message of Mitchell and Rapkin (1954) was that a transport proposal should not be evaluated only on transport criteria, but also on land use, social and environmental grounds. It seems that these criteria have been overlooked in the provision and development of public transport. Otherwise, the land use pattern in Pakistani cities requires rail based public transport due to its potential to transport large numbers of people quickly, reliably, comfortably and safely in high density areas. Therefore, it is concluded that organisations in Pakistan need to develop public transport policies that take into consideration the high density mixed land use pattern of its cities.

In summary, all policies to provide adequate and reliable public transport in Pakistani cities have failed badly in the presence of continuous demand, high density mixed land use patterns and a long history of private sector involvement in the provision of public transport. Still passengers routinely hang out from doors and windows (see Figure 4) on unreliable, unsafe and inconvenient modes of public transport (Imran, 2006; Haider and Badami, 2007). The continuous decline in the quality of public transport means that it has now become the mode of transport for those who have no alternative such as car, rickshaw and motorcycle.

5   Conclusion and Future Research

The purpose of this paper was to provide a historical overview of public transport policy to identify factors responsible for the failure of the development of an efficient public transport system in Pakistan. Accordingly, overstating the role of the private sector, lack of capacity among public transport organisations, negligence in the development of high capacity public transport and failure to utilise existing land use patterns for the development of reliable and efficient public transport have been identified as major factors.

The essence of the historical review is that once a policy path for road based public transport and the involvement of private sector had been taken, subsequent policies and institutional arrangements supported the adopted policies and obstructed changes in policy. It has been found that public transport was operated by the public sector, semi-public sector (corporations), de-regulated private sectors (privatisation with fare regulation), a combination of public-private-community sector, and franchised private

sector organisations (privatization with fare deregulation). The review of public transport in Pakistan clearly showed that public transport planning became unsuccessful due to inadequacies in overall governance, unavailability of finance for public transport and lack of urban planning.

In Pakistan, transport planning has traditionally been divided between roads organisations and public transport organisations. The road organisations have a full hierarchy and capacity while the public transport organisations mainly existed at the provincial level. In the public transport area a sophisticated institutional culture is lacking due to low financial capacity, shortage of human resources, and a lack of professional and management skills necessary to facilitate the development of public transport. It has been found that public transport organisations rely only on the private sector for operation and investment. Therefore, a strong and unambiguous commitment for the development of public transport organisations at metropolitan level along with a capacity building programme is required for the development of public transport services. Overall, our discussion concludes the importance of governance, capacity building including investment, and urban planning to provide adequate, efficient and effective public transport in the country.

Does these characteristics are present in the local success story of public transport development in the Pakistani city of Wah Cantt. Wah Cantt, a small industrial and educational town with a population of over 150,000 inhabitants has become successful in the development of a high frequency, affordable, equitable and adequate public transport system for their residents. The authors believe that the only models suitable for Pakistani cities are ones that have been locally designed to solve the public transport problems of the majority of their people. Therefore, future research will explore Wah Cantt as a model for generating lessons for other cities in Pakistan.

Acknowledgement

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Appendix

Figure 1   **Railway Map of British India 1893**

Source: http://irfca.org/faq/faq-map-1893rly.html
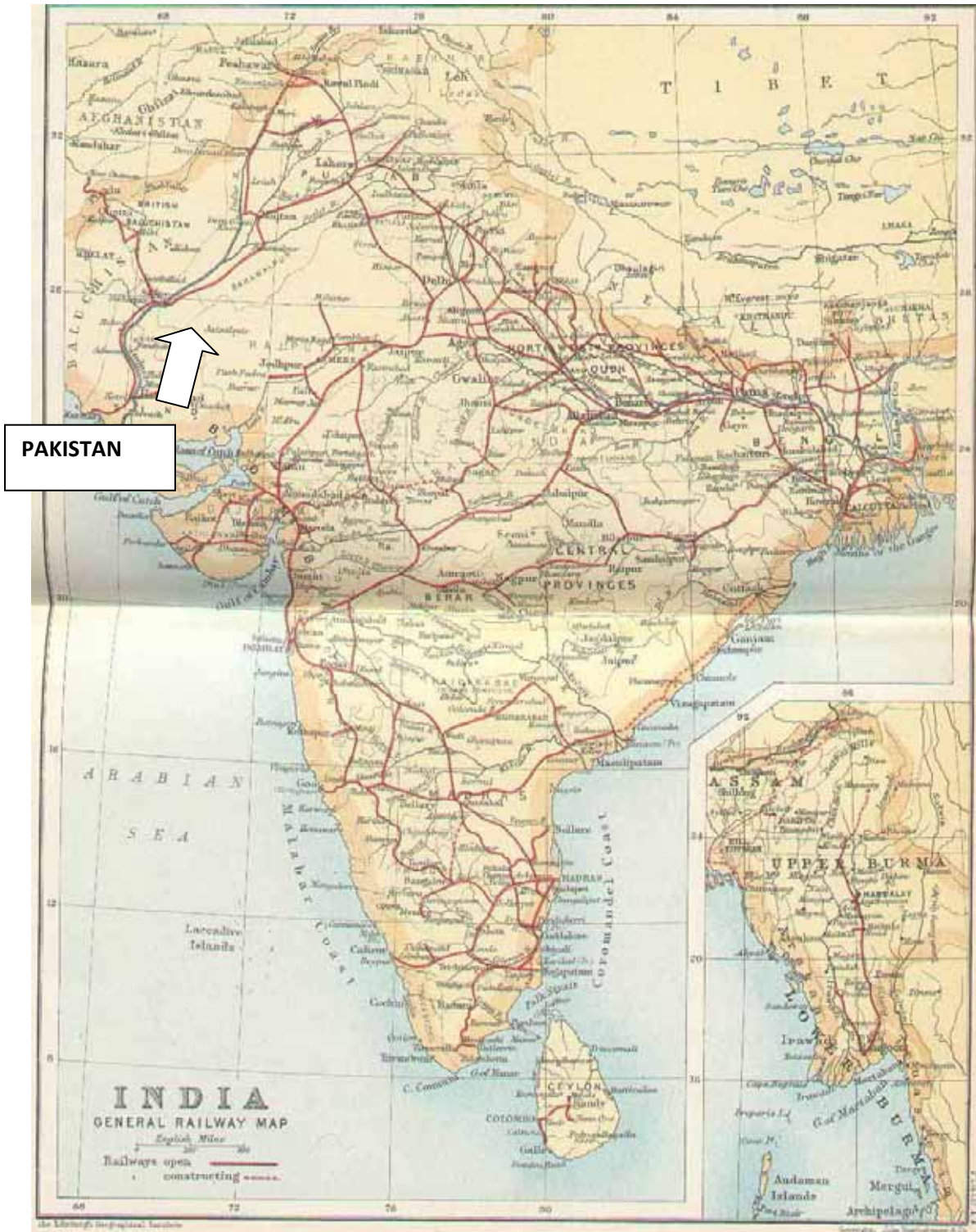
Figure 2   Railway Line Passing Through the City of Lahore

Source: LDA 2004b

Figure 3   Lahore Railway Station

Source: http://www.urbanpk.com/

Figure 4　　　Public Transport in Pakistani Cities

When public planning entities stop planning, who addresses the public interest? A review of the Flint River Corridor Alliance and its capacity to represent the public interest

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The success of the 1909 Plan of Chicago encouraged the planning profession across the U.S. to take an aggressive role in planning cities, controlling rapid growth, and addressing development in the built environment. Almost a century later, these once prosperous and growing post-industrial cities now grapple with decreasing populations and diminishing public resources.   Cities are greatly impacted by the loss of prominent industrial jobs. This economic restructuring translates into moribund housing markets and little growth within shrinking cities, particularly cities in the Midwest.

Consequently, changes in declining cities create smaller operating budgets, and many planning departments are left ill-equipped to deal with urban shrinkage; therefore losing their value to public officials and their authority to plan. Some cities planners retained their legitimacy by focusing on rebuilding and enhancing cities' assets, such as waterways and neighborhood institutions. Other cities such as Flint Michigan devolved of their planning departments and restructured community funding into other departments, speculating little use for city sponsored planning efforts. As a result, planners in these cities have become inactive, taking on the roles of zoning administrators or public facilities managers as they leave neighborhoods to fend for themselves. Due to limited public planning, the planning functions in struggling cities have transitioned from a purely public responsibility to the involvement of quasi-public and private institutions.

In an attempt to fill the void left by planning offices, cities' neighborhood hospitals, universities, and other non-profit organizations, have commissioned master plans and physical studies to address their investments and private interests. Many plans contain overlapping goals and objectives, are bounded around the same geographic locations, but remain uncoordinated. Therefore, are quasi-public and private entities appropriate in representing public interest; or are their organizational and private interests the overriding forces shaping aging, post-industrial cities? More specifically, with varying viewpoints and interests, can private coalitions and stakeholders serve the public with little city governance involvement? These groups contain the same concerns to address the public realm but are they the appropriate representatives in implementing and monitoring city-wide efforts?

In view of an absent planning department and uncoordinated development plans in distressed cities, this paper will focus on the city of Flint, Michigan, and review the planning efforts of the Flint River Corridor Alliance. Whereas many cities experiencing limited resources and substantial fiscal changes tend to have planning commissions or its local government lead reinvestment initiatives, Flint Michigan's Alliance is an

example of an organization composed of private, quasi-public and non-profit stakeholders involved in planning efforts with limited assistance from the city planning department. Serving as a coalition of varying invested interests around the redevelopment of the Flint River waterway, this paper will question if the Alliance is the appropriate agent to address the wider public interest. It will further question, in response to limited public-planning efforts, if there is a good concept of public interest which allows the Alliance to represent all appropriate groups? Even more, how does this concept or process materialize from theory into practice?

The first section of this paper will review the City of Flint's Corridor Alliance as a case study, and discuss its mission, structure, and challenges. The second section will provide a theoretical framework to define the phrase "the public interest" and its conceptions, through the review of predominate conceptions of the public interest process. The last section will question if the Alliance, under theorist's definitions and conceptions of public interest, can truly address the public's interest. If not, this section will devise a good conception of the public interest which allows the Alliance as a quasi-public organization to fairly and effectively serve the public's interest.

The Flint River Corridor Alliance

Flint, Michigan, as a quintessential declining, post-industrial city, has experienced significant population loss and economic stagnation after its major industry uprooted in 1970. By 1990, Flint Michigan was classified as a weak market city; a term attributed to the city because of its significant population losses which has resulted in economic and social decline. The displacement of critical industrial jobs by General Motors was a major impacting factor which has led to the cities' ebbed aftermath. Residents have left the city in search of employment, abandoning neighborhoods which have decreased the city's tax base and clientele to service commercial districts. Substantial budgetary problems in the city have been followed by financial and administrative constraints within the municipal government, forcing a reduction in city department's staff and services, or discontinuance of city departments altogether.

The Department of Community Development was one city department completely dismantled during economic changes in the city. As the city of Flint experienced financial woes, the city was placed under receivership to be administered and operated by the county government. When a new mayor was placed in the office, the mayor saw little value in the department and terminated it. A consultant replaced the planning staff, working on a case-by-case basis to complete mundane planning tasks for the city, such as application reviews and associated services. With no economic development office to fulfill or administer city development projects, local funding such as the Community Development Block Grants and HOME programs were re-integrated into the city's operating budget and other departments. This action left the city, which has a population of 125,000, without a planning staff. The city's last Master plan was completed in 1963 when the city population was more than half of its existing size (Mallach, 2003); therefore the city had little direction for its significantly smaller populations, high vacancies and under-utilized infrastructure.

Lacking capacity from city hall, the Genesee County Land Bank Authority (GCLBA), a quasi public organization became central to development in the city and its slow transformation. The GCLBA serves as one of the few organizations with the authority to address economic and community development in the City. GCLBA manages more than 700 tax foreclosed properties, which are homes and/or buildings left behind during Flint's massive population exodus. The organization's control of a large proportion of abandoned properties, gives the GCLBA authority and the ability to serve as a vital stakeholder in redevelopment initiatives in the city. With fewer jobs and properties mounting on the organizations' tax rolls, the GCLBA decided to target a particular area with a significant concentration of vacant tax-foreclosed properties. The Flint River Corridor was chosen, to create an impact and return properties back to viable uses. This area not only contained a significant amount of tax foreclosed properties owned by the organization, but also presented opportunities of gaining additional support and resources from other influential stakeholders and interest groups located within the corridor boundaries, thus furthering the GCLBA efforts.

Largely comprised of residential properties, the Flint River Corridor contained scattered institutional and industrial facilities, and property owners, which includes: Kettering University, the University of Michigan-Flint, GM/Delphi and Hurley Medical Center. These stakeholders joined together with GCLBA to combat issues along the Corridor and support wider efforts. The boundary of the site enlarges based on the groups' interests, but not according to any written bylaws or rules. For example, the University of Michigan Flint was interested in incorporating the Hamilton Dam, a central waterway, into the Corridor boundary therefore the Dam was included and the site expanded.

The coordination of interests around the Corridor led to an evolving group which developed the Flint River Corridor Strategy. With the assistance of an international planning and architecture firm, the Strategy incorporated existing plans developed by other institutions and neighborhoods groups: The Cultural Center Plan, the City's Uptown Plan, and The University of Michigan Flint Plan. Other neighborhood plans existed but were excluded from the final strategy because, as stated by a GCLBA planner, the plans were outdated, less professional and created by smaller neighborhood organizations. Collaboration around the Flint River Corridor Strategy, and the ability of the GCLBA to secure state and local funding to implement the Strategy, attracted more interests from city-wide organizations, businesses and institutions to join the initiative. Thus the Flint River Alliance was created to further the coordinating efforts.

The Alliance mission

Created on September of 2005, the Flint River Corridor Alliance (FRCA) was developed around the Flint River Corridor Strategy. The mission of the Alliance is to "use [d]…combined influence and resources --- to restore and develop the Flint River Corridor, transforming the Corridor from a distressed waterway to a natural resource which is an asset to the community and a national example of urban river restoration (FRCA Plan, 2006)." The purpose of the organization is to bring varying interests and

stakeholders around the preservation and improvement of the Flint River and its surrounding neighborhoods. The Alliance focuses on three priority areas: economic development and neighborhood revitalization, recreation and culture, and environmental quality and infrastructure. Community and institutional initiatives and projects proposed along the Corridor are facilitated and monitored by the Alliance. The Alliance also provides grantsmanship and public awareness to further activities which increases river access, provides environmental improvement and fosters economic development. Overall, the goal of the Alliance is all encompassing. The Alliance serves as an advocacy group of property owners and interested parties concerned with preserving and supporting community efforts. Such service exemplifies environmental, economic, and social opportunities and benefits for the improvement of the Flint River and its surrounding neighborhoods. The Alliance, as a coalition working in the city's stead, provides the momentum groups need to realize neighborhood oriented projects and planning studies.

The Alliance structure

During a 7-month process, the Alliance developed a mission statement, identified defining priorities, and began to determine a leadership structure to guide its efforts. This process included meetings with neighborhood groups, developing work plans, and the launching of its membership. Work plans were developed to further the implementation of existing plans developed by neighborhood groups and neighborhood institutions. The major plans include the Flint River District Strategy, initially developed by vested groups; the Flint River Trail, a regional trail system developed by a local conservation organization; and the improvements of the Riverbank Park and Hamilton Dam. Additional plans and development projects include: Carriage Town Neighborhood Plan, I-475 Neighborhood Plan, City Parks and Recreation Plan, Pending Façade grants, Genesee County Infrastructure plans, Mass Transportation Authority plans, Mott Block Project, Stone Street Project, and the Durant Hotel Project. Each existing plan brings a cadre of interest groups, neighborhood groups and local organizations under one umbrella to serve within a coalition structure.

The Alliance structure is composed of: Alliance membership, individuals who pay annual dues (ranging from $250 to $1,000) and met two to four times a year; Steering Committee, individuals who chose to meet monthly; volunteers, individuals who served as co-conveners and administrative support; and Priority Area Advisory Committee, a smaller groups of individuals which addressed priority areas. The groups with the higher membership dues and major land owners are acknowledged as having more influence and benefits, though the Alliance asserts the level of support will not impact decision-making and any contributing groups will have an equal vote on the Steering Committee.

The Priority Area Advisory Committee is composed of large corridor landholders, made up of institutions, local government and appropriate government agencies or organizations associated to the priority area. Tasks associated with this committee are broken down as such: economic development and neighborhood revitalization,

recreation and culture and environmental quality and infrastructure. Projects and work plans address the implementation of the Flint River District Strategy, and the redevelopment of the Flint River Trail, Riverbank Park, and Hamilton Dam.

The Alliance retains authority to endorse or support a project. Under the endorsement concept the Alliance has no legal rights, liability, or power as a group to say what will ultimately happen on a land, but provides funding and resource support for initiatives. For example, when the Alliance endorsed the GCLBA in acquiring GM property, the GCLBA had to take the responsibility of obtaining grants to pay for the property maintenance, and research legal and environmental assessment fees associated with the application. Another example of membership support was the ability of a congressional representative member of the Alliance to assist in the U.S. House of Representatives passing in Congress, the new Water Resource Development Act (WRDA). This act led to funding for the Hamilton Dam, and a request of $7 million for its repair, rehabilitation or replacement. Support efforts among members allow the Alliance to coordinate and provide intangible resources around particular issues.

Challenges within the Alliance

The Alliance is not unique when compared to other advocacy organizations working to improve cities.   Neither does its structure differ drastically from organizations operating in post-industrial cities left with years of disinvestment, vacant industrial structures and abandonment around major waterways and environmental sites. Flint, Michigan is synonymous to cities like Baltimore, Maryland; Buffalo, New York; and Cleveland, Ohio; which have all developed revitalization planning efforts to reverse or forestall rapid decline by focusing on their waterfront, a major city asset. The redevelopment of land around and in proximity to waterways provides opportunities for cities to reverse blight left by industrial sites and create much needed public spaces and conservation sites for residents left behind. The defining element which makes the Alliance different is that in most cities, this initiative of cleaning up brownfield sites --- characterized by vacant industrial structures and disinvestment--- and waterfront reclamation is generally city led or spearheaded by a governmental entity. The benefits of city and governmental sponsored initiatives place local re-investment projects in an advantageous position to receive direct city funding and support. Central city involvement also provides neutral leadership, affording a governmental agency the ability to oversee and monitor organizations and their diverse interests. For community groups where the city is not an instrumental player, the endeavor usually contains smaller boundaries or is more specific to a particular location. However, the Alliance endeavor is at a larger scale and focuses on a significant section of the city with numerous challenges, presenting a gamut of complications among differing groups and projects.

Therefore, the prevailing challenge for the Alliance is the detached role played by the City of Flint in the organization. City officials attend the Alliance meetings but provide little support or may represent other local organizations, leaving the city absent from involvement in the Alliance initiatives. The city's lack of involvement and support of the Alliances' endeavors presents challenges when the organization attempts to secure

funding or advance projects. Uncoordinated efforts are also common, as the city and the Alliance's different plans along the Corridor, for major roadways or neighborhood redevelopment, differ. Though the Alliance is able to avoid burdensome bureaucracy, the process would be more transparent with the city's presence; and the Alliance would not be forced to continually search for unbiased and neutral leadership among their current membership.

Another challenge is uniting numerous plans and stakeholders into one unified group, with central overarching, and accomplishable goals. As a coalition form of power, defined by Stoker as "actors not seeking to dominate but rather to bargain on the basis of their respective autonomous basis of strength (1995, pg. 62)", the Alliance represents interests groups, ranging from influential institutions such as the University of Michigan-Flint and Hurley Hospital to smaller neighborhood associations, made up of neighborhood residents. Within this coalition structure, there is an exchange of bargaining with others of similar goals and complementary resources; however this arrangement is relatively unstable due to continual changes of roles and leadership within the organization and its evolving structure. With little city support the Alliance must attempt to evaluate the implementation and development plans of numerous organizations, which separately contains a host of organizations, neighborhood groups and local groups, and even governmental organizations, combining them into a cohesive whole.

The benefits of the partnership within the Alliance is one defined by Briggs (2003, pg.5) as a marriage based on the need to "produce together" because the absence of other actors would mean products (investment projects) would not be produced or not nearly as well (sub par) without the existence of the partnership. Key stakeholders hold expectations; some have more credibility and capacity than others. The coalition structure consists of issues related to trust, risk, and rewards. In this structure, groups are able to bring "money, material, expertise, reputation, relationships (Briggs, 2003, pg. 6)" and other assets to the table to achieve a common goal. There is an exchange of ideas, divided responsibilities, collaboration, leveraging of resources, and more importantly, varying voices. However, this varying representation of groups leads to other challenges.   The Alliance acknowledges though all votes are counted among their different stakeholders, not all votes are equal. Some interests are given more power than others. Within the Alliance, organizations or individual members contributing $5,000 or more are given the ability to impact decision within the Advisory board, while others are only allowed to provide input during annual meetings or work groups (FRCA Steering Committee Meeting Minutes, 2007). The lack of equal representation among the groups leaves smaller grass-root and neighborhood associations, unable to funnel their input through the process.

Additionally, some members recognized that these affected groups were not present at the bargaining table. When outside grassroots organizations expressed an interest in joining the Advisory Committee, a GCLBA planner concluded, the Advisory Board did not serve as a link to the community therefore it was essential to provide additional community-related advisory committees. To address this request, Alliance members

suggested only those active on work groups should have first choice for invitees to the various committees. Therefore, the level of involvement by grass-root groups in the coalition's process is still not clear. If grass-root groups are excluded from the Alliance Advisory committee, then neighborhood residents typically represented by grass-root groups are left out the planning process. Based on the valued given to groups, it is important to question if within a coalition structure, grass-root organizations will effectively represent a portion of the public interest, or be limited by their lack of resources and less powerful stance.

With numerous and diverse groups representation, limited city presence, and unequal legitimacy among coalition members, is it possible that the Alliance has the capacity to represent the public interest?

"Public interest" defined

The term "interest" is given utility by Campbell and Marshall (2002) as pertaining to two meaning. First, Campbell and Marshall (2002, pg.169) premise the term "interest" as "a concern with or attention to something". With consideration to the public aspect, its meaning is associated with "having something at stake (Pitkin in Campbell and Marshall (2002, pg.169))". Campbell and Marshall (2002; 227) further assert that the "interest" is not individualistic, but addresses "everyone's wishes and desires." Meyerson and Banfield (1955, pg. 322) define public interest as a concept, which "serves the ends of the whole public rather than those of some sector of the public." Benditt (1975, pg.306) applies a collective conception to the public interest, by asserting "an act or policy is in the public interest not because it is in the interest of Smith, of Jones, or Brown, etc., but because it promotes an interest of the public, i.e., an interest of anyone who is a member of the public."

Douglas (1980) adds to this discussion by observing that the public interest refers to "benefits which apply, more or less equally, to all." These benefits are "indivisible and therefore shared (Douglas, 1980, pg.110)." Walter Lippman in Douglas (1980, pg. 114) provides a more democratic definition in stating the public interest is "what is really good for the whole people" and even more, "what is really good for the whole people as interpreted by the people." However he also disclaims that people would choose the public interest "if they saw clearly, thought rationally, acted disinterestedly and benevolently." This disclaimer is difficult to assume within a coalition structure, in which individuals are attached representatives of their respective organizations.

Public interest definitions are best demonstrated through theoretical conceptions of public interest, which presents a framework of how groups or individuals interact in a group like setting. This framework observes whether groups act based on self interest or for the "happiness of the community (Benditt, 1973, pg.294)." Public interest conceptions further indicate whether groups interact with a focus on an equal and fair process or to achieve a specific goal.

Conceptions and approaches to the public interest

Generally, the public interest conceptual approaches among planning theorists are based on two main factors: the first, how it relates to a democratic process or principle, and second, how it expresses the interests of people involved in the planning process (Howe, 1992, pg. 234). The democratic process focuses on outcome over procedure and vice versa. To determine what is in the public interest and if all relevant groups are being served, a group either concentrates on a defining outcome, or is process oriented. The expressed interest of people involved in the collaboration, refers to whether a subjective or objective perspective is taken. More specifically, it specifies whether the individual is capable of determining their interest or an authoritarian intermediary is needed to determine the 'true' interest of the public. The subjective view is expressed "if the individual is expected to be the only judge of what is in his or her interest (Howe, 1992, pg. 233)", while the objective argues "a person can be wrong about what he or she defines as his or her interest (Howe, 1992, pg. 233)." Campbell and Marshall (2002) assert the interest base of a group or process is another important element in conceptualizing public interest. The interest base identifies the varying roles of actors and how groups interact; whether as individualist, collective or group/stakeholders. These elements are understood in review of three common public interest approaches which include: utilitarianism, unitary, and dialogical.

The utilitarian concept is defined as an individualist, subjective and outcome oriented approach (Campbell and Marshal, 2002). The happiness and pleasure of the individual is the measure of value. This concept asserts that the individual knows what is in their interest. However, if within the group there are common ends (results), then value is not attached simply because there is a common interest among the group. Being outcome focused, this approach gives attention to the 'ends' the individual holds important or causes them the greatest utility. Furthermore, this concept attempts to make a connection between the private utility of the individual and the public interest by leaning towards an "individual's pursuit of private pleasure that is consonant with the collective good as represented by the general welfare (Campbell and Marshall, 2002, pg 175)." Therefore "the happiness of the community" is considered important and though gains and losses are based on individual's utilities, and it is assumes everyone's utility is given equal merit. "One man's gain is as good as another's and utility is indiscrimate for satisfactory of ends (Campbell and Marshall, 2002, pg 175)". Therefore, the acts and policies which represent the public interest are determined by "the greatest happiness of the greatest number (Benditt, 1973)" of those who constitute the public interest.

The second commonly discussed concept of public interest is unitary. This concept posits there is a single set of 'ends' which is equally relevant to all members of the public. It is collective but objective, asserting there is an "observer" or outside decision maker to serve as an expert, because people don't truly know what is good for them. The observer compensates for differences assuming individuals may have mistaken their interests. This concept, similar to the utilitarian concept, is focused on outcomes. The 'ends' leads to "collective values and principles which transcend private interest and their summation (Campbell and Marshall, 2002, pg. 177)." Therefore, individuals

may collectively understand their public interest but require a non-bias observer to equalize or interpret diverse interest among groups.

The last concept, the dialogical approach differs drastically from the unitary and utilitarian approach. This approach is procedural based and inter-subjective, involving groups or stakeholders coming together to achieve a consensus or agreement on an issue. This approach is more characteristic of the Alliance public interest structure. There is an "open dialogue encouraging the emergence of shared solutions" and "interests are always plural, attached and subjective (Campbell and Marshall, 2002, pg.170)." This conception posits that "only the individual can know what his or her interests are (Alexander, 2002; 233)." The approach is defined as "an interactive process among concerned stakeholders and affected parties (Alexander, 2002; 233)." There are "political conflicts, bargaining and compromise between particular sectoral and private interests (2002; 233)". Furthermore, there are procedural norms and rules in this process, at which there is a "participatory forms of democracy but in the context of institutional structures which seek to avoid agonistic clashes of self-interest (Campbell and Marshall, 2002, pg. 180)".

Conceptions of public interest and re-evaluating the Alliance's structure

Within the dialogical, inter-subjective concept of the public interest, it is unclear that the Alliance is able to truly serve the public interests. In review of the dialogical approach, there are numerous limitations and assumptions which produce non-pragmatic concepts in addressing the Alliance's challenges. The approach assumes value neutrality; and a shared and open dialogue among diverse stakeholders, in which norms and rules are continually being developed to support and address issues presented by coalition members.   Even more, there is no overarching superior dictating or monitoring the fairness of this collaboration to ensure all parties are given equal opportunity to impact the outcome.

However, a more pragmatic assessment of the organization provides an image in which Alliance groups represent "themselves as individuals (FRCA Steering Committee Meeting Minutes, 2007)" or their respective organizations.   All groups within the Alliance, affected by public policy, do not have the option to be political or engage in the bargaining process. Neighborhood and grass-root groups are excluded from the Alliance Advisory committee--- key decision makers in the process, creating an unequal balance of powers among the more powerful and influential stakeholders. Furthermore, the focus on process within the Alliance structure creates limitations in providing a good public interest concept. The Alliance represents Healy's (1997) collaborative planning process, in which members interact together "future seeking" and not yet "future defining". The organization functions on the basis of combining influences and resources to revitalize the Flint River area with little conception of a definitive end. The groups "...agree on what to do next, on how to start out and travel along for while (Healey in Howe, 1992, pg. 235)", but are not really sure of where the process will take them. There are no objective end results for the group efforts or the area under concern. Additionally, the focus on the process and not outcomes produces undefined or measureable "ends". This makes it difficult to determine if all groups'

utilities are given equal value or if lesser valued groups have the power to sway final outcomes.

A good concept of public interest for the Alliance

At present, the Alliance's concern for the future is delegating tasks and producing reports to progress its efforts, formalizing by-laws and rules, and identifying project leaders. However, the inadequate nature of the dialogical approach presents a paramount need to focus on the structure of the organization and devise a more inclusive public interest concept. Would a more unitary or utilitarian concept fill in the gaps left in the dialogical approach? The utilitarian and unitary concepts focus on individual self-interests, assuming competing ends are compromised for the common good, and that the compromise of individual interests is done in such a way as to "create the greatest total of end satisfaction (Benditt, 1973, pg. 8)." It further assumes that while groups are different, there is a collective or individual summation of a whole.

Maybe a good public interest concept should be a hybrid of all three concepts; the unitary, utilitarian and dialogical concepts? This conception would assume that value neutrality is impossible to achieve within a coalition setting (Klosterman, 1978), and give effort to address varying voices which infers more than the presence of groups but espouses the influence and legitimacy of less powerful groups impacting collective decisions. Even more, this hybrid conception acknowledges that "goods" held by unequal groups can be bargained away in attempting to satisfy the "whole" (Howe, 1992), therefore, there is a focus on defining the "ends" or outcome, instead of focusing on a fair process which may not be a determinate of inclusion and empowerment of grass root groups. An outcome focused structure ensures that less valued groups are given power which funnels through the process to sway end results. And lastly, within a group of competing interests, this concept of public interest considers an outside 'observer' to monitor the fairness of the outcome.

Addressing representation of groups' "voice"

To provide a fair concept of public interest among the Alliance, the issue of unequal voice and distribution of power based on resources must be addressed. Currently, the strategic plan states the level of support will not affect access to decision-making and any contributing group will have a vote on the steering committee. However, it also asserts that members paying higher dues and major property owners may come to expect more influence or benefits; inferring the Alliance is aware of inequalities in the decision-making process. The climate of the Alliance committees may be "votes are counted but resources divide (Rokkin in Stone 1993; 8)", and therefore those with more are given added leveraging power. What remains is the issue of whether significant contributors should be given equal share of power with smaller neighborhood organizations and their residents, since the latter group tends to contribute less but bears the brunt of any neighborhood redevelopment decisions.

The issue of voice provokes an important discussion concerning a good concept of public interest as some theorists are satisfied with the notion that marginalized groups

should be present 'at the table' and they equate these groups presence to an equal voice. However, in review of the Alliance propensity to cater to property owners and significant contributors, of which grass-root groups are not, is their presence 'at the table' a sufficient representation of the public interest? Even more, what does it mean to be present 'at the table' during the decision-making process? Does it mean marginalize or smaller groups are given an equal voice to express their opinion regardless of its contribution size, property ownership or constrained limited resources? Moreover, having a voice or presence alone may be futile in this group's ability to sway decisions or muster support behind their cause. Stone (1993) posits that in group settings, those with more resources have superior opportunities to rally support to their cause and those with few resources have a lesser voice translating into smaller opportunities to push particular projects. Stone states that these resources may not be material, but include "skills, ability to inspire, organizational capacity, technical expertise, or other intangible factors (Stone, 1993, pg. 11)" all creating a divide among groups.

The term voice in the discussion of public interest must be given more clarity, the voices of marginalized and underrepresented groups, as well as groups with less power who are positioned 'at the table', are not given the same value as more powerful ones. Even more, the less valued groups who have little power to negotiate during the decision-making process are the most important stakeholders, representing those most affected by the decisions, policies or end results. Institutions and business stakeholders are concerned with financial returns but residents are left to deal with direct, negative or positive social and economic impacts of the neighborhood. The Alliance's agenda, to serve the public interest, must not just bring grass-root groups to the table but give them value and influence to impact final decisions. To empower less powerful groups, a plural planning process should be given more attention by the Alliance. The Alliance must create a "means for accommodating their (grass-root or less powerful groups) interests"; and provide incentives for other influential groups to participate in a more collaborative environment. The Alliance must ensure that groups are not ignored due to lack of power or inability to produce updated, professional, and technical savvy documents. This process must be inclusive, where outcomes go beyond "permitting citizens to be heard (Davidoff, 1965; 212)", but allows otherwise powerless groups the opportunity to be involved in the development of *their* communities.

Focusing on outcome

The involvement and added weight of the less powerful in the final plan encourages coalition groups to be more focused on outcomes and not the overarching process. As mentioned, the Alliance represents a dialogical structure in which there is collaboration and negotiation among differing views with the focus on creating a fair process. However, how does one know if the process is fair when there is no realization of the final outcome which can be tested or measured based on desired and identifiable 'ends'? Relying on the process allows groups to negate from making a definitive stance on an outcome. All appropriate and affected parties are given formal rights and access to negotiations, but unable to effect public action. Moreover, minimal focus on outcomes creates few chances to test if the process was fair. Outcome focus concepts

provide focuses on rules developed in the initial stages and are assessed to ensure objectives are achieved in the final stages. The execution of actionable, all inclusive outcomes validates efforts of the collective group. Without outcomes, which is concluded on by the majority of the group, the group's value is significantly diminished.

Representation of the neutral "watchdog"

In the face of limited or infrequent city representation within the Alliance, there is a need for a value neutral intermediary which takes on the responsibility of making sure all appropriate groups are represented and contributes equally to decision outcomes. Groups with little capacity and resources must be given the opportunity to act as "communicatively competent (Dryzek, 1982)" individuals, involved in the negotiation process. Serving as a "watchdog," this detached and paid staff member primary role will be to serve the public interest, and assume ethnical obligations to the community, a position commonly held by planners. Since the Alliance is not a public agency, I believe this intermediary should be responsive and responsible to public values, ensuring all groups and individual interests are being addressed.

Equally important, the outside observer would retain the technical skills needed to assist less proficient and knowledgeable groups in presenting and articulating their cases. As a detached person, holding no personal interest or responsibility to any constituency or organization, the intermediary can take an unbiased position, ensuring all advocacy groups, are present during discussions and are given the necessary legitimacy and power. This represents the hybrid unitary, utilitarian, and dialogical concepts, which infer that individuals understand their own interests but there is an 'outside' observer ensuring a level of fairness and equality amongst differing interests. However, assumptions shouldn't be made that the 'watchdog' will serve as a completely detached and neutral party with no personal agenda in advising and guiding the coalition.

Conclusions

There are many reasons why the Alliance may be unsuccessful in accomplishing its feat, or representing a good concept of public interest. These reasons maybe the results of too many groups 'at the table' vying for support and legitimacy; or perhaps the goals for the Alliance are too broad, and the Flint River Corridor site focus is too large, thus large presenting numerous conflicting issues. In addition, the Alliance's limited options to supplement the cities' role to equalize varying self-interested organization within the coalition, may be a hindrance to the Alliance's success. Consequentially, the environment fostered within the Alliance group serves the members who financially impact the Advisory Board through higher dues and are thus incapable of representing the public's interest. This imbalance is a combination of a self-interested incredulous mentality amongst members, the absence of a planning department who can adequately represent public and non-profit organizations, and the aforementioned financial disparities amongst participating Alliance members.

Beyond coordinating efforts around a central goal within a coalition structure, a good public interest concept must empower the less powerful, open opportunities for new

interests, ways of thinking, and provide new voices. A good public interest concept incorporates equitable dealings amongst Alliance members, creates a transparent process which affords heavier weight on outcomes, and provides an external leadership entity held accountable to a higher public-minded governing body with the expressed intent of reaching an unbiased solution.

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Gregori Warchavchik, designer, builder, developer: São Paulo, 1939-1954

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Gregori Warchavchik's name is closely connected to the introduction of New Architecture in Brazil.[1] Born in 1896, in Odessa, during the former tzarist Empire, and being a member of a Jewish middle class family, his education was determined by Beaux-Art architectural references. He started studying architecture in 1912, at the *Odessa Art School*, a 19th century institution, which became in those years a sort of converging point for most of Ukranian avant-garde artistic youth. After having emmigrated to Italy, in 1918, he finished the architecture special course at the Roman *Fine Arts Institute* in 1920. After graduating, he worked in several Roman and Florentine offices, some of them very important in the academic world, such as Marcello Piacentini's and Vincenzo Fasolo's, and others related to the growing official and speculative housing commissions in post-war Italy. With such a cultural and professional background, he moved to Brazil in 1923, hired by the biggest building company at that period in Brazil, the *Santos Building Company*, which belonged to engineer Roberto Simonsen, the main disseminator of taylorism in the country. In 1925, he started getting involved with the avant-garde circle in São Paulo, soon becoming 'the' architect of Brazilian Modernism and one of the main figures in the national avant-garde scene. Thus, he wrote in 1925 the first manifesto dedicated to modern architecture, and got actively involved in every polemic event associated with the modern movement since then. He planned and built, between 1927 and 1932, both in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, the first 2 modernist houses in Brazil.[2] In 1929, during his visit to South America, Le Corbusier invited him to represent the continent at the *International Congresses of Modern Architecture*, and as such he would send to the third Congress, held in Brussels, an important paper dedicated to the development of modern architecture in the region.[3]
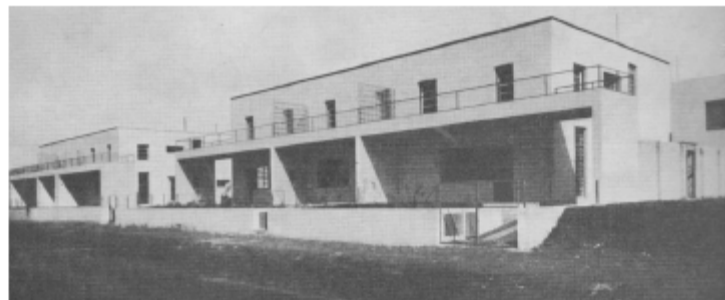
Gregori Warchavchik. 1. House in Pacaembu, São Paulo, 1929/1930. 2. Group of houses in Vila Mariana, São Paulo, 1928/1930. Built to be rented in areas owned by his wife, Mina Klabin, and her family. Source: School of Architecture and Urbanism, USP.

Although he had taken part in the main diffusion programmes of the modern movement in Brazil, playing a special role on the renewal of the architecture academic and artistic systems, from the mid-1930s onwards he practically disappeared from the professional scene, including the international one. In 1934, in a letter addressed to Siegfried Giedion regarding the CIAMs, Warchavchik would insist on the indication of other Brazilian architects as members of the *International Committee for the Resolution of Problems Concerning Contemporary Architecture* (*CIRPAC*). Obstacles regarding design practice, demanding from the architects in Brazil a closer approach to civil construction, seemed to have caused him some distress.[4] And while some European architects – such as Giedion, Karl Moser, Walter Gropius, Alberto Sartoris, Van Eesteren, Victor Bourgeois, Simon Syrkus, among others – would write him on the evolution of *CIAM*, asking for local engagement, Warchavchik would keep on complaining about problems concerning design practice and the lack of professional organisation in the country.[5]

One could possibly envisage in his attitude a sort of retreat regarding the international modern movement, precisely when it started to articulate a new regional strategy in Brazil through the group of young architects gathered in Rio de Janeiro after Le Corbusier's second visit to the country in 1936. It is true that in 1937 the names of Warchavchik and Lucio Costa still featured in the list of delegates from Brazil – what did not imply their physical presence – in the *5th International Congress of Modern Architecture*, in Paris. But with the interruption of the CIAM activities during the Second World War, the Brazilian group reorganized after 1945, under Oscar Niemeyer's leadership, would be entirely composed by professionals from Rio.[6]

The purpose of this article is to illuminate this period of relative isolation of the architect from the modern movement mainstream in Brazil, between 1939 and 1954, when the tremendous urban and real estate development in São Paulo has driven him away from the aesthetic avant-garde positions. My intention is to explore some wider changes in the means of production and consumption of architecture in São Paulo. His work activity is thus followed in order to show the gaps between design, technics and building developments and the rise of new clienteles and real estate interests. My idea is to grasp some aspects of the ongoing urban transformations through the modernization of the architectural and building culture.

I start with a brief account of the local architectural practice and building tendencies during the 1930s. The second section focuses on his project for the São Paulo City Hall in 1939 in order to understand his return to practice through a reflection upon the urban aesthetics of the public space. The third part relates his first experiences with private vertical structures in the city center and the moves towards traditional architecture as a response to the changing clientele in São Paulo. The fourth part explores the impact of these new agencies, characteristic of the local milieu, in the architect's moves among academic, organicist, and modernist references. If the project of the Automobile Club (1948) is indicative of the unstable economy of creation and taste, the high-rise apartment buildings analysed in the fifth section refers to some of the main changes going on in the urban landscape and the real estate processes in São Paulo by the end of the 1940s and beginning of the 50s. The final section focuses on

the role played by the architect entrepreneur in the popularization of modern architecture within the private planning activity and the completely formed real estate market in São Paulo by the mid-fifties.

1. Avant-garde short-circuits within the urban explosion

If we take into account his professional curriculum since 1933, Warchavchik seems to have isolated himself. Between 1934 and 1937 he did not sign a single project and until the end of that decade his projects would be actually rare and often irrelevant. His return to practice at the end of the 1930s was, on the one hand, increasingly connected to a private clientele reclaiming traditional styles – including the requests related to the administration of the enormous urban land stock belonging to his wife Mina Klabin and her family, an important industrial clan from São Paulo. And on the other hand, to public orders, in São Paulo also affected by the sumptuous architectural scheme of conservative modernization going on in Brazil.

In fact, even with the incorporation of technical and economic improvements in contemporary business related to building, engineering and urbanism, the truth is that nearly every architectural work produced in São Paulo until the beginning of the 1940s, including Warchavchik's ones, in many senses drew back from the aesthetic innovations proposed in his former works. The client's will, the fickleness of style, and the constructive timidity seemed to govern the field of practice and within the massive residential market continued to prevail picturesque styles such as Neo-colonial, Mission, Tudor, Normand, or Art Déco[7]. The latter, as a matter of fact, assumed as no other an essential role in verticalizing the city centre, as a way of conciliating traditional aesthetic values, ornamental economy and conventional construction with speculative intentions. As for the official buildings, rationalization was often interpreted in terms of classical vastness, resulting most of the time in a grandiloquent architecture. Inspired by a modernized neoclassicism, much fashionable during World War II, this "constitutionalist" inclination could also be appreciated through impressive private buildings of the new rising social forces in São Paulo, such as the headquarter of Matarazzo Industries (1935), planned by Severo and Villares, and advised by Marcelo Piancentini himself, Mussolini's first architect. Despite the fact that this group of buildings stood out against the eclectic landscape of the old coffee capital, only very few architectural examples would engage on the Modernist tendencies.

To some extent, all this is related to the fact that the architectural activity in São Paulo – then associated with that of the builder, both in small and big companies – had given little importance to design imagination. Usually directed by capitalists, engineers, and big corporations (in charge of the main official and private construction), as well as smaller companies (in which the association between architects and engineers became an imperative), the design activity could neither avoid representative purposes coming from the government and the elite, nor commercial requirements for reducing costs and intensifying profit.[8] Furthermore, all this was happening in a period of sudden expansion of the civil construction sector in the city – producing over a million square meters in 1937, and reaching by 1940 more than a million and a half square meters, that is 5.6 buildings per hour.[9] Warchavchik worked in that kind of context during the 1930s. It is

possible that through his own office, with a personally trained team and suppliers, he would have faced greater problems with his competitors if he would not compromise to such parameters.

2. A classical face for the City Hall (1939)

By contributing with breaking up the hegemony of big construction companies over the governmental orders, public competitions became important design laboratories. That was the case, in 1939, at the competition for the São Paulo city hall, established by urbanist Francisco Prestes Maia, then mayor of the state capital, designated by the dictatorial government of Getúlio Vargas in 1938. In 1930, inside the *Plan of Avenues* designed by Prestes Maia himself, the city hall still did not possess a proper building. In the urban plan, Maia proposed a new site for the building, at Bandeira square, developing the idea of a monumental ensemble, inspired by North-American neoclassic skyscraper, symmetrically disposed on the vertex of the Y street system driving the traffic from the centre towards South and West borders of the city.

Successive city administrations along the 1930s ignored any solution for the problem as well as every previous effort of urban planning. Nevertheless, when Prestes Maia became mayor in 1938, the competition was finally established. According to the edict published in February 1939, the building should be placed between the top of Carmo hill and Sé square. The plan should include the administration headquarters, with all government departments and their associated offices, as well as the office and auditorium for the Culture City Secretariat. In May 1939, plans and models of twelve preselected drafts were exhibited at the Municipal Theatre, while the decision on the competition was publicised.[10] Mayor Prestes Maia was very persuasive in his speech for the press:

> *'We received 12 projects, half of them coming from Rio and the other half from here (...) One can attest that this is the harshest test taken so far by our architects. Difficulties came mainly from the fact that the very interesting place is located in an irregular area, what discouraged many competitors, but also from the immensity of the building, estimated for an amount of 30,000 Contos,and the necessity of matching the general aspect with numerous points of view.'* [11]

The press cover as well as the public visiting to the exhibition was enormous.[12]
The jury[13] awarded the second prize to project named "Civic Square", designed by Gregori Warchavchik and Vilanova Artigas. For an acute analyst of the competition[14], the project represented a:

> 'great conception in every aspect: architectural, urbanistic, and utilitarian. But if we take a closer look at the architectural one, we notice a certain lack of height regarding the main body, what makes it look like a factory. But one could say that this lowering down is deliberate, in order to avoid, through volume, the obliteration of the courthouse at the right side of the building, allowing a bigger contrast in comparison to the hundred-meter *"campanille"* storing the municipal archive and upholding the classical clock of the *"hôtels de ville"*. (…) The project clearly predicts an amazing solution for the problem of the Sé Square. (…) It proposes its transformation through the suppression of a block (the one where Santa Helena building is located), turning it into a "civic square" of notable proportions.' [15]

The enthusiasm devoted to the project Warchavchik had developed with his partner João Batista Vilanova Artigas – a young architect-engineer who had recently graduated from the Polytechnic School of São Paulo – was certainly in accordance with the architects' lucidity facing the situation and the proposed programme, attentive to the inevitable urbanistic, representative, and functional implications of the theme, as well as to the monumental tendency regarding public architecture in São Paulo. Avoiding a conception of the building as an isolated block, their project proposed to combine both Sé and Clóvis Beviláquia squares, by demolishing the block in which Santa Helena building was placed, in order to create a single central empty space around which the new city hall, the courthouse and the cathedral would compose a sort of coherent frame, comprising underneath it a central bus station and a car park, letting all free space available for public use.
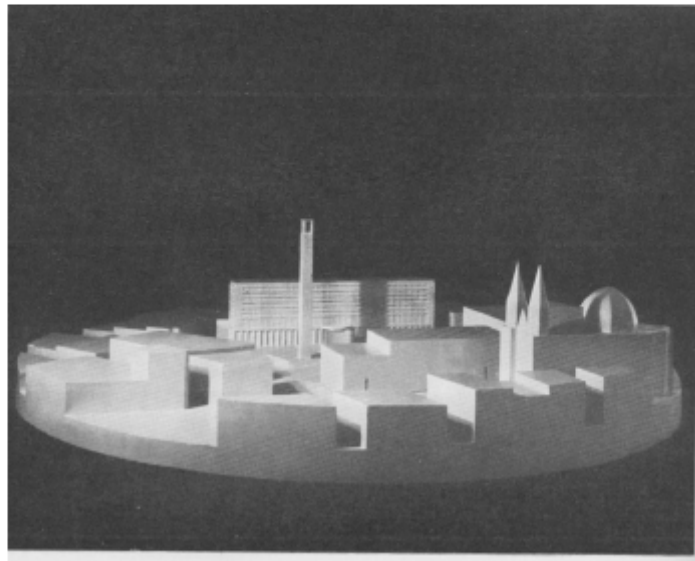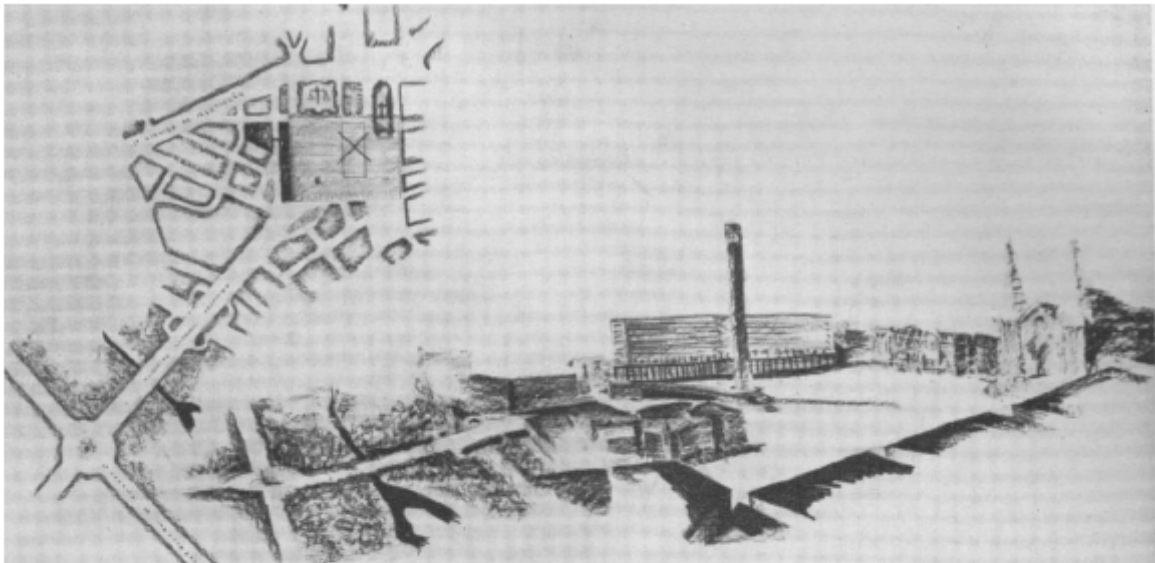
Gregori Warchavchik e Vilanova Artigas. Entry for the São Paulo City Hall Competition. 1939. 1. Urbanistic sketches. 2. East view of the main building and clock tower. 3. Urban model of the Sé Square, before the suppression the central block: the proposed city hall at the center with the remaining Courthouse and Sé Cathedral at the right. Source: Ferraz, 1965.

The preoccupations with modifying the organization of blocks, with the definition of accesses, the use of topography, the control over height patterns, and the multiplication of diagonal relations, evoked Camillo Sitte's lessons (1843-1903). His influence in Italian urbanism through Giovanonni and in Piacentini, who had been facing since 1927 the delicate question of ancient urban centres within regulating plans[16], might have reached their ex-pupil Warchavchik. While in Rome, Warchavchik had collaborated with Piacentini in his course on urban aesthetics. However, if Piacentinian classicism appears in the rational modinature and the traditional colonnade which connects the building with the public square, its settling in the townscape is designed through more complex symmetric relations, producing an entirely active urban group, capable of structuring the biparted volume in a more coherent and articulate manner. The lowering of the perpendicular block corresponding to the Culture Secretariat at the back, the tower of the municipal archive disposed out of the axe, and the occupation of the different levels of terrain for the distribution of functions, establish with the surroundings a relationship much less hierarchic than the classical one. In any case, if on the one hand the project seemed actually distant from the dominant eclectic tendency and the fascist modern classicism, on the other hand, it could not be identified with the alleged 'currently dominant school of projects from Rio'[17], equally represented in the contest.

The truth is that none of the drafts seemed to have convinced the jury. According to the official report none of them had solved entirely the problem proposed[18] and nothing was built. In 1946 the idea was renewed by the organization of another competition for a different setting. Warchavchik's plan was again very well evaluated by critics as clever as Geraldo Ferraz and Anhaia Mello, and yet the competition was once more abandoned. For that reason, Warchavchik would years later blame it on the city administration, refering to an unreasonable combination between the narrow conceptions of the official technical border, and the sense of monumentality required by the theme.[19] According to him, only a new competition 'receptive for the big world architecture of our time' could avoid provincialism and local meanness.[20]

3. Liberal practice and the new clientele (1939-1943)

The fact that Warchavchik took part in those public competitions undoubtedly helped him to recover his place in the local building market after half a decade of isolation. It also attests of a significant turning point in his career, both in aesthetic and economic terms. That can be perceived, for instance, through the construction of a middle-class single-family house made in 1938 for the company Melhoramentos Gopouva, owner of the areas bordering the recently released Rebouças Avenue, then in process of allotment. For those areas, that company would also sponsor other residential projects by local renowned architects, as part of its campaign for promoting the area.

Warchavchik's first works in height at the city centre are also from that period. From 1938, for instance, are some apartment building studies designed for some of his wife's own land in Campos Elísios. They represent, perhaps, one of his first steps towards an

approach to the skyscraper, in a period still marked by the dense European like block of rental properties, exploring the maximum height allowed by the city's building code, six-floor tall in that area.[21] Some of these schemes anticipate the Barão de Limeira Building, erected in 1939 at Barão de Limeira street. It is true that the first drawings for this series convey an attempt for breaking the limits of the individual lot scale towards pattern solutions at the urban façades. The plans certainly reveal some evolution from the single-family house to the kitchnet and one-room apartments. But the lack of consideration over the block level would keep him, even in the final solution, from breaking with the uncomfortable separation between front and back apartments, as well as with the inconvenient ventilation trenches and circulation structures commonly used in the traditional two-floor houses.
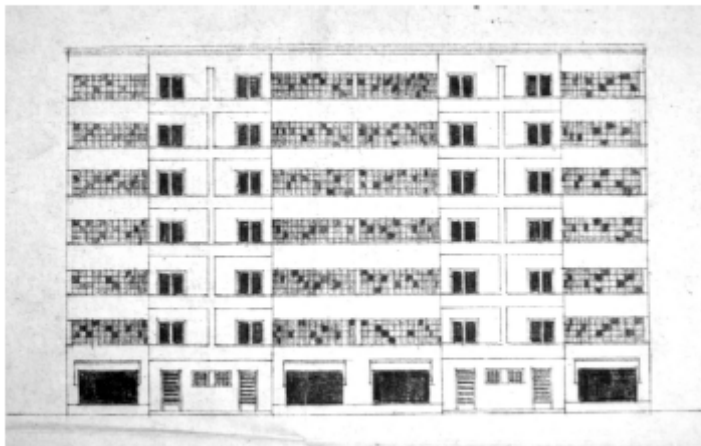
Gregori Warchavchik. 1. Studies for apartment buildings in Campos Eliseos, São Paulo, 1938. 2. Barão de Limeira Building, São Paulo, 1939. Source: School of Architecture and Urbanism at the University of São Paulo, FAU-USP.

Perhaps the options were limited by the very conditions of his small liberal office, which had just started to work with larger scale agencies in a moment when real estate business was monopolized by big building companies and co-financed building strategies had not yet been popularized in the city. It is possible, though, that the final plan for the Barão de Limeira's building corresponded to a first step towards a greater investment in that area. Anyway, it attests the architect's maturity in face of new typological and urban requirements and the variety of architectural references available. The basic plan followed contemporary parameters of economic construction[22]. It divides the floor in two apartments and recedes the kitchnets to the back, at one side of the lateral borders of the area, ensuring thus good conditions of light, air, and a reduced confinement feeling in the laundry area, due to the suppression of the maid's room.

The vertical structure in the historical city centre also introduced relevant formal and functional innovations. Visual exploration of the reinforced concrete at the white and salient window sills, skewing in a tortuous way, as well as the Le Corbusier's *fenêtre en*

longueur, shaded by projecting roll-up wooden blinds and terraces with awnings, denotes a certain attention to the architecture and engineering contemporarily produced in Rio. It also seems to echo the advanced construction in the city, with the use of reinforced concrete allowing the development of free plans and façades. This was one of the most published Warchavchik's projects, and it was eventually awarded as the best apartment building constructed in São Paulo in 1939-1940, at the first competition of façades organized by mayor Prestes Maia in order to stimulate builders, architects, and engineers to 'fight against architectural mediocrity and anarchy, which have contributed to make our city uglier.' [23]

The innovations achieved at the Barão de Limeira building were certainly connected to the fact that it was made for his wife. But the fact is that most of his works at that period, including a significant part of the Klabin's orders, tended to move away from the previous experimentalism, usually financed by aristocratic patronage or avant-garde artists. A research for a kind of monumentality can be clearly found at the plan for the Santos Municipal Stadium (1942) and the modernized façade of Leoncio Perez's office building, built in the same town in 1943. Despite the fact that they did not contribute to the development of the programmes or constructive systems adopted, one can there perceive his effort in harmonizing historicist tradition in a scenographic image of American-style modernity, with its colonnades and monumental balconies, large edges, mannerist windows, and perfectly ordered plan. His hesitation between classic and picturesque models had certainly guaranteed him some commercial prestige, and eventually some design achievements. But there is no doubt that his range of authority became much more narrow within the new technical and social division of labor.

In fact, Warchavchik's return to traditional architecture, between the end of 1930s and the beginning of 1940s, along with more consistent works he would create until the end of his life in 1972, do not convey a nostalgic attitude or a simple swap of form and style. Instead it seems to reveal the changes in the habits of producing and consuming architecture in São Paulo. At least as regarding the gaps between the new property interests and stylistic demands of the ascending clientele, to which the architect would eventually respond either complacently or in an absent-minded way.

Clients had been changing along the years, with the stronger presence of a first generation of immigrant descendents born in Brazil. They got involved in multiple activities, mainly urban, but also rural, and were highly mobile.[24] This new urban elite also marked its presence in society through a sort of architectural ascending ritual. With the big crisis in the coffee export economy, aristocratic orders, at least in Warchavchik's office, became scarcer and scarcer. As Klabin's property strategies went on, a vast market was developed in connection with the new elite, consisting of industrials, businessmen, bankers, property investors and liberal professionals. Most of his clients were of Italian, Spanish, German, Lebanese, Sirian, North-American and Jewish ascendance: Crespi, Matarazzo, Burchard, Dannermann, Jafet, Maluf, Assad, Salim, Greber, Nielsen, Herz, Vallejos, Lenci, Perez, Zuppo, Lafer, Cherkassky, Bartchevsky, Bloch, Regensteiner, Abramsom. With the new clientele, and the expansion of new

means of construction, patterns of financing and real estate agents and budgets, the architect's role in the field of production had completely changed.

4. São Paulo and the Brazilian Modern Architecture (1943-1948)

These changes were particularly visible in São Paulo. They clearly differed, for instance, from what was going on in Rio de Janeiro since mid-thirties. The contrast was evident at the design exhibition organized by the *1st Brazilian Congress of Architects*, held in São Paulo in 1945.[25] In comparison to the innovative and daring architecture coming from Rio, the one produced in São Paulo seemed, for the visiting public, old fashioned. Even the city mayor, Prestes Maia – who by no means was an enthusiast of the modern movement, but on the contrary sponsored a certain return to classic style in public building – recognized the inferiority of contemporary architecture in São Paulo.[26]

Differently from Rio, the teaching of architecture in São Paulo derived from a Polytechnic tradition. The building market was growing much more explosively at that time while public agencies would keep on avoiding modern architecture until the 1950s.[27] It seemed to happen there something similar to what had occurred in the US during the major period of industrialization: the social mobility of the new urban elite, proud of its wealthy and unsure of its future, although deeply engaged in the changing processes of modernization, led many generations of the most talented artists to a state of isolation. Frank Lloyd Wright's loss of vitality after the first World War[28] could possibly be compared to Warchavchik's break with the avant-garde research by the end of the 1930s. It seemed as though the radical changes taking place in the world of symbolic exchanges in São Paulo had led many avant-garde artists to lose the track of the time and retreat from their own achievements in previous years in search of permanent values. This phenomenon was certainly not limited to São Paulo, but in Rio, at least in architecture, modern art concepts were acting on a much more experimental basis.

Everywhere, experiences developed by the relatively large group of architects graduated and/or working in Rio became emblematic of this new period open to modernity in Brazil. The results had been shown at the MoMA Exhibition called 'Brazil Builds' in 1943[29], as well as in most of the architectural periodicals all over the world [30]. Since the end of World War II, many professionals educated in Rio moved South and North of the country, eager to put in practice the new acquired principles. São Paulo was not an exception in that process: around the end of the war, experienced professionals graduated in Rio, as Eduardo Corona, Abelardo de Souza and Hélio Duarte, established in the city and played an important role at the local School of Architecture and Urbanism of the University of São Paulo, created in 1948 from architecture department of the Polytechnic School.

In São Paulo, the new architectural generation looked at the Cariocan School with fascination, commonly seen as a healthy expression of national modernization.[31] The work in Rio became the mirror in which paulistan architects started to recognize themselves as taking part in the contemporary production and escape from the academic styles.[32] In São Paulo, the break with experimentalism found its epitome in the

inflexion taken recently by Warchavchik's work. There is no doubt that his works from the 1940s, specially the single-family houses for the well-to-do, lost strength and in many occasions conformed to the extravagances of clients ascending and falling in the socio-economic strata.

Some of Warchavchik's projects of the period testify, though, a reconnection with the modern production, both in the country and abroad. Either in the sea-side houses planned in Guarujá for wealthy paulistan and neo-Brazilian clients, or in the apartment buildings that began to multiply with the expansion of the property market in São Paulo, or else in the elite clubs planned in the city, one can notice the increasing interest of the local clientele for modern architecture. The architect's hesitation between organicism and the so called Brazilian style is a good hint on the changes to come in the local architectural field.

Gregori Warchavchik. 1.Raul Crespi Beach House, Guarujá, SP, 1943. 2.Atlético Paulistano Club, São Paulo, 1948. Source: FAUUSP

A work is particularly relevant concerning his connexion with Rio: the plan for the São Paulo Automobile Club, from 1948. It is one of Warchavchik's first projects for the most central area of the city, heavily occupied and in quick process of vertical growth. It is also the first of a series of plans for clubs that he would design and build in the city, specially in residential neighbourhoods, and the only one of strongly urban nature. Placed at the extreme South of Basílio da Gama street, the building was located in an area submitted to a violent reurbanizing process, causing huge destruction and altering the height pattern of the surroundings.[33] Warchavchik's planning conception is clearly based both in the new allocations and urban tracing and outline for the area.

The eight-storey structure would be built in a way that guaranteed the access to the public space. Studies reveal, however, the uncertainty concerning aesthetic parameters as well as commercial injunctions. The existence of two alternative versions of the plan, equally developed and incompatible in style, retraces the weight of traditional taste and of official paulistan architecture. On one version, we see the typical neo-classic skyscraper, with its solid base and a main body elongated by the vertical disposition of windows and columns and the figurative crown. On the other version, we find a highly disciplined modern project, in impressive harmony with the local appropriation of corbusierian procedures of free-plan, free-facade, *brise-soleil*, running-windows and roof-garden, present in recent constructions in Rio.

Gregori Warchavchik. Automobile Club, São Paulo, 1948. 1. Site plan. 2. Modernist version. 3. Classic one. Source: FAU-USP

It is true that from the functional and structural point of view both projects are sorted out in similar manners, but the hesitation between Prestes Maia's and Oscar Niemeyer's styles conveys the way Warchavchik placed himself at that point of his career. On the one hand, he would approach the celebrated architecture from Rio, ingeniously assembling some of the modern architectural canons. On the other hand, he would adopt either a Corbusierian approach or a Piacentinian one, with as much serenity as detachment.

5. Skyscrapers and property values (1948-1954)

It does not seem strange that during those years, Warchavchik's work once again called editors's and architects's attention, becoming, along with Rino Levi, Bernard Rudofsky and Lina Bo Bardi, one of the few architects from São Paulo appearing in international magazines interested in modern Brazilian architecture.[34] But if the proximity with architects from Rio seemed to have provided him with some editorial prestige, the fact is that his insertion in the professional field was now mostly mediated by the market. This condition somehow kept him distant from the architecture independent courses recently created in the city, as well as from the representational institutions and the cultural and political engagement of local professionals against formalism (increasingly associated with the Cariocan School along the 1950s) and commercialism.

While the local avant-garde tended to align itself with the new social, economic and technical agenda lead by modern public policies in São Paulo, Warchavchik's architecture seemed to get closer to the empiricist approach of the US New Architecture in favour of human scale and daily life patterns. If he would never abandon a clearly conservative clientele, the contact with modern North-American production was responsible for a whole series of strongly organicist projects. Particularly visible in the beach houses, but also in the paulistan elite neighbourhoods, in the modern dwellings derived from Prairie schemes, his design attitude seemed more suitable to the frivolous life style of a consolidating bourgeoisie (at the same time, more urban, more

Americanized, and more casual) and to the conditions of a modern and diverse civil construction and property market in São Paulo.

As a matter of fact, this attitude was openly assumed by a whole group of younger professionals acting in the city. Most of them graduated from *Mackenzie Engineering School*, at the end of the 1930s, where the reference to North-American architecture flourished after the Second World War as a mean of compensating the gaps between modern compromise and market opportunities. Richard Neutra, at that time, published two articles about Warchavchik's recent work in *Progressive Architecture* (released in May and October 1946). It is also symptomatic that in 1948, right after the Austrian architect's first visited Brazil, his book *Architecture of social concern in countries of mild climate* was published in the country with a foreword written by Gregori Warchavchik himself.[35]

As the architectural progress in Rio became more and more obvious, particularities in São Paulo architecture increased. For the art critic Lourival Gomes Machado, professor at the *Department of Philosophy* at the *University of São Paulo*, since 1938, and since 1952 at the *School of Architecture*, there was a main contrast between the emerging group from São Paulo and the established one from Rio: an authentic look was being created in São Paulo, very different from the polemics led by the first modernists. One should notice the silent and essential role played by experienced foreign professionals acting in the city, as well as the growing exchange with modern North-American production.[36]

In fact, even though US references were well spread amongst paulistans since the end of World War II, European professionals with a modern background and relatively trained in their own countries had been arriving in the city since the end of the 1930s. That was the case of the Tcheck Bernard Rudofsky, the Italian Danielle Calabi, the Polish Lucyan Korngold or the Hungarian Zoltan Dudus. Fleeing from the war, many others would be later seduced by new Brazilian architecture: Italians like Lina Bo Bardi and Giancarlo Palanti, German Franz Heep, and Hungarians Francisco Beck and Eugênio Szilágyi. Despite the fact that the majority of these professionals got involved in specific professional or cultural networks, their activities contributed to the reopening of the paulistan architectural scene for the contemporary debates within the field.

Aerial views of the expanded central area of São Paulo. in 1941 and 1952. The larger green area in both photographs are República's Square, whose upper right corner leads diagonally through São Luiz Boulevard. Source: Lefèvre, 2006.

Since the 1940s, the city's vertical growth, with the correlated real estate's value strategies, produced a clear change in the local apartment building design patterns in the state capital, many of them planned by foreigners. With World War II, the emergency of new financial circuits regarding space production motivated the development of the real estate activity due to the investment of gains obtained in industry, trade and agricultural export sectors. Between the 1940s and the 1950s, the population in São Paulo grew from 1.3 million to 2.7 million people. In spite of the expansion towards suburban and peripheral areas, the compression of the city centre became conspicuous.[37] During that period, significant credit sources appeared, as in most bigger cities around the country, from capitalization companies, savings banks, and insuring enterprises.[38]

From the point of view of social housing, the stability of rental fees, guaranteed by the 1942 Law of Tenancy, reduced capital inversion in the construction sector and amplified even more the housing crisis within the city. From the point of view of property market, it represented an important stimulus for speculating with property values, through verticalization of the city centre and its close surroundings, and the production of bigger apartments for middle and upper classes and rental ones for the popular market.[39] If the high cost of land contributed to the urbanizing process of peripheral areas through informal construction and irregularity, it also intensified the use of urban land all over the place. In that process, the character of the skyscrapers also changed, expanding to the residential market, as the height of constructions followed the consolidation of elevator industries in the country and the new urban regulations.[40]

At that moment, neighbourhoods as Higienópolis and Consolação suffered the radical transformation of their traditional silhouettes. The small palaces and bungalows were mostly turned into denser and more vertical skylines. Nevertheless the character of occupation by a wealthier population was preserved. The zoning of the city after 1947 operated as a discriminatory method, which proved to be a crucial element in the protection of property values of the noble neighbourhoods located in the western part of the city. By acting basically with two different devices, the use and volume of construction, the laws adopted in those neighbourhoods kept the same strategy used in São Paulo since the beginning of the century, which guaranteed height limits proportionally to the width of the street.[41] It was around that time that real estate incorporation, the merging among property holders, building companies and commercial agents, led by financial capital, became common in the city.[42]

In 1948, Warchavchik planned for industrial Roberto Simonsen a ten-storey apartment building for wealthy people at the corner of Aureliano Coutinho and Marquês de Itu streets, in Higienópolis. Conceived in a moment of great changes in that neighbourhood, this project connects with the inversion in the dominant process of vertical growth. Despite the fact that it was not actually built, the drawings reveal a close link with the model adopted later in that neighbourhood, due to laws favouring an elite settling: a couple of blocks strictly residential, isolated in the terrain, set upon the exposed columns of a recessed ground floor, connected to public space through generous gardens, squares, ramps and concrete canopies. The Moreira Salles

apartment building is another attempt to face the problem of residential vertical structures in busy areas of the expanded city centre. Built in 1951, at São Luiz Avenue, in a moment when this noble boulevard, isolated and quiet, was becoming a busy road, it takes was integrated in one of the most exuberant vertical silhouettes from that period. The history of the enterprise was recently summarized:

> 'In November 1942, Walter Moreira Salles, Octávio Lotufo and Edgard Richter acquired from Lúcia Assumpção do Amaral the terrain at São Luiz Street [...] The association of [banker and diplomat] Walter Moreira Salles with the two others, who possessed the construction company Richter & Lotufo, broke and in January 1951 a request arrived in the city hall for the approval of the project of an apartment building signed by Gregori Warchavchik, to be constructed in the lots number 101 to 115 by the Building Company Severo & Villares. Walter and João Moreira Salles appeared as owners with eight other people, certainly the buyers of the apartments to be made. The construction work did not start before 1952, for in that month the construction company was still asking for alignment licence.'[43]

The architect's role, until then acting as a sort of mediator between the building and the financing activities, has clearly changed into a much more vulnerable position. In search of stability, the bank starts to absorb the land ownership and the contractor's roles while the big building company substitutes the engineering company in the enterprise. Acquisition of land, hiring of the project and work, construction financing, property commercialization: in the venture one can recognize the classical mode of real estate incorporation as an extension of the financial capital. It is significant that it had become evident in the production of a skyscraper. As Tafuri remarked, in its original intent of projecting itself outside the city, as a 'single and anarchic event', the skyscraper dramatized, as a tribute, the unstable balance between the independence of the isolated structure produced in a corporative way, and the organization of the collective capital producing the city: a sort of 'an island of balanced speculation.'[44]

But the case also shows the limits of the financial capital to control the risks of such an investment into real estate: part of the costs were raised by previously negotiating some of the apartments, while the hiring of the architect and the building company seem to be made in different basis. As other buildings constructed there, the Moreira Salles symbolizes the starting point of the association between high incorporation and advanced property speculation in the centre of São Paulo, a process which reveals the fundamental contradiction between the moment of the spatial fix income and the moment of financial capital organized around it.[45]

Just as the others, the building followed the rules of the city's *Construction Code*, stipulating the total use of the land, according to the width of the streets, and side retreats after a certain height, that is, 2.5 meters from the twelfth-floor on, what explains the scheduled shape of the nineteen-storey tower. The main access to the ground-floor created an internal winding path crossing the whole block towards Basílio da Gama street, bringing together the front and the back of the building and saving some space for shops on the side-walk.

Gregori Warchavchik. Moreia Salles Apartment Building, São Paulo, 1951-54. 1. Perspective of the building from São Luiz Avenue. 2. Photograph taken from the right face of the avenue during the 1970s. Source: FAUUSP/ Lefèvre, 2006.

6. The architect-entrepreneur and the private planning (1945-1954)

Warchavchik's insertion in the property market would become clearer on larger scale projects, specially on those made for massive consumption in less valuable areas. The example of the plan presented in 1945 for a model neighbourhood unit in the city is particularly emblematic. Associating his previous experiences in building dwellings for rent, this 'first big project directed to solve popular housing crisis' differed not only by its size, but also by its urban conception. An article in a newspaper from Rio described it:

> 'Warchavchik's project consists of a complete plan, a proper neighbourhood, composed of twelve to eighteen-floor buildings, apart smaller ones, forming a residential unit with all resources: a smaller city inside the city, as Warchavchik says. That unit, with approximately six thousand apartments, supporting a population of some thirty thousand people, will comprise a hospital, a nursery, a cinema theatre, a school, a club, a pharmacy, a church, some shops and markets, everything inhabitants will need to not having to go further than five hundred meters away from their homes. The model working-city emerging from this current project was rationally studied in every detail, long and consciously. It will occupy a large area measuring 14.5 hectares. Its location was determined by the industrial pole in São Paulo, at Mooca, crossing Pedro I Avenue. (...) The plan intended, thus, to immediately concentrate the working population in the margins of the urban outskirts where factories and workshops are placed. As we all know, it is the lack of

connection between their houses and the factories that causes traffic problems, waste of time, lack of rest, long hours spent with transportation that could be better used for recreation and education.'[46]

Taking into account aspects of urban location, extension, circulation between dwellings and working places, the project was well motivated by the principles of housing and centrality proposed by the *CIAM* meetings after the World War II. Those themes had been enthusiastically discussed in the *I Brazilian Congress of Architects*, occurred in São Paulo in January 1945. It also coincides with the advent of a new concern with popular housing and the formulation of political responses and plans for the problem, which involved architects, such as Afonso Eduardo Reidy, Carlos Frederico Ferreira, Atílio Corrêa Lima, Francisco Bologna, Marcelo Roberto, Eduardo Kneese deMello, Oscar Niemeyer etc.[47]
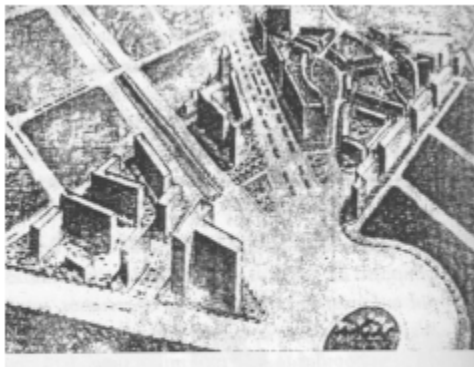
Gregori Warchavchik. 1. Sketch for 'Cidadinha', São Paulo, 1945, Source: *O Jornal*, Rio de Janeiro, 22/7/1945. 2. Design for a neighbourhood unit commissioned by Germaine Lucie Burchard, Ipiranga, São Paulo, 1951-1954, Source: FAU-USP.

As an 'individual contribution' to facing the problem of overpopulation, Warchavchik's radial plan aimed at the growth of urban densities and the functional divisions of space with the creation of a collective activity centre.[48] Buildings with different heights and shapes should be disposed in the centre of large blocks, having among them gardens with areas for recreation and sport. Directed to a poorer population, the enterprise predicted apartments measuring an average of 50 square meters, with facilities and modern furniture, including the possibility of employing pre-fabricated methods in order to reduce investment costs and renting prices.

As conceived, the idea was never developed into a more detailed project. However, at the beginning of the 1950s, a plan required to Warchavchik by Baroness Germaine Lucie Burchard, heir of the largest amount of land in the city, for an area at Ipiranga, send us back to the original plan. Several solutions were presented, with different grouping of buildings, various sorts of individual cells and plans for common spaces.

The period coincides with the creation of Warchavchik's own construction company, in 1952, in association with engineers Walter Neumann and Mauris Ilia Klabin Warchavchik, his son. The company's statute assured their responsibility for 'civil architectural and engineering works in general, and for industry and trade related to building activity.'[49] Leaving behind the avant-garde architectural profile, and not being

restrained to the independent activity of liberal practice, the architect would then become an entrepreneur of the civil construction sector.

In that new context, the office's activity increased enormously, not always favouring the quality of design. Matters of maximizing property values and financial profits seemed to have become the basic requirements of the planning activity. Even when the architect's presence was remarkable, as in the apartment buildings Santa Margarida and Cícero Prado, both designed in 1954. Built for Aníbal Ribeiro de Lima, Warchavchik's usual client, the Santa Margarida building is a private investment which explores the central location of the double faced terrain through the division of the ensemble in two 13-floor independent buildings, with 78 apartments of different sizes. As for the Cícero Prado building, also built in the expanded centre, at Rio Branco Avenue, by the company Warchavchik-Neumann, perfectly describes the attempt of finding a compromise between property and visual values. The massive ensemble of the three residential blocks stand on a horizontal base occupying the whole extension of the lot.

The massive scale of the complex with nearly 150 apartments, the volumetric fragmentation of the ensemble, and the huge blind walls turned towards the exterior, certainly reflect the expectations concerning the growth and densification of the area, then in process of getting empty. And if the bulky aspect of the building was counterbalanced by the aerodynamic line of the reinforced concrete balconies, with its decorated window-sills and suspended gardens, this kitsch use of the avant-garde[50] seemed to speak of a certain popularization of high cultural references, or a massive consumption of the modern architectural image.
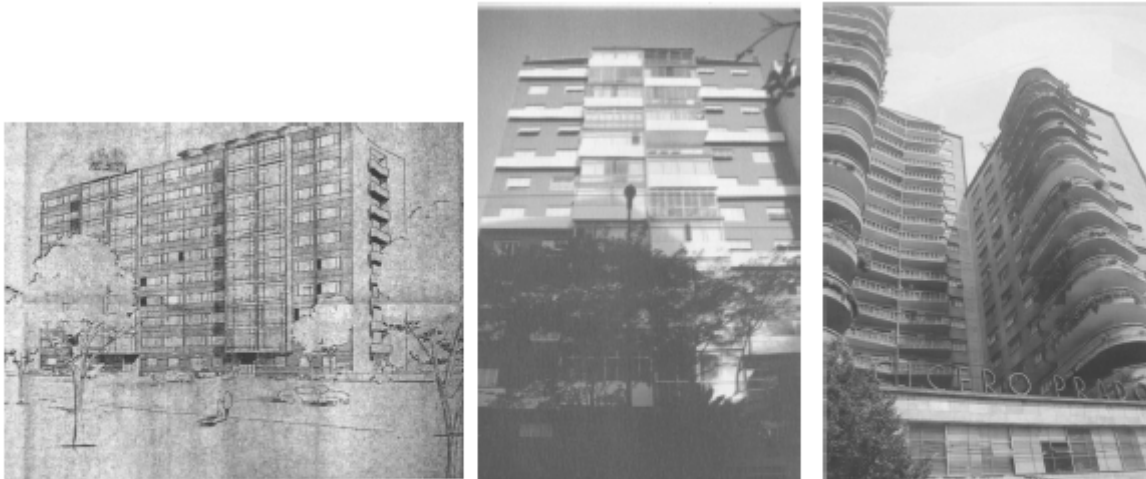
1. Gregori Warchavchik. Project of an apartment block for the Germaine Burchard's plan, São Paulo, 1953. 2. Warchavchik-Newmann. Santa Margarida Building, São Paulo, 1954. 3. Warchavchik-Newmann. Cícero Prado Building, São Paulo, 1954.

7. Conclusion

It is not hard to understand why along the whole process here presented, Warchavchik's work had lost its ground-breaking enthusiasm. And yet, the course of his career tells us much about the situation of the architectural field in São Paulo and the contradictions peculiar to the Brazilian process of modernization, at once progressive and conservative, subordinate and complementary, peripheral, differential and revealing of the professional inscription in the logics of capitalist development. Examined in detail, it reveals the inevitable urban, social and economic mediations of architectural work. These material mediations might be perceived in three different ways: a) through the variations of the architect's status, from pupil to employee, from a liberal professional to manager and entrepreneur; b) through the way clients engage and instigate the directions of style; and c) amongst certain forms of real estate investment, landed, rentist, corporative and/or 'incorporative'.

Therefore, the restrictions imposed to Warchavchik, as a market oriented architect, by the circle of professionals claiming to be the true and new agents of national and progressive avant-garde do not seem to be fair enough. For the inflections his work took, from the moment it engaged the urban reality of real estate, brings to light one of the distinctive features of the modern project: the ideological functioning of a design more and more connected to the city as a productive structure[51]. In other words, the ideologies of the plan or the fractures of the avant-garde poetics without utopian remains.

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Corridor of change: a case study in metropolitan open space planning

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In 2004 and 2005 the Western Sydney Parkland and the Westlink M7 motorway opened in metropolitan Sydney's west. Opening back-to-back, located side-by-side approximately 40 km west of the Sydney CBD, the park and motorway form a corridor approximately 45 km long and up to 1 km wide. The parkland is the largest in the southern hemisphere; the motorway the longest and last link in Sydney's orbital highway system. A hybrid of grey and green infrastructure, the corridor was over thirty years in planning and land acquisition. While this corridor is notable for its size, for the commitment of time and money invested in its creation, most notable of all today is that few people in Sydney are aware of the corridor, particularly the parklands.[1]

How did such a large public works project come to have such a low public profile? The WSP/M7 corridor has its origins as a designated special use corridor in the 1968 metropolitan planning strategy for Sydney, known as the Sydney Region Outline Plan (SROP). Forty years and three metropolitan strategies later, the principles, strategies and framework of this plan continue to inform the planning policy and urban form of the Sydney region. The SROP is recognized for establishing the corridor principle as Sydney's planning agenda; less well understood is that the SROP also set the course for the development of several large open spaces in the metropolitan region. While the longevity and influence of the SROP warrants an investigation of its legacy generally, this paper focuses on illuminating the history of the corridor principle of the SROP with specific regard to its application to open space planning and the genesis of the WSP/M7 corridor in particular. This paper explores how and why the role of this special use and open space corridor in defining and servicing metropolitan Sydney has changed over the last forty years, and along the way highlight issues that have contributed to its weak profile.

 The paper briefly outlines the significance of the corridor in the context of open space in Sydney. It then discusses the findings of a survey of statutory metropolitan strategies and selected relevant planning instruments; the survey focused on definitions and allocations of open space to map changes in the meaning and values associated with open space generally and the WSP/M7 corridor in particular. The paper concludes by considering how these changes have impacted the form and role of this corridor. What was lost and gained between 1968 and 2008?

The research represented in this paper is a first step toward developing a history of regional open space planning in Sydney. Studies of open space planning in Australia are limited: there are numerous reports for and by local and state governments; others are embedded in studies of history of urban and suburban communities; there are also few monographs on Australia's major urban parks. In the absence of a geographically specific historical framework for metropolitan open space planning, the paper also aims

to shed light on broader trends and issues related to the production of open space in Sydney.

Significance of the Corridor

Sydney's dramatic and varied topography and landform has blessed the region with numerous and varied types of public open space.The opportunity to recreate in or on water has long dominated the allocation of open space; since the late 19th century the foreshores of the region's many harbours, bays, beaches, and waterways have been dedicated in increasing amounts for public recreation. The sandstone plateaus surrounding Sydney have thin and infertile soils at their higher elevations, and steep incised ravines and gullies at their edges. They are both less accessible and amenable for development than shale based soils found at lower elevations, and as a result, beginning in 1886 with the establishment of Royal National Park on the Woronora Plateau just south of Sydney, national parks have expanded across much of these elevated sandstone plateaus. At lower elevations, some of Sydney's largest and best known parks, for example Centennial Park in 1888 and Sydney Olympic Park (since 1986), have been created out of low lying land, swamp and wetland, formerly perceived and treated as waste. Beginning in the late 19th century, areas of steep land, gullies and estuaries, were reserved and/or reclaimed for conservation and recreational uses; many of these also have become National Parks. Finally, and in parallel with global trends in the USA and Europe, the 1970s post-industrial economic shifts led to the release of many post-industrial and defence sites in the inner city area and generated several new parks.

Against this schematic outline of a typology of open space in the region, the WSP/M7 Corridor stands out as a new purpose-built corridor; in effect it is a new type of open space for the Sydney metropolitan area. In terms of urban form, the parkland component of the corridor provides a visual and physical break in Sydney's westward expansion, while the motorway works as a conduit and catalyst for this growth. Oriented north/south the M7 and its corridor form in effect a ring-road; since the Westlink M7 opened in 2005 it has generated a significant shift in the way western Sydney moves and works. Overall the corridor (WSP/M7) is defined by the external spine of the Westlink M7 motorway, and internally by an ecological core, a linear area of 760 hectares of regenerated indigenous ecological communities. The corridor links two urban growth areas, known generically as the North West and South West Growth sectors. With regard to open space in the metropolitan Sydney region, the corridor is distinguished by its inland greenfield location, by the lack of water based recreation opportunities, by the subtle drama of its topography, and the vast amount of infrastructure within its boundaries, notably the Westlink M7.

The infrastructure within the corridor is diverse and dispersed. The parkland contains some 5500 hectares of open space. The diverse recreational activities within it include a raceway, 3 separate Olympic facilities, 3 parks and nature reserves. Clusters of emerging industrial and new residential development are creating new hubs of activities within and adjacent to the corridor. Three major roads, a railway and another motorway,

the M4 transect it. Urban infrastructure includes a high pressure gas lines, water supply pipes, a water canal, electricity transmission tower, and a reservoir.

An abbreviated planning history of the Corridor

The first regional scale plan for Sydney was prepared by the County of Cumberland Council in 1948, ahead of the establishment of the state's first planning agency the State Planning Authority in 1963. The council represented local governments of the county, but was not a regional agency, *per se*. The resultant plan, the County of Cumberland Scheme, was based on the Greenbelt and Satellite City concepts then current in Europe and the United States. In effect, the Scheme was a regional scale zoning plan aimed at containing the growth of the city and protecting the economic and scenic values of the rural and non-urban areas.

With regard to open space, the CCPS focused on the provision of recreational opportunities: scenic delight; health benefits, and tourism attractions. The Scheme identified many types of open space, including recreational facilities and sports centres as well as institutional grounds, highways, and productive lands. Finally, it put forward three proposals for open space: a Green Belt wrapping around the urban area and separating the city from rural areas; a 'green web' system of linked bushland and recreational spaces within the inner urban district, and a series of special reserves for areas of significant scenic or recreational value. As a group these proposals reflect an agenda of utilizing undevelopable land to connect and define communities and thereby control growth; to improve the distribution of and access to recreation and scenic features, and to highlight and protect regional identity. Today, these CCPS proposals are notable for their application of concepts of connectivity—webs and belts—as a framework for open space planning.

The WSP/M7 Corridor is situated just west of the proposed Green Belt, on land designated rural in the CCPS and is approximately one quarter its area in size. The Green Belt was planned to cover 125 square miles (approximately 19,700 ha); as a corridor it was to connect the two National parks to the north and south of the city, and as a belt it would contain urban growth and provided land for large institutions and highways in park-like setting.[2] As Robert Freestone has noted, the Greenbelt was a highly contested concept, mainly because it was considered restrictive to growth.[3] The Cumberland County Council defended it in the face of pressure to release the land for housing, claiming that the Belt was "not a curb but a means towards a rational pattern of expansion."[4] However, its administration by several local councils rather than a single regional agency, along with intense population growth, led to 66% percent of the Green Belt being released for development by 1967.[5]

From the late 1950s through the 1960s, population growth, along with increasing access to automobiles and leisure time placed enormous pressure on urban areas across Australia. In Sydney, these pressures led to the defeat of the Greenbelt concept and the County of Cumberland Scheme 1959 and 1967 respectively.[6] Both were considered restrictive to growth and inflexible. Beginning in Adelaide and Canberra, the

corridor principle, derived from American planning examples, was adopted by state governments for their capital cities across Australia in the 1960s and 1970s.[7] The State Planning Authority of New South Wales published the Sydney Region Outline Plan (SROP) in 1968; its aims were to dilute the centralising force of the CBD by using established transport corridors to channel movement and growth between existing and new planned cities. Embedded in this vision was an acceptance of medium and low density housing and the automobile as means of transport. The SROP also mandated a significant expansion of the metropolitan region: the geographic limits of the County of Cumberland, mainly the Hawkesbury Nepean River, were superseded as the metropolitan region was extended west across river to include the Blue Mountains; north to Newcastle and south to Wollongong. Thus, in Sydney, the corridor principle was one of two key strategies for establishing a bigger city for more people.

These shifts in thinking about the urban reach and form of Sydney had significant implications for open space planning in the metropolitan region. The Hawkesbury Nepean River and the Blue Mountains Plateau replaced the green belt as the limits to growth; this in turn deflected growth across the agricultural and rural expanse between the former greenbelt and the Hawkesbury Nepean River. The SROP maps of this area, known as the Cumberland Plain, are, in today's terminology, a suitability analysis: the maps identify the 'rough land' of the plateaus; the flood prone lands along the many creeks which trace the Plain, radial transport routes, resource rich areas of sand/gravel, and large areas with development potential.

The SROP described open space as an active agent in urban form, and in essence reworked rather than altered the CCPS aims for open space. Open space was considered

- to shape the region,
- to provide visual definition and buffers; and
- to allow for movement of people, products and utilities. [8]

Like the CCPS these strategies highlight connectivity, but they go further to emphasize the need to plan for housing, transport, utilities and recreation as integrated urban functions. In applying the corridor principle to open space the SROP proposed four new systems. All four traced water courses and/or ridges; and would visually highlight the distinctions between urban areas. Though ambitious in scope, these proposals were not articulated as systems as we understand the term today: they included the extent of Hawkesbury-Nepean River; the west banks of the Georges River, the Chipping Norton Lakes remediation scheme, also on the Georges River, and a linear area, approximately 30 km long, tracing a north-south ridge and an existing water supply canal.

The special use corridor was a new land use category introduced by the SROP. The aim of these corridors, also referred to as service corridors, as distinct from open space, was to accommodate the future and unknown utilitarian needs and functions of the city, particularly the transmission of a variety of modes of energy. Embedded in this aim is an image of the city as a machine, with a clearly demarcated system of movement

essential to its long term viability. The SROP emphasized the importance of reserving land for these corridors as a means of ensuring the future coherency of the urban system, and reducing land costs and social disruption. In addition to these economic justifications, the corridors were considered to provide important visual breaks, and had the potential to provide 'parkway' settings for future highways.[9]

The 1968 plan identified three special use corridors at South Creek, Ropes Creek and Eastern Creek; all were associated with floodplains, but took in a limited extent of these creeks. [10]   Instead, the north and south boundaries of these special use corridors were in close proximity to the existing road corridors of the Great Western Highway and Richmond Road. This created a grid of special use corridors; and aligned with a growing commitment to transform Sydney's highways from a radial layout to grid configuration.   First signalled in the SROP, the grid concept was confirmed in 1974 when the National Highway Act was approved by the Federal government. The Act called out the need for a highway west of the Sydney CBD to strengthen the interstate links between all major cities across the country. The concept was explored at the regional level in a 1974 study by the NSW Department of Main Roads '*A Transport Plan for Sydney -2000.*[11] Though not approved, this study did show location of this Sydney portion of the national highway well west of the CBD, along Wallgrove Road, the western edge of the Eastern Creek Special Use and Open Space Corridor, and the current alignment of the Westlink M7, and the western edge of the Western Sydney Parklands.[12]

It is no coincidence that the special use corridors, initially presented as distinct from open space, became linked to it. By 1974, as concepts for the regional highways took shape, the state had extended the Eastern Creek Special Use corridor by appending the proposed 30 km long ridgeline open space system to its south. At the same time, this whole corridor was renamed 'Special Use and Open Space Corridor', and divided into 4 parts: Eastern Creek; Prospect; Horlsey Park and Hoxton Park. A 5th corridor was added, which connected the Hoxton Park segment to the proposed open space system along the Georges River. The end result was that along with the South Creek and Ropes' Creek Corridors, there were 7 Special Use and Open Space Corridors designated by 1974. Today the WSP/M7 corridor comprises four of these: the former Eastern Creek; Prospect; Horlsey Park and Hoxton Park Special Use and Open Space Corridors.

The state designation of this land as special use presented several administrative challenges, with acquisition being the most difficult. This land was no blank slate: most of it was in private ownership or long term leases, and used in a wide variety of ways. Much of it was productive, some of it was under cultivation, some used for grazing; there were also private trot tracks, brick quarries and tips sprinkled throughout the area. Two public reviews of the corridor proposals addressed the process of land valuation and acquisition, and assessed the location of corridor boundaries. The second review revealed concerns around setting a long term and large scale land acquisition process with no specific use designated. The same review also suggested several boundaries changes; these aimed to reduce costs and disruption to existing uses, and to establish

more economic uses for the land in question.[13] Environmental impacts of the proposal were assessed primarily on the basis of visual criteria; to amplify the importance of this approach, overseas examples were cited as examples of how to minimize the visual intrusion of utilities. Finally, Hawaii in particular was cited as a precedent for state based management of such corridors; in other words it was considered imperative that the state take control of land and planning process for the future benefit of all.[14]

State acquisition of this land began immediately following the inquiries; by 1980 approximately $20 million (Australian) had been spent and 77% of the land acquired.[15] At the same time, during the late 1970s, the focus on the provision of open space shifted to the inner city. There were two reasons for this: a research study published in 1975 demonstrated poor distribution of ample space; the other was the gradual closure of inner city industrial sites.[16] The NSW Planning and Environment Commission, later renamed the Department of Environment and Planning (DEP) initiated several significant reclamation open space projects, including Sydney Park, a 44 ha park in a former brick pit in St Peters, just south of the CBD; Bicentennial Park at Homebush, on a former tip (and now incorporated into Sydney Olympic Park) as well as the Penrith Lakes and Chipping Norton Lakes Schemes, both of which involved the rehabilitation of sand and gravel mining sites to recreational areas.

These investments partially explain why in spite of the substantial state level investment and acquisition of land for the special use and open space corridors, the state did not designate these spaces for recreational uses. In fact, several reports suggest a resistance to doing so. For example, a 1980 Review of the SROP by notes, "the recreational use of the corridors has not been actively promoted, but in late 1978 the DEC began to consider the need to adopt principles and policies for recreation and other uses of corridors." [17] This hedging was also noted in a 1985 Research Report on Open Space which noted: "In western Sydney large amounts of land have been set aside for future use as utility and transport corridors. While these can never be regarded as providing a permanent open space resource, the relevant councils are working with the Department in the preparation of management plans which will identify the most effective use of the corridors while they are not required for service purposes. Much of this corridor land may have an open space use."[18] And finally, in a series of Management Plans produced in the mid 1980s for these corridors, there is an emphasis on the potential, but undetermined, utilitarian use of corridors: "until they are fully needed, parts of these valuable areas of land…can be used for other purposes on an interim basis. . . . may be used temporarily for farming, and through the local councils, for parks and landscaped open space."[19]

Against this backdrop of the state funded long-term acquisition of the special use and open space corridors and no designated special or recreation use, the development of discrete recreational facilities began to occur within the WSP/M7 Corridor. This occurred mostly under the auspices of local councils who were given management responsibility for parcels of land following state acquisition. This included the transfer of a community farm to Fairfield Council in 1984; the establishment in 1988 of Nurrangingy Reserve by Blacktown City Council, and in 1989 the establishment of the Western

Sydney Recreation Area. This last was executed at the state level and dealt largely with the approval of the location of the Eastern Creek Raceway, a recreational use with potential to generate a huge amount of conflict. In spite of this slow and fragmented increase of recreational facilities within the Corridor, by 1988, when the third metropolitan strategy, *Sydney into its Third Century* was published, the Corridor was identified as a constraint on development, and not called out as an opportunity for open space or recreation.[20]

In its 1988 strategy, the NSW Department of Planning adopted a policy of urban consolidation within the continued context of linear or corridor based growth. Much of the policy was influenced by two issues: increasing evidence of environmental degradation, and the associated need to reduce the impact of population growth on the environment; the second was the need to encourage emerging new economic sectors, particularly recreation and tourism. Here, another reflection of the reluctance commit to a specific use for the special use and open space corridors, open space does not appear as a separate chapter or category as it did in the previous two strategies; instead regional open space is folded in as a subcategory of recreation and tourism. [21]

This emphasis on recreation and tourism in the late 1980s was a reflection of real and global economic shifts. The Australian Bicentennial celebrations of 1988 were another contributing factor. In terms of open space planning, the link between economic gain and open space management substantiated the ongoing planning focus on the remediation of the Homebush Bay area as an international sporting facility (now Sydney Olympic Park) and the continued protection of beaches and foreshores. At the same time, throughout the 1980s, the NSW Department of Environment and Planning initiated a series of programs aimed at improving the management of open space across the region, initiatives less tightly tied to the economic benefit of tourism and more focused on regional issues. These included Metropolitan Greenspace Program (1983) which directs state funds to local councils to aid improvements to open space, mainly in the form of strengthening linkages; the release of a Metropolitan Open Space Strategy (1991) which summarised the existing framework for the open space planning and management, but did not set out a new direction.[22] During this time, the WSP/M7 Corridor is referred to as a metropolitan recreation area; this reflects the westward shift of Sydney demographics, and more importantly an effort to direct planning energies to the metropolitan regional level, albeit through the state agency.

Planning strategies in the 1990s are characterized by the language of sustainability: catchments, biodiversity, social justice and equitable access guide both policies. The planning framework for the metropolitan region had also expanded from a single city to *cities*. With regard to open space, the strong westward shift in population from the CBD to Parramatta was reducing equitable access to jobs and open space. The 1998 strategy thus focused on the need for new facilities in new areas, and flagged the potential pressure to develop a management plan and vision for the special use and open space corridors.[23]

Another strong influence on open space planning in the 1990s was the mounting scientific evidence of the severely depleted biodiversity in the Sydney region. The enactment in 1995 of the NSW Threatened Species Conservation Act mandated a role for the NSW National Park Service in the conservation threatened species and endangered ecological communities across the state; their maps of ecological remnants on the Cumberland Plain, completed in 2000 have driven ecological restoration projects across Western Sydney. Particularly active has been a not-for- profit group, Greening Western Sydney (GWS) which undertook a series of ecological regeneration projects in the corridors beginning in the late 1980s; by the late 1990s, their work had expanded to establish significant links between community based ecological regeneration projects and improved social cohesion.[24]

In 1994, twenty years after the idea for a national highway system was proposed, the Wallgrove Road corridor, the western edge of the Eastern Creek Corridor was approved as the location of the Western Sydney Orbital (WSO) by the Federal government. This confirmed the role of a second state agency, the Road and Traffic Authority, in the planning and management of the corridor.   In the years between 1974 and 2001 when the Environment Impact Statement for the WSO was approved, the function of the motorway focused increasingly on regional, rather than national, issues. In addition to the work of Greening Western Australia and the NSW National Park Service, this had much to do with the numerous other state projects underway during the 1990s. These included the proposed location of a Second Sydney Airport just west of Hoxton Park, state plans for the release of greenfields known as the northwest and southwest growth sectors, and the growing concerns for social equity in Western Sydney and ecological fragmentation of the Cumberland Plain. The funding structure was also influential; borne out of an idea for a national highway system, the WSO became one of the segments of the system which the Federal government has not fully funded; thus the state of NSW entered into a private/public partnership to design and construct the WSO.

In its focus on regional issues, the planning and design of the WSO/ M7 explored many challenges above and beyond safety and engineering: how do roads lead to orderly, healthy, equitable and efficient development? Can they heal fragmented ecosystems? Can driving on high speed roads provide a memorable experience of place?   The M7 was designed to give as much as, if not more than it takes from the communities it traverses. In other words, this is infrastructure as an agent of positive—or at least neutral—change. [25]

Connectivity enhancing strategies for the Westlink M7 range from the structural –there are numerous pedestrian underpasses and overpasses and a bike lane runs the entire length of the road; to the visual—ten types of noise walls are tailored to their surrounding communities, and some are clear to allow views; the ecological—the planting scheme aims to contribute to the regeneration work underway; and finally, the sculptural – a simple and robust noise wall along the boundary of the Sydney International Equestrian Centre is engraved boldly with the acronym SIEC, making it is difficult *not* to know where you are; a pyramid of soil marking the junction of the M5 and the M7 signals the end of the major road corridor.

The motorway is limited in the success of these efforts. Ecological connectivity was stunted primarily through 2007 by drought, by development which has encroached around the road corridor since the 1970s, and the transition from planning and design team (involving ecologists and landscape architects) to the post-construction management of the motorway by the Westlink consortium. Achieving social connectivity is a long term project, but for now it is clear that the sculptural and place-making efforts lack coherence. These are largely focused on discrete experiences within the parklands; these are very difficult to register and comprehend on a limited access, high speed motorway. Indeed, the M7 is all movement: get on, drive, get off, with no place for pause and look out, and the experience from the road provides few cues to parkland. It is no surprise then that the image-ability of the Parklands is weak.[26] Perhaps this is understandable in the northern section where the M7 cuts through built up areas limiting these moments of prospect, but it does not explain the experience of the southern and more open section of the motorway.   An opportunity was missed to pursue the concept of parkway-- as suggested in 1968 SROP and the CCPS—in a distinctly agricultural Australian setting. The reality for the M7 –with its relatively narrow corridor and highly developed edges, may well be that connectivity is limited, if not elusive.

Around the same time that the WSO was approved, the NSW Department of Planning began working towards an environmental planning instrument for the rest of the corridor, which was then referred to as the Metropolitan Recreation Area. The resultant Sydney Regional Environmental Plan for the Regional Parklands (SREP 31), gazetted in 2001, set out a framework for unifying the planning and management processes. Key to this effort was establishing the role of NSW National Park and Wildlife Service in managing portions of the park. More importantly, for the first time in the history of this corridor, SREP 31 articulated the aims of this corridor as a regional open space. Broadly these were to create place of focus for conservation and recreation, much like the state's national parks. In addition, the aims articulated in SREP 31 return to the SROP definitions of what open space *can do* in an urban context: the parklands would provide visual quality, recreation diversity and a break in urban development; in addition SREP 31 asserted conservation of threatened species and ecological communities and ensuring water quality as two key roles of the parkland.[27] These last two aims indicate a significant shift from original intentions of these corridors, the influence of the NSW NPWS and GWS, and ultimately, the complexity of planning and managing large open spaces in the 21st century.

Although SREP 31 returned to many of 1960s concepts for the special use and open space corridor it downplayed many others, especially the concept of special use itself, perhaps because the location of the motorway within the corridor boundaries was considered to fulfil this obligation. In addition, by this time, although the corridor retained much of its vernacular uses, for example paddocks and market gardens, the parkland also contained many specialised facilities and uses within its boundaries: Olympic Equestrian, Baseball and Shooting facilities; the Eastern Creek Waste Facility; the Eastern Creek Raceway; Boral Brick Works; communication towers, water tanks and Sydney Water supply canals, a high pressure gas main; high voltage transmission lines.

When the parkland was officially opened by the NSW government in 2004, these diverse uses and facilities were re-presented in the first concept plan prepared for the parkland as nine distinct precincts; future planning and design work was directed toward strengthening the precincts as distinct destinations and establishing an overall link through the provision of a variety of pedestrian paths along the entire length of the parks.[28]

The Sydney Region Outline Plan is remarkable for setting out a long term vision and process of open space planning and provision. The broad, diagrammatic corridor principle has proved an effective strategy for committing the state government to the acquisition and management of the special use and open space corridors over a long period of time, and more importantly, through several changes of government. Overall, in terms of open space planning the major shift since 1968 has been from accommodating and providing for population growth to ecological sustainability; indeed reference to 'special use' was dropped in 2001, in spite of the fact that infrastructure, especially the M7, visually dominate the landscape. As a result, open space has an active and highly diversified role in this corridor and today is dominated by opportunities to maintain and restore ecological and social health. The importance of sustainability is also evident also in the discourse around the M7: beginning with a concern for establish a grid to encourage equitable access to jobs in the 1970s, the agenda for the road system has expanded to included principles very similar those used to plan and design the park: connect communities and provide visual identity.

The understanding of the corridor as a contributor to urban form has also shifted over time; notions of the special use corridor establishing breaks between urban areas have been supplanted by the designation of this corridor as a link—both its grey and green components-between the two emerging urban growth areas. At the same time, with planning efforts directly focused on the corridor, it is also emerging, albeit slowly, as a region in & of itself.

As uses were designated for the corridor, management was dispersed across new and powerful state agencies, and across state and local levels of government. This dispersal of interest and power is controlled through planning instruments, but it does nonetheless leave a gap at the regional level planning. In spite of attempts to develop regional plans during the 1980s, and more recent formation of the Sydney Western Region of Councils, a cohesive regional level planning body or agency has not existed since the dismissal of the County of Cumberland Council in the 1960s.

A major weakness of the corridor principle has been its open-ended nature. The term corridor implies movement and unity and uniformity; this was elusive from the start. Indeed, a careful analysis of the area in 1960s would have suggested insurmountable challenges—in the form of roads, commitments to brick works and other industry- to unity from the start. Put these inherent issues of fragmentation aside, and it becomes clear that the lack of a designated use is a double edge sword for this corridor. On one hand this has allowed for the grass-roots energy and efforts of Greening Western Sydney to realize the opportunity for a large scale ecological recovery; this in turn has

contributed to social cohesion. On the other hand, the corridor was vulnerable to state and local pressure to provide a range of facilities—thus the mix of Olympic facilities and parks inserted into the corridor during the 1980s and 1990s. The facilities in and of themselves are less problematical than the process: prior to 2004, in the absence of an overall plan, providing a sense of coherence, hierarchy and accessibility, the facilities have detracted from rather than contributed to an image for corridor as a land of parks—or parkland.

The outcome for now is a grey-green hybrid of open space where contests between large recreational facilities and nature reserves will be played out; where provocative and important questions, such as can social and ecological communities in a parkland alongside a motorway flourish, *because* of the motorway (or more simply, can motorways can be more than roads?) will take years to answer.

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The provision of public amenities in private subdivisions 1900-1930

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In the late 19th century two British factory villages – Port Sunlight and Bournville – typified what Anthony Sutcliffe described a century later as the 'perfection… of a cheap, low-density mode of design for residential neighbourhoods'.[1] These sculpted settlements were, essentially, a clarification of a host of ideals and assumptions that had been percolating through much of that century, in (as Sutcliffe says) both middle-class suburban and rural, village-styled forms; they were to serve – directly or otherwise – as templates for numerous suburban, peri-urban and rural areas into the following century. One important element of both places, expressed in the open space recreation areas and 'social and cultural facilities', was an assumption of the importance of community facilities in demarcating a community consciousness amongst residents. To appear as a valid, self-contained neighbourhood unit, planned subdivisions of the early 20th century necessarily embraced a palette of such amenities.

The issue of what, if anything, to provide in respect of public buildings within any privately-sponsored subdivisional estate was undoubtedly problematic for the subdivider. The primary concern was surely the extent to which such provision would cost the vendor over time in ongoing upkeep and supervision, particularly in a scenario in which land may have sold more slowly than expected, leaving a publicly-oriented (but probably still privately-owned) white elephant. Better, perhaps, to concentrate on the erection of model homes which could later be sold, and function as enticing conversation points in the interim, to lure prospective buyers. Yet the interwar subdivider was wary, sensibly, of being seen as a snake-oil salesman and perhaps genuinely cognisant of or beholden to new ideas of the value of community. Such new communities often comprised individuals from geographically diverse backgrounds;[2] anything that fostered community quickly was therefore advisable, and investment in implanted community facilities such as community halls, a library, schools, kindergartens or club buildings within an estate could prove the magic ingredient for sales success.

Frederick Olmsted, Jr.'s 1911 proclamation, in *The Builder,* that speculative realtors' business was 'simply to market their land, and, so far as their limited control extends, to provide sufficient means of access to it to attract purchasers',[3] was contentious and provocative. Olmsted Jr. would make a point of distinction between an arbitrary, hypothetical speculator and the conscientious and in some (though too few) respects socially progressive vendors of Forest Hills Gardens for whom he was working that time. Indeed, the vendors and the planner-surveyors who created new estates for them were increasingly cognisant of the desirability – if for no other reason, for commercial benefit – of providing elements within a design to foster community, or to at least provide the impression that a pattern was being set which would allow community to thrive. This applied to both rich and poor; it was the decade during which salubrious

Palos Verdes, in which Olmsted Jr. was also keenly involved, was to be the recipient of what Robert Fogelson calls 'a magnificent clubhouse'.[4]

Concepts of community, amenity and the responsibilities of government, vendor and designer towards the homeowner/resident within a new subdivision were, naturally, both fluid and open to redefinition: many have commented upon 'the lack of mutually understood and accepted terms.'[5] This paper, which draws on examples from Europe, North America and Australia, necessarily touches on different social expectations and assumptions, particularly in regard to governmental responsibility. However, in the early 20th century, a time at which technology and intellectual thought underwent enormous change impacting strongly on the development of new sub/urban environments, and in a burgeoning modernist era in which expectations of a perfect solution to urban issues were prominent, there are more similarities than differences. Some of these are necessarily socio-political and reformist; others served to reinforce and reproduce the (or create a new) status quo.

The paper begins by discussing some of the innovations and aspirations of the private-planning industry around the western world to create liveable environments with strong community facilities in scenarios in which, it is generally to be assumed, profit was the ultimate goal (of the organisation in question and its shareholders, if not necessarily in the mind and/or pronouncements of its leading lights) and social benefaction an agreeable by-product. It then moves to discuss notions of community, the issues of governance, ownership and maintenance of buildings. It does so primarily using hitherto unexplored (in Australia and elsewhere) examples from the Australian scene.

The use of Australian examples in an international context is justified as Australian planning practice at this time was, in perception at least, a synthesis of American and British processes.[6] As an expanding and urbanising capitalist nation in the early 20th century, Australia was self-consciously a social laboratory and its leaders at all tiers of government were keen, where possible, to locate, define and draw upon world's best practice in its continued development. The rhetoric of Australian planning in private practice at this time thereby contributes a valuable and important contemporary commentary on western processes. The inclusion of public buildings and the discussion of the importance of these buildings was a key element of particular interwar planned developments in rural, urban and peri-urban contexts. The Australian examples herein concentrate particularly on projects undertaken by the surveyor-planner Saxil Tuxen (1885-1975) and his sometime associate, the entrepreneur Clement John De Garis (1884-1926); both men lived and worked for much of their lives in the state of Victoria and its capital, Melbourne, in the 1920s.

The appeal of the community facility

Touching on (or, in some cases, thoroughly besotted by) the typification by William Morris and his followers of a slightly amended mediaeval community society as an ideal, many developers of early 20th century planned towns and suburbs pursued an ancient appearance for their creations. This was true of Ohio developments such as Columbus'

Mariemont[7] and Cleveland's Shaker Heights, where the faux antiquity tacitly reinforced the vendors' proclamation – reinforced through covenants – that the area was 'secure… protected for all time'.[8] Olmsted, Jr. and Atterbury's Forest Hills Gardens took a similar visual style and while Atterbury may have been criticised for a lack of interest in experimentation with communal facilities,[9] residents by the time of the First World War are reputed to have embraced community activities with gusto, having 'plunged into amateur ornithology' as well as organized sports such as tennis.[10] Similarly, if more paternalistically, the 'promoters and designers of housing estates [in the UK]… placed a high value on the concepts of community and equality, to be achieved through the medium of public ownership… supporting the sense of community which had supposedly been lost during a century or more of exposure to the industrial town.'[11] It is plain from examples of early 20th century planning for both wealthy and lower-waged that the essence of community was considered to have been lost, but was yet revivable through the provision of appropriate central meeting-places and village-like arrangements.

Stephen V. Ward and John R. Gold's 1994 edited collection, *Place Promotion,* focuses much more on the rhetoric of sales and on advertising imagery than it does on the potential impact inherent for prospective buyers in a site visit to a burgeoning new community. Yet some of the imagery Ward and Gold reproduce is redolent with this appeal. Advertising pamphlets for Richmond, Virginia from 1907 and 1927 are focused on grand public buildings: Richmond's City Hall and the Virginia capitol buildings specifically.[12] Writ smaller, such concentration on a built infrastructure celebrating government and democracy might also serve small developers well. In addition, the skilful inclusion of central community facilities might reinforce, in the consumer's mind, the professional abilities of the developer – and thereby a greater sense of trust. Certainly the grandeur of Saxil Tuxen's 1919 plan for realtor T. M. Burke at Merrilands, in Melbourne's north, was based on a range of best-practice inclusions, notable particularly in the arrangement of proposed (unrealised) public building sites and precincts for education, business and so on. Through such arrangements, as Carolyn S. Loeb has said, 'realtors asserted an ideal of their activities that emphasized large-scale and multidimensional planning and organizational skills':

> They presented themselves as assuming responsibility for the shape that the physical growth of suburban residential areas would take, in terms of tree-lined enclaves of predominantly single-family houses… residential areas that provided safe play areas for children, access to shops, schools, community facilities and churches… such commitments demonstrated that realtors were not interested merely in short-term gain through the buying and selling of a commodity.' [13]

Many of the issues surrounding the provision of community buildings and other amenities appear straightforward and, in the majority of cases, probably were. The building of special-purpose community structures within an estate – in circumstances wherein they may be some of the first erected – was a strong and valuable statement of viability within such an estate. Those expected to be 'pioneers' within a new suburban

area were taking a particular risk, perhaps the most important financial decision in their lives. Their estate may flourish, and their investment soar in value, or wither to its and owner-occupiers' ruin. This need not have been the product of recklessness: the Depression of the 1930s and World War II meant many owner-occupiers would not see the realisation of the dream they had invested in for decades, if indeed it happened within their lifetimes.

From the realtor's viewpoint in Australia and elsewhere, the primary goal in almost all cases was to sell off all lots as quickly as possible via the use of the most attractive planned community design. Fogelson tells us that, in the USA in the early 20th century, it was a general opinion that a vendor needed to sell between two-thirds and three-quarters of a subdivision to begin making profit.[14] The proper placement and creation of community facilities was invaluable for this purpose. Yet if a sale was to stall, for whatever reason, the costs associated with maintenance of particular buildings and facilities could prove ruinous. Local government and/or local community might valuably be persuaded to take control of these facilities as quickly as possible and, once this was achieved, the benefits were double: the vendor was no longer fiscally liable, and the involvement of government and/or community provided a vote of confidence in the subdivisional estate.

Aspiring to community

Raymond Unwin's *Town Planning in Practice,* published in 1909, features numerous examples of civic and/or community buildings – labeled simply 'institute'[15] or as part of a group of facilities serving as a 'subsidiary centre'.[16] Civic buildings and halls serve as visual interest in hypothetical illustrations of street scenes substituting, perhaps, for such church 'endpoints' as had been celebrated by Camillo Sitte. Unwin assisted in the preparation of the 1918 Tudor Walters report which defined provision of facilities as including shops, clubs, churches, 'institutions' and open spaces. [17] In the same era the developer John Laing was praised as a pro-family, anti-intellectual builder of homes and communities,[18]'attempting' (as Ian Bentley writes) 'to express and reinforce the concept of community' in estate design.[19] In developments such as Mariemont, Millard Rogers tells us, Charles Livingood pursued a harmonious relationship – in John Nolen's ground plan - between church, school and recreation hall.[20] Few designers were as reckless as Bertram Goodhue in his plan-with-the-lot for the ill-fated Tyrone, New Mexico including worker's club, baseball club and a plaza with concrete dancefloor amongst a host of other facilities including a theatre, department store and hotel.[21] More typical perhaps was the approach of Harry S. Kissell, President of the Kissell Company, the developers of Ridgewood, Ohio. Kissell's 1925 paper, 'Community Features for Subdivisions', reflected J. C. Nichols' 'broad meaning'[22] of the phrase: a program of symbolic, community-focused rituals and celebrations alongside low- (or, from the vendors' point of view, no-) cost establishment of facilities; such as a private school funded by local businessmen.[23] Kissell noted that baseball, quoits, tennis courts and ice skating were all popular and, though he was covert about saying so, cheap.[24] John Nolen, who no doubt had as much to gain professionally as Kissell from the promotion of such

amenities, noted that 'Without reservations for parks, playgrounds, and recreation centers… the more influential and independent citizens' would eschew a development.[25]

Middle- and upper-class designs: country clubs as community centres

Residential communities for wealthier homeowners created a template for new suburbanisation practice.[26] The Country Club ideal sees the embodiment in the landscape of an aspiration to upper-class living within suburban settlements. Country Club estates have often been considered important in the development of new suburban estates from the late 19th century when, as Kenneth T. Jackson says, 'growing acceptance of physical activity and of sports was closely associated with the expansion of upper-class railroad suburbs in the late nineteenth century.'[27] An early example of locals creating a club is the Onwentsia Club of Lake Forest, Illinois, where residents purchased an estate in the late 1890s;[28] most examples following would see the Club attract residents. This idea 'came to be the focus of suburban social life and a spur to residential movement towards the periphery.'[29] Clubs such as that at Tuxedo Park took on a regulatory, social and governmental role in the development of a new neighbourhood community.[30] Kissell's Ridgefield subdivision offered vacant land adjoining the local country club for polo games, primarily for the value of association and publicity.[31] In Britain, similar community creation processes were in place. Paul Oliver has written of 'the Club' in new suburbs:

> frequently, social life was focused on the tennis club, with dances and other fundraising activities, cementing relationships as well as financially supporting the unit. Cricket clubs, with fixtures arranged with other suburbs, were as popular… In Rayners Lane, the Rayners Lane Cricket Club was second to the Rayners Lane Camera Club, whose premises in the cellar of a new shopping parade were given a modern treatment by a local architect, who designed the projection room and screen, installed incidental lighting and obtained second-hand tip-up seats… In many suburbs amateur dramatics provided an important focus for social life…' [32]

J C Nichols' Country Club District has its genesis in a combination of Nichols' own interest in garden suburb design; the creation of the Kansas City, Missouri Country Club in 1895;[33] and a societal shift in suburban aspirations. As William S. Worley has put it, the Country Club District was less an innovation, more 'a synergistic enterprise: a bringing together of the best thinking available at the time toward the creation of a living environment second to none in the United States – for those who could afford it.' [34]

Nichols was overt about his wish to foster community spirit, and the ways in which his company achieved this are revelatory. In Nichols' conception, they mixed the transitory with the concrete: examples of the first included community field days, hikes and carol nights.[35] The second involved facilities as diverse as a riding academy (built by Nichols and leased to a private operator) and golf clubs (seeded by the company with a view to eventual independence).[36] Unlike many of his cohort,[37] Nichols actively encouraged

shopping centres within his developments, and in some instances established community facilities within them. Shopping centres 'were the heart of the success of his planned residential communities,'[38] and his schemes often combined community facilities with retail. His company paid for the creation of the Brookside Community Hall in the upstairs section of a shopping centre; dance classes, a kindergarten, and flower shows were held there.[39] In a number of instances (such as 1924 'Miss Houston's Kindergarten' operated in a space formerly occupied by coffee shop in Brookside shops)[40] it appears that Nichols used community non-profit space to fill, perhaps temporarily, that which could not be filled by renters. Additionally, the distinction between retail and community facility was fudged, as in the case of the Country Club Plaza's Robinson's Shoes outlet which included a 'Kiddies' Play Room' in 1924.[41] Perhaps the most telling harbinger for 20th century American life within Nichols' design is his version of the 'parish pump': the stylishly presented gas filling station.[42]

The fostering of community 'spirit' was Nichols' business, and when it ran smoothly it allowed his suburban developments to self-maintain. As Worsley puts it, simply, Nichols' 'goal was to attract as many people as possible to his subdivisions and keep them there.'[43] An important additional aspect however was that those who moved on would sell to someone appropriate for the community: the right kind of replacement.[44]

In Australia the country club was a concept embraced only in a vestigial form. However, those few established in the early 20th century are valuable examples of this style of community planning. The Melbourne surveyor/planner Saxil Tuxen's work at Park Orchards (Figure 1) has left one of the most unusual planned suburbs in Australia, which also, like many of its international and national contemporaries, has become one of the most affluent pockets of the city. North of Ringwood, in Melbourne's east, the region had (as per its name) functioned as an orchard for many years. Its elevated aspect no doubt indicated to its vendors that it could serve as a kind of alpine resort, though Melbourne's mild climate meant it would never see snow. Park Orchards was launched as 'a community settlement of country homes situated in delightful and beautiful hill country' in which 'the facilities for enjoyment, which will belong absolutely to the owners of those homes, will be much more extensive than the wealthiest in the land out of any single purse would care to attempt.'[45] It came on the market shortly after Tuxen's 1926 fact-finding trip to the USA but was presumably designed immediately prior to his departure. Park Orchards nonetheless touched on much of the rhetoric of the American elite planned estate in its connection to the 'country club' ethos. A specially-produced advertising brochure announced:

> Ample space has been reserved for the purpose of the Club to provide a small Golf Course, Lawn Tennis Courts (grass and asphalt), Cricket Ground, Croquet Greens, Bowling Greens, Swimming Pool, Children's Playground, Parks and Gardens, and a Club-house, where a Ball-room, Billiard-room, Card-room and library may be installed.' [46]

The vendors, Taylor and Sharp, did not promise unequivocally to undertake construction 'of any of these facilities', but suggested that 'Club members may, in their

uncontrolled discretion, desire themselves to design and carry out the details of the necessary work'; the vendors did, however, reserve the right to build anything they felt was 'immediately necessary to the general interests' using money from a compulsory trust fund derived from club membership fees. That is to say, the vendors intended the club to operate like a private-ownership local council; Park Orchards' initial conception was to serve as a transitory position between the traditional country club and local government, though it is difficult to glean to what extent Taylor and Sharp anticipated involvement in the development over succeeding years: an earlier estate had involved a club with jurisdiction over roads, open space and facilities. The last major act of the original vendors, at the end of the 1920s, was the creation of two major features: an extensive golf course and a centrally-located club building in Spanish mission style, the Chalet (Figure 2).

Though it was not an immediate commercial success – presumably because of poor timing – Park Orchards' plan is a distillation of the various important elements of the Country Club community. The club was to be the controlling influence, a type of village-style democratic unit. The focus of the club was to be on sporting facilities of an athletic or social (or both) variety. Though the estate would not be gated in the sense that obtains today, Tuxen designed its roads to limit access to all but those in the know. It was, in essence, a planned community centred on its facility buildings which were to embody its status as an exclusive, but within those perimeters democratic, settlement. By the 1960s, Park Orchards had risen to the challenges inherent in its design. It had become a discrete, recognized outer-urban community eagerly lobbying local and state governments for further amenities and rights. Though the Club was long gone as a concept, its legacy remained in the Chalet as a community centre and the focus of a group of newer buildings such as the tennis club and kindergarten.

De Garis: three new community scenarios

Clement John De Garis, an entrepreneur operating in Australia in the 19-teens and 20s, was a controversial figure in his day and can best be described as a charismatic, yet overreaching figure whose excessive (and, arguably obsessive) business behaviour proved disastrous for those who invested funds and, particularly, their faith and livelihoods, in his schemes. A number of these involved the creation of new towns and suburbs; though De Garis was not a planner, he was able to harness much of the rhetoric and in some instances the form of best-practice town planning of his era. Married to this was De Garis' cognisance of the premium value of community, an awareness which sat well with his own eagerness to lead and his desire for social activity. While his community-building activities, so often involving built environment and planned elements, were not often immediately successful, their record reflects the thinking of his international peers and serve as a measure of contemporary interest in such matters.

Australia in the early 20th century was in the throes of a long conversation about the best models to follow, and outcomes to pursue, in many social directions and projects large and small. Actors would utilise international ideas and ideals as artillery in debates

– a reason why their dialogue is so revelatory on international practice. De Garis, unusually for his time, was particularly patriotic and eager to promote Australian culture and innovation. Rather than note his verve and drive and thereby model him as an 'Americanised' Australian it might better be said that he, like many others, saw the USA as the source of the most progressive and modern ideas in marketing, technology and media. While he was plainly very interested in new settlements and communities in the USA – he visited Atascadero, California[47] in 1922, for instance, presumably drawn by its blend of utopian thought, modern design principles and agricultural technology – he also, it would seem, subscribed to the common belief of the early 20th century Australian that the new century would see their nation advance beyond the USA building on its achievements.

While De Garis was, undoubtedly, an inspired and individual thinker, it is difficult to imagine that his vision for new town construction and community building was not coloured in some part by a very different Californian model to such as Atascadero, as imparted to Australia by the North American Chaffey Brothers, who constructed the irrigation settlement of Mildura under colonial government sponsorship at the end of the 19th century.[48] De Garis' father had been one of a group of prominent Victorians who had lobbied premier Deakin to investigate the Chaffeys' American projects, and the De Garises had been amongst the first families to move to Mildura. De Garis' first two forays into the creation or nurturing of irrigation fruit-growing settlements he (and others at the time) called 'colonies' were on the Chaffey planned model. This was particularly true insofar as the extensive use of new technology and infrastructure and, in the case of the second settlement, Kendenup, classical grid-plan street design, were concerned.

De Garis' first foray into community creation was at Pyap, South Australia, approximately 100 miles (and five hours' drive) from his Mildura base.[49] Having been established in 1894 as one of seven government-sponsored 'communistic' settlements on the River Murray, it had failed as a project within a few years and passed through a number of private hands before being purchased by a De Garis company.[50] Here, in 1914 – opining a desire to 'take a wilderness and turn it into a garden'[51] – he quickly installed the latest in irrigation technology and erected a public hall (Figure 3) near the entrance to the settlement; he was able to attract a small number of Mildura residents to purchase land in, and relocate to, the region. The hall later took on the additional role of a school building as the settlement prospered.

It was, however, De Garis' next foray – at Kendenup, in 1921 – that saw him recognise and embrace the value of community spirit as a unifying force. In this remote inland region on the railway line to the regional port of Albany, De Garis engaged one F. Coote to plan out a grid-based town with designated park spaces and grand avenues. Public buildings and shops were to line one side of the road facing the station, thus placing the civic and retail buldings of the settlement in a perfect viewing position for those on the rail line. A large sign, 'My town Kendenup – where everybody smiles' was erected.[52] 'The Scheme', advertising of the time announced, 'is propelled by DeGARIS Force! DeGARIS Punch! and DeGARIS Enterprise!'[53] The town was to a 'closer-settlement' pattern, with each resident's landholding walking distance from the central grid.

De Garis' ideals of community were quickly adopted. 'What impressed me most during a recent visit to Kendenup,' wrote one anonymous visitor, 'was the rapidity with which the community spirit has grown. I do not think there is a settlement in Australia where what might be called community organisation has been born so quickly.' [54] An 'American Lady' visitor imagined 'the present bush [fading] away like a shadow' as 'young people in white flannels are already playing on the velvet turf of tennis courts, while across the way, the Administration Building rears its handsome façade above the trees of Central Park.' [55] The floor of the newly-erected dehydrator was declared 'an ideal dancing surface… larger than most suburban halls in the metropolitan area,'[56] and it was suggested that this building could serve as a temporary hall with the addition of a stage. [57] Settlers held a social and dance in October of 1921 'in aid of the Progress Association funds'.[58]

The monthly *Kendenup Index* functioned as both newsletter for the residents and publicist for the settlement in other quarters. Its dedication to community ideals, through the initiative of the tenacious public-spirited residents, was heralded. Perhaps the most notable and important of its pronouncements on this matter comes in an extended news report in which discusses a recent development in the town of Glendive, Montana, in which a large swimming pool was 'being built by volunteer labor and contributions of material and money. Everybody is wielding a shovel, running a tractor, directing a fresno, or doing his share to rush the work along.[59] Here the importance of public facilities were emphasised in the creation of a community, and the value of community work towards such facilities also highlighted. This was further iterated when Violet Austin announced in mid-1922 that she had 'cheerfully taken the responsibility of raising £1000 to erect –

1. A Settler's Hall (brick with tiled roof), £800
2. Establish central Sports Reserve, £200[60]

The creation of a permanent hall was plainly of high importance, but this was either highly disingenuous on Austin's part, or a sign of far more trusting times: she was an employee of De Garis Kendenup. Whether for this reason or another, Austin's rally for funds came to little; the town's dedicated community facility, Lawson (now Kendenup) Hall (Figure 4) was constructed soon after, funded by (and named for) an established local landowning family. It was 'booked ahead for twelve months'[61] on the day of opening. A theatrical troupe, the dubiously though apparently uncontroversially named 'K. K. K.' (Kendenup Koncert Kompany) was formed, as 'yet another addition to the many social features which are making for the development of the right community spirit at Kendenup.'[62] Kendenup was heralded as a vital model by De Garis himself, who claimed that 'in the interests of immigration, in the interests of nation-building' closer settlement establishments like this one were 'no job for a single capitalist or a group of prominent men.' [63]

Overstretching himself financially and essentially unable to focus on solitary projects for long enough to bring them to fruition, De Garis' Kendenup plans fell in a heap in 1923, and the company went into liquidation. Desperate to shore up his finances, he returned

to the eastern states, gathering a group of well-wishers to establish the Melbourne Subdivisions Company. The largest and best-publicised of the Company's projects was Corio Garden Suburb, in the north of the regional city of Geelong, an early development in the strategy to make the city a manufacturing hub. Announced on 24 November 1923,[64] it was promoted as 'a great advance on anything yet attempted in this country… on ordered and artistic lines.'[65] 'Shopping areas and recreation reserves at frequent intervals are provided at well-thought-out lines…'[66] The plan for the suburb (Figure 5) was centred on a crossroads of two major and one minor thoroughfares, featuring a 'civic centre' and including major (unlabelled on designer I. G. Anderson's plan) buildings, including the railway station to the south, at endpoints. During a promotional afternoon tea for prospective buyers at (the pre-existing) Corio Hall Anderson claimed the new suburb 'would be a self-contained community', with 15 acres of its 800 dedicated to 'shops and public buildings'.[67] Once again, however, De Garis had overextended himself and the Melbourne Subdivisions Company underwent a 'restructure' that ultimately entailed a name-change and then, a winding-up of its affairs, by which time De Garis was no longer associated. The Corio Garden Suburb plan was only sketchily followed in the final development of the region, which came to centre around the Ford Motor Company which, attracted by De Garis' machinations, had located its first Australian plant there. What is perhaps more extraordinary is the ultimate success of the Kendenup scheme which, though it did not grow to the extent of De Garis' original ambitions, re-established itself to become a flourishing fruit-growing settlement after his suicide in 1927.

As examples of the success of community infrastructure in nurturing a successful new subdivision, these De Garis examples are an ambivalent variety; certainly none of the three made their developer wealthy in the long term. What they do show, however, is the impact and importance on the ideal of the community centre and amenity provision to early 20th century land subdivision practice. De Garis was plainly aware of these ideas and sought to promote their application in all his developments, Kendenup being the most realised of these and Corio the closest to contemporary 'town planned' style. In both these cases the focus on community building (and even 'true community building', as examined by Richard Harris[68] – the original Kendenup Hall rally and the advocacy of a Glendive-styled approach being a case in point) and buildings to promote community were premium.

The post-war era

The immediate post-war years saw a radical consolidation in many western countries as reconstruction – be it social, as in Australian and USA conurbations barely physically damaged by war, or physical as in Europe – took hold. Much of this was driven by government. Progressive and modern thinkers of this era were seized by an earnest hope that the citizenry could be persuaded to continue their self-sacrificing effort and maintain a new society tinged with a community-based, if not communal per se, outlook. This would be embodied and reinforced by community centres – or, in some conceptions, schools-cum-community centres – at the heart of nodal developments. One piece of propaganda announced:

In every suburb, township, and village common needs exist: a common need for playing fields, swimming pool, baby health centre, kindergarten, lecture room, little theatre, library and so on. The fulfilling of these common needs for the great majority of the people is essential if the communities concerned are to have any claim to being civilised.[69]

This ideal brought forth multiple examples and models of new centralised public buildings and precincts. Just as De Garis had suggested that community creation was the duty of government and people, rather than 'a single capitalist or a group of prominent men', Australian children were told unequivocally in 1941 that

Many things which were once done by "private enterprise" and many things which were not done by anyone are now done for the good of the community by officers appointed, indirectly, by the citizens themselves.[70]

This is not to say that the private developer had no role in community promotion in the era of postwar reconstruction, or that s/he was an innovator in this area whose key ideas were adopted by governmentally-sponsored neighbourhood and/or subdivisional planners. However, it does show the infectiousness of the notion of a new inclusive community that would do more than look inwards for its 'spirit' and drive. For diverse reasons there was, in the second half of the 20th century, less reliance in either media promotion or the built environment itself, on the self-contained community and attempts to foster impulses of sociability; there was also far less likely to be resort, amongst developers, to images of charismatic leadership amongst vendors.

What remains in many of the privately-sold subdivisions of the early 20th century, therefore, is a mélange of ideals in which a frisson of utopianism would be tempered with the pragmatic desire of vendors for self-sufficient and self-regenerating suburbs, towns and settlements. The provision of public buildings in which, ostensibly, community ideals would be quickly founded and strengthened, played a key role in the expectations of families and other residents of new developments in the postwar era, even when governments provided these. While the impact of the specific developments of Park Orchards, Pyap, Kendenup and similar estates on the wider service provision 'landscape' was minimal, these places remain as testament to the style of thinking of the era in which they were built: a time when great faith was placed in the ability for public meeting places and communal spaces to quickly create new and in some cases idyllic towns, suburbs and 'colonies'.
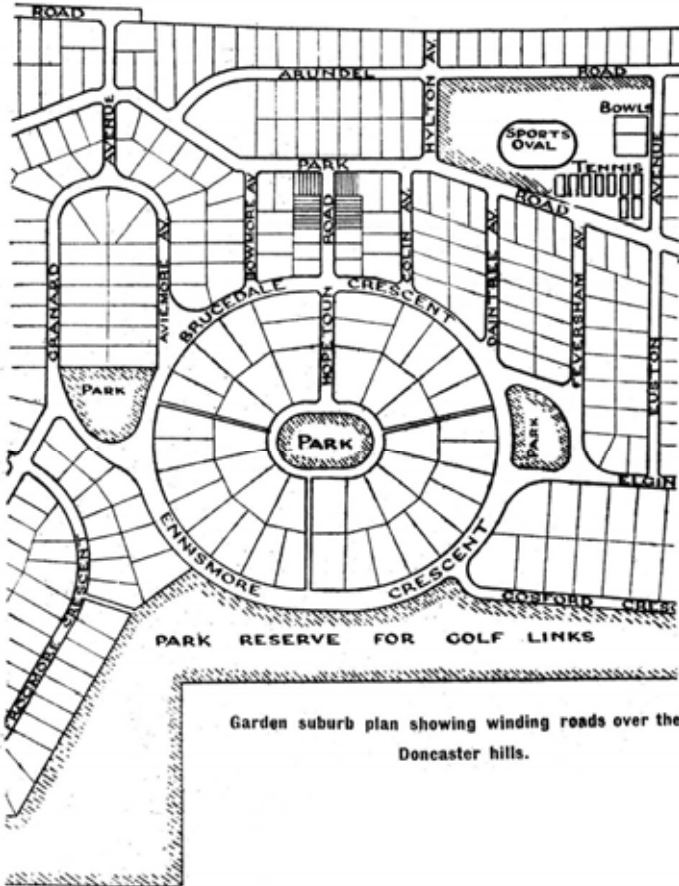
Figures

Garden suburb plan showing winding roads over the
Doncaster hills.

Figure 1 Saxil Tuxen's plan for Park Orchards, published in Melbourne *Argus* 28 June 1926, p. 4

Figure 2 Park Orchards Chalet (c. 1928) Park Orchards, Victoria. Architect unknown. Author photograph, 2000

Figure 3 Pyap Hall and School (1915) Pyap, South Australia. Architect unknown. Author photograph, 2007

Figure 4 Kendenup (formerly Lawson) Hall (1922) Kendenup, Western Australia. Architect unknown. Author photograph, 2003

Figure 5 I. G. Anderson's plan for Corio Garden Suburb, 1923. Reproduced in Ian Wynd, *So Fine a Country,* North Geelong: Shire of Corio, 1981

[1] Sutcliffe, Anthony *Towards the Planned City: Germany, Britain, the United States and France 1780-1914* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell 1981) p. 57

[2] Fogelson, Robert M. *Bourgeois Nightmares: Suburbia, 1870-1930* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005) p. 147

[3] Olmsted, Jr., Frederick Law 'The City Beautiful' *The Builder* 101, July 7, 1911, pp. 15-17; Weiss, Marc A., *The Rise of the Community Builders: The American Real Estate Industry and Urban Land Planning*, (New York: Columbia University Press 1987) p. 4

[4] Fogelson, p. 8

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Exposición Internacional 1910. Buenos Aires. Didactic leisure and international recognition

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Introduction

The city of Buenos Aires went through a period of peace and unprecedented overall development throughout the last years of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth. The increase of immigration brought demographic explosion. The steady growth in production and foreign investment in the country and the expansion of trade, transformed the city and in its population. The accumulation of local capital was a consequence of all these factors and produced economical, social and political change. This process could be called a process of modernisation of the state, which obviously brought a steady growth and transformation to the city of Buenos Aires. These factors also led way to problems such as housing deficit. Therefore, the administration of the city was also transformed and organised in a more efficient way. The idea of progress and evolution took over the political spheres as well as the everyday life of the common citizen. There was a strong expectation that this burst of success in the international markets and the local development in every sense would never cease.

In this period of political stability and the configuration of the political scene, the city saw the development of new political parties: The *Union Cívica Radical*, which would be in charge of the city and the country in the following decades; the anarchist and left wing parties that would sponsor labour and social reform; and the Socialist Party, which would - moderately - make sure that these reforms took place. The French Republican model, which had been present in Buenos Aires before the turn of the century, was replaced by European positivism[1], where Argentine political elite embraced the ideal of *scientific politics*.

The urban condition in the rest of the world was changing, and so it was in Buenos Aires. The City Beautiful movement in the United States, inspired by the work of Daniel H. Burnham(1846-1912) was changing the concept of park design and planning in the US and Europe. Architecture was increasingly appearing in public space. A good example of this transformation was the South Park of Chicago, earlier projected by Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux. This park, which originally followed ideas of the *Park Movement* and *Rational Recreation,* was transformed in 1893 into the World Columbian Exposition. The park turned into a space of representation where international ideas and products were being shown in the context of a new kind of city, formally inspired in neo-classical style.

As observed by Pregill:

> "The Columbian Exposition demonstrated that Beaux Arts principles formerly limited to glorification of architecture were in fact equally or more suited to the creation of structured outdoor spaces."[2]

The City Beautiful movement focused on civic art, design, reform and improvement and, to what regarded open spaces, it treated them as critical urban needs emphasising active rather than passive recreation. The hierarchy of spaces and the location of important buildings as nodes or focuses in the city were also central to the configuring of urban space. Despite the social reform intentions of this movement, this aim was difficult to realise, for the need of civic space led to the demolition of slums and legislation was not suited for relocating the dwellers, so this caused even more social unrest.

Contemporarily, in the European Continent, another new tendency of public space design was being developed, the parks as a tool for social recreation, to afford relief of the workers, and this was considered a direct effect of the working conditions in already very industrialised and overcrowded cities. Examples of these kinds of projects were those of Fritz Schumacher and Leberecht Migge in Germany. These projects, opposed to the American examples did not have a symmetrical or geometrical configuration, but they still differed strongly in program from the landscape architecture of Olmsted or Vaux. On the other hand, the German school of Camillo Sitte[3] was very influential on characters such as Burnham in the US and Raymond Unwin in the UK.

International exhibitions in general throughout Europe and the US were being used as spaces of representation that conditioned the way urban and public space was used and experienced. The use of public space for the packaged demonstration of certain cultures and places was being generalised worldwide, and Buenos Aires was not an exception in this international campaign for the didactic development of national identity.

International conferences on urban planning, such as the RIBA in 1910 and the 1910 and 1911 conferences in Berlin, were generalised throughout the world and were providing a set of tools for urban development. The roles of Herman Joseph Stübben and Werner Hegemann were crucial in these meetings, for they provided new ways of analysing cities and gave a set of rules and regulations as well as concepts of use of the city that were unprecedented. Among these was the very relevant role of parks, as *lungs of the city* for the health and recreation of citizens.

The exhibition – relevant facts, intentions and urban landscape principles

In Buenos Aires the Centennial was a moment of consecration for the city and of established culture. With the anniversary of the May Revolution the commemoration of the past became the celebration of modernity, progress and future of the nation, symbolised in its capital city.[4]

The need of international recognition and the insisted comparison of Buenos Aires with European metropolis produced a strong influence in the ways of thinking and living the city. The exhibition, as a didactic tool, worked as a precedent for conceiving leisure spaces in the future.

By 1910 Argentina would abandon its quality of exclusive provider of meat and grains to become a focus of multiple interests. As many commentators state, the year 1910 was not only one of local celebration:

> "1910 is much more than the Centennial of the May Revolution; it is the key year of the Argentina that extends between 1852 and 1916; it is – to say it in someone else's phrasing - the most glorious hour of the project of the 80s"[5]

International influence and attraction

The beginning of the twentieth century was internationally a period of faith in progress and capital, and Buenos Aires sought to be part of these ideas and proposed the International Exhibition as a way of demonstrating its position to the rest of the world. At the same time, the transformation and transplant of international influences were building this particular image.

The role of the image of Spain was transformed from the 1880s onwards. Towards 1880 there was still a Hispanophobic feeling. Juan Bautista Alberdi and Domingo F. Sarmiento represented this tendency, criticising Spain for the historical years of domain over Argentina. The following thirty years changed this perspective. One of the main reasons for it was the rise in proportion of Spanish population in the country, which was mainly concentrated in the cities. In 1865 there was a 1.8% of Spanish born citizens in the country; by 1914 these were already 10.5% of the population. Later, during the first decade of the twentieth century a construction of the Hispanic imaginary took place. The aims were the construction of an identity, the process of *Argentinisation*, the revalorization of modern Spain, and the legitimisation of the Spanish collective.

The confraternity between Spain and Argentina begins to take shape in 1900:

> "The generosity of our motherland is rescued. She gave the gigantic birth and then donated the land to us, and a section of the European race, establishing an indissoluble community by the racial ascendance and a language as forces of harmony in a nation constantly renovated by the immigration masses."[6]

Other Nations were also valued as good influence in the building of the local image. There was a will to try to copy the North American model, for the United States kept good relations with Great Britain and this gave great results.

> "(US and Britain) have formed a moral alliance in whose virtue they do not obstruct each other but they co-operate because they have managed to transpose the honour of the Nation to a vaster field of the race"[7]

Important characters visited the city during 1910. The Infanta Isabel de Borbón was received with parades and celebrations. Regarding the international representation and

the idea of the simulacra, the presence of certain foreign visitors is very relevant. The main celebration held on May 25th started with thousands of school children singing the anthem to the flag. At night, buildings in the central area were decorated with electric lights. Visitors such as Jules Huret (1863-1915)[8] or Georges Clemenceau (1841-1929)[9] had nothing but praise for the city, for the hygiene in the streets, the parks and promenades, squares and gardens, Palermo and the zoological and botanical gardens.

> There was an evident will to show the best face of the city:
> "As it becomes obvious, the visitors – except for the jurist Adolfo Posada, of socialist militancy, and the writer Santiago Rusiñol, who even spent some days in jail, detained along with anarchist sympathisers – saw almost exclusively what was shown of the city."[10]

Social conflicts around the Centennial

The whole environment of the Centennial was not only that of euphoria and praise. It was also a moment of strong social conflict and this could be seen in the Centennial celebrations. A rise of nationalist thought took place. Apart from the real search of roots it was the irruption of fear of the *different* given by the high immigration rates in those years that produced this nationalist feeling. Immigrants populated the leftist parties and formed a resistance to the establishment. The law of residence 1902 had allowed the government to expel *undesirable foreigners* from the country. The implementation of this law led to a strike organised by workers organisations to demand the suppression of the law. The headquarters of leftist newspapers and the socialist party were burned and even the Jewish neighbourhood had some shops burned.

Authors such as Posada saw this other face of the city and wrote:

> "The area of the port and the other neighbourhoods have to be visited, and penetrate the dwellings called conventillos and the centres of promiscuity of tight space and filth to get an idea of the grey note that gives a shadow on the greatness of the capital of el Plata. There, you will find steps of life that touch depth in the lowest layers of society, that cry for a ray of light, of clarity, of a more intensive social policy, more, more, much more of this than of a hard intervention of the police."[11]

As it had been seen in other cities such as Barcelona, anarchist groups chose spaces of leisure of the higher social classes to protest for the social inequalities of the country. A bomb in Teatro Colón, the main theatre of the city, exacerbated xenophobia and made the law of residency more extreme.

1910 was also a year of some extent of social reform. The first two congresses of women took place then: The *Congreso Patriótico* and *Congreso del Centenario*. Neither was very innovative and they did not claim vote for women, but they set a precedent for the following reforms in the next decades. On the other hand the *Primer Congreso Femenino Internacional* counted with the participation of some of the first female professionals of the country. Subjects addressed were mainly the teaching of history, secular and mixed education and social influence of the mother, the battle of the sexes,

problems of the working woman, prostitution, civic and political female rights, divorce and alcoholism.

The urban transformations that accompanied the celebrations of the centennial were not isolated in Buenos Aires. Other capitals such as Mexico, Santiago de Chile, La Habana and Bogotá used the celebration of centennial of independence as a pretext to show a new image of the country and city as much as to develop new urban ideas in the cities.

The image of the city and the invention of an identity

Approaching the time of the Centennial of Independence the state had never made such a systematic effort for giving identity and tradition to its citizens, of which a great proportion were immigrants. This identity was therefore more created than discovered. The mixture of urban European cultures created a specific environment that was in need of its own identity.

As stated by Tulio Halperin Donghi:

> "A city in construction is a city searching for its form; and the Centennial seems to almost impose a term for the final transfiguration of Buenos Aires. The action of the governing elite, who has directed the urban transformation since 1880, has been oriented towards this transfiguration"[12]

The Centennial of Independence brought the need of searching for a new image for a city that was beginning and pushing for recognition. This is what has been called by some authors the *imaginario urbano*[13]. One of the premises for this idea was that the image of Argentina was different to that of Buenos Aires, its capital. Buenos Aires was to be a place that produced *delight and emotion*[14].

In the particular case of Buenos Aires of 1910, as Reese accurately states, the Celebrations of the Centennial played a fundamental role in the identification of Argentina and Buenos Aires. This took place through the commemoration and construction of the memory of a city made by immigrants that had few concrete memories and few or no nostalgia for the historical moment of the origin of the Argentine Nation.

The image of the city by 1910 was represented textually and visually. Textual images were: travel tales, travel guides, almanacs, political memoirs, autobiographies, poetry and novel, facsimiles and anthologies, essays, history and textbooks, official reports, literary awards were, as in the rest of the world, the images shown. On the other hand the visual were maps, models, panoramic views, architectural and urban drawings, drawing notebooks, paintings of the city, photographs of the city, transparencies and cinema. All these constructions served, as in many other World Exhibitions, to show an image of what was supposed to be a city in development, progress and aiming to modernity (image 01).

Relevant and famous international characters wrote about the city of Buenos Aires

during the Celebrations of the Centennial: Enrico Ferri, Italian criminalist; Vicente Blasco Ibañez, Valencian novelist; George Clemenceau, French politician and Adolfo Posada, Spanish jurist. All of them gave their image of the city. Ruben Dario, Nicaraguan poet was full of praise for Buenos Aires.

In various books published, the euphoria about the city was described until some start to recognise the negative side. Local authors such as Ricardo Rojas found it necessary to wake Argentina up off its unconsciousness, break the celebration of its cosmopolitan mercantilism and force the people to review the old ideas of Sarmiento and Alberdi.

The architect Christophersen considered that within the Centennial of Independence the best celebration to be made would be the transformation of the city, as monument and legacy, in an unquestionable equation in the period for the official view, that of Capital city and image of Nation.

The book[15] that was officially published for the Celebrations of the Centennial is very clear in its intentions of enhancing the image of Buenos Aires. The role of Paris as a source of inspiration for the developments of the new city is insisted upon, especially in the literature of the time.

> "Paris, sovereign of the cities of the earth's sphere, your yet very young sister, until today hidden will present itself to the world in May 1910! You can be proud! Humanity, while contemplating it, engrossed upon its superb beauty, will see that it belongs to your same ancestry. It is like you in everything. Only age makes you different. When you were little, remember? They called you Lutecia, you were not so beautiful; but afterwards splendid mother, your name Paris, has filled and will fill the world. As it will be filled by your sister, Buenos Aires, which as young maiden, conserving still fresh the orange blossom, admires and enchants with its young and radiant beauty"[16]

This book focuses extremely on the foreign, mainly European influences on the city and praises it for such influences. Buenos Aires was built by Argentine and foreign architects, sculptors, engineers and decorators: Italian, French, Spanish, Swiss, Belgian, German, English, Danish, Austrian and Russian.

The author does have a different view toward the United States. The difference between European and North American cities was mainly that uses, customs, law and recreation were different. Cities in North America, compared to Buenos Aires were similar in luxury, richness and splendour. But the attention is set on the similarities to Paris more than to New York, for in both of them there is the Latin spirit.

The comments also concentrate on the level of development of Buenos Aires compared to Europe, giving an idea of the extent of realisation of projects in this new city, which could not be achieved in already established European cities.

> "The widening, transformations, and modernisation of big cities in Europe are very far from giving an idea of the proportions that edification has in Argentina and especially in Buenos Aires. The average of building permits, settled by the municipal offices of the great capital, is over fifteen hundred a month which is 18.000 a year."[17]

The first decades of the twentieth century were those of urban reform, the idea was to modernise the traditional city[18]. There was a need for monumental compounds that responded to a rationalist logic. The urban debate and the need of representation of the government led to the participation of foreign professionals in the formulation of landscape and urban plans for Buenos Aires. Two professionals that were instrumental in the urban and landscape transformation, who also worked in the design and layout of the International Exhibition were Joseph Antoine Bouvard and Charles Thays.

Joseph Bouvard – biographical facts and urban landscape principles

After a long and fruitful career in public architecture and exhibition design, Joseph Antoine Bouvard (1840-1920) (image 02) was hired by Mayor Carlos de Alvear to formulate an urban plan for the city of Buenos Aires.

Bouvard was born in Paris; he began his work as an architect supervising the public works of the Parisian neighbourhood of Belleville. Bouvard followed his work with Alphand, who was at the time the municipal architect of the French capital. Bouvard was later named *Architecte de l'Administration Centrale des Beaux Arts* and with this role he worked on the building of dozens of schools and the museum of Carnavalet.

One of his most outstanding roles was that of Exhibition design. He participated as the designer of the French pavilion in the World Exhibitions of Paris of 1878 and 1889. Later, in 1900 he took over the important role of *Directeur des Parcs et Jardins* in the Paris Exhibition. He also worked on other World Exhibitions as the one of Brussels (1897), Amsterdam (1913), Chicago (1893), Anvers (1894) St. Louis (1904) and Melbourne.

In 1892 Bouvard replaced Alphand in the position of *Comisaire Generale des Fêtes Officieles*. Five years later he was named *Directeur et Administrateur du Service d'Architecture des Promenades et Rues de Paris*.

Bouvards principles of park design show a clear contrast to those of previous designers in Buenos Aires and also throughout America and Europe. The use of public space as a space of representation replaces the ideas of public space as a place of passive and active recreation.

For Bouvard the public square is a:

> "...meeting point, a pleasant place, where feasts and ceremonies are held, a centre
> of profit of fresh air, an appropriate location for monuments and a reference point
> in the labyrinth of streets. It is a place of rest, of regulating movement. They will
> have to be created profusely throughout all areas of the city"[19]

Bouvard was not a leading professional. He lacked written works and his municipal career was minimal compared to other contemporary figures like Henri Prost, León Jaussely, or Eugène Hénard, who had studied at the École des Beaux-Arts, and were

all highly successful in international competitions. Bouvard's main merits were owed to his activities at the Paris Municipality and his participation in exhibitions[20].

Bouvard's activities in Buenos Aires have been studied thoroughly[21], so it is not the intention here to deeply analyse his work but to give an overview of his ideas and his role as a planner in Buenos Aires.

Two major events were the consequence of political, economical and social influences in Buenos Aires: the urban plan of 1909 and the Celebration of the Centennial of Independence of 1910. Both enterprises were justified by ideas of representation, circulation and hygiene.

Between 1905 and 1906, the different urban proposals were analysed by the Congress and the Municipality Council, placing within the scope of the debate the significance of expropriations and public interest, as well as ways of financing public works. Upon the difficulties in selecting the projects and the urgency required to start the constructions for the celebration of the centennial, the city mayor, Carlos de Alvear, employed Bouvard as an external consultant. Both Argentina and France endorsed Bouvard's contract, having it acquire the status of a diplomatic agreement contemplating bilateral interests.

The Alvear family, as many other families of the elite, had a tight bond with France and especially with Paris. This was tightened by the fact that some members of the family were ambassadors in the French capital. The Alvears consulted thoroughly the urban archives of Paris with the aim of investigating aesthetics and administrative tools for their use in Buenos Aires.

Briefly in 1907, Bouvard travelled to Buenos Aires and drew several projects, namely the urban plan for Buenos Aires (image 03) and the International Exhibition's layout.

The *New Plan[22]* limited itself to fixing limits of streets and plazas, according to the canons of the emerging *art urbain. From then on, the location of railway stations, infrastructures and housing for workers were beyond the scope of action and were debated in other spheres. He passed on his experience in producing the descriptive report, his knowledge in the use of bibliographical references, and in general decision making, which enabled him to present urban proposals in a new way.*

The new plan

Bouvard's plan consisted in a series of diagonals that would break the regular grid of the city and a series of civic centres in some of their junctions. Parks and squares were important parts of the plan. The plan proposed three particular projects for the waterfront, a series of parks in the northern coast of the city; a northern waterfront avenue and a project to open the Plaza de Mayo[23] to the river.

The waterfront avenue project within the urban plan of Bouvard was almost directly taken from the project of Morales of 1895, but it included ideas more literally inspired in French urbanism. Already, ideas of Jean Claude Nicolas Forestier, French park designer, were included in the design of all avenues. Still, the main idea of the whole plan was not to provide a series of isolated projects, but a whole system of parks and avenues that would change the use of the city.

Bouvard focused on one of his main ideas for Buenos Aires: the need to open the city towards the Rio de la Plata.

> "The decisions taken so far, particularly in relation to the more dense parts of the city, have set aside the beautiful features of the incomparable river surrounding it."[24]

This idea surpassed the effects of a previous project proposing a ring avenue, and aimed at alleviating the effects on the coast of the construction of the port facilities. This proposal was inspired by Bouvard's own Parisian project to liberate the banks of the Seine after the Exhibition of 1900. The innovation consisted in establishing a new relationship between the city and the river, an idea that was to be repeated in future urban proposals like those of Benito Carrasco, J.C.N Forestier and Le Corbusier.

Nevertheless, when it comes to his project for the extension of Plaza de Mayo, the disregard for the local conditions was also clear. In the drawing we can see an axial composition, with a perspective that reaches the location of the Congress building, through Avenida de Mayo. However, the Government building that was *blocking* this perspective is eliminated and the whole system of buildings of the power structure of city and country are eliminated. The avenue and park are giving high priority to vehicle circulation and less to pedestrian. The use of green is relegated to a geometric enhancement of the axiality and the square does not provide any sense of nature or natural environment.

This plan in general, like the following ones, would mainly use new instruments rather than present new ways of urban transformation. With the exception of the opening towards the river, it is a sort of synthesis of a process along which many different projects for the city had been drawn. Upon the drawing of the plan, these other projects formed part of a systematised scheme of the changes taking place in the city. In this sense, the New Plan, with the assistance of Bouvard's know-how, condensed the proposals of modernisation of Buenos Aires at the turn of the century.

If we focus on the drawing of the project for the extension of Plaza de Mayo up to the river there is a lot to read through it. If we compare it with the projects of the previous period it is already evident that the concept of public space has changed. There is no regard for a green picturesque landscape to be cut out from the city, for the experience of nature in contrast to the urban conditions. Instead, the open space becomes an integrated part of the city. The civic centre includes architecture, preferably in the lines of a neo classical style. Trees and lawns of grass are minimal and almost inexistent compared to the area given to traffic and the already reduced space for the circulation of pedestrians. This is inevitably related to the City Beautiful movement and the concept

of urban landscape as an art that can have a serious influence in the behaviour of city dwellers.

As in the words of Charles Mulford Robinson[25]:

> "Social problems are to a large degree problems of the environment... with municipal art the utilitarian advantages and social benefits become so paramount that they are not forgotten... This art, which serves so many social ends, is municipal, in the sense of communal... It is not a fad. It is not merely a bit of aestheticism... Altruism is its impulse"[26]

Once again the use of urban landscape as a tool for the manipulation of behaviour of urban society is explicit, but the morphology used for this purpose had changed internationally as well as in Buenos Aires.

The role of Bouvard in Buenos Aires

Bouvard's proposals were criticised in the local specialised press, which pointed out his ignorance of local reality and the lack of an adequate amount of time for preliminary studies. This opposition, mainly embodied by local architects, was aimed at recovering their own role as decision-makers, and set against the mayor and his possible personal interests. The critics exposed the official attitude of ignoring the contributions of a technical body of solid background in spite of belonging to a "new country". On his first assignment, Bouvard acted as a project technician, resolving "from scratch" all the projects, and not as an expert. In spite of this, and under pressure from the city mayor Carlos de Alvear, who was in office only for a year, the general plans were sanctioned by the City Council.

While Bouvard was working in Buenos Aires, a company for public works was being formed with headquarters in Paris. The Company's objectives were "to attract French capital towards highly profitable businesses offered in Argentina to our economic activities: Railways, Tramways, and mining, banking, and public works enterprises"[27]. This company was a consulting firm who aimed at joining together European and Latin-American shareholders of influence in possession of information concerning potential business. The role of these urban technicians was to secure investments in unstable markets such as Argentina.

There are diverging opinions about the role of Bouvard in the development of the city of Buenos Aires. Berjman is rather critical about the work of Bouvard and its implications for the city. She states, and we agree, that having only spent six weeks in Buenos Aires it was extremely difficult to formulate an accurate diagnosis of the problems of the city, and this was obviously the case. Another weak issue in the hiring of the French architect was the political mechanisms followed for this purpose. Having completely capable local professionals for the developing of the plan, the government decided to summon a French architect, whom they paid accordingly. However, his hiring had more to do with a will for international recognition of prestige than for an actual improvement of the conditions of living in the city of Buenos Aires. The morphology of Buenos Aires

and its history are highly disregarded. When Bouvard writes about the labyrinth of the city in his report on Buenos Aires, he is oblivious of the fact that this is not a French or European city with a history of a medieval town with intricate streets and a labyrinthine layout. Buenos Aires' morphology was that of the gridiron layout set up by the Spanish with some slight changes of direction and modifications.

In Bouvard we find an obvious follower of the new concepts of urbanism in which public space and its aesthetics become more important than the already partly achieved aims of hygiene and infrastructure of the city (image 04). Even though his few texts do not refer to the City Beautiful movement, the fact that he was an active participant in World Exhibitions starting with the ones of Paris and following especially with the North American ones shows at least a sympathy for the City Beautiful movement. This was shown also in the search for a change in leisure attitudes, in which active leisure became more important than passive in the planning of open spaces.

Some of the elements of the project by Bouvard, such as some diagonal avenues, and a couple of parks and squares were effectively built, but those of the waterfront were not. However, the avenue project for the northern waterfront would still stay on the table of project leaders and decision-makers to finally be developed in the 1930s.

Jules Charles Thays – biographical facts and urban landscape principles

Jules Charles Thays (1849-1934) (image 05) was born in Paris and died in Buenos Aires after an extended career as park designer and park director of the city of Buenos Aires. He also did some work of park design in neighbouring countries Chile, Uruguay and Brazil.

In Paris he spent his childhood and youth where he was a student of Adolphe Alphand. Later he was also a student of Edouard André, and worked with him as an assistant in local as well as foreign projects in Austria, Holland, England and Switzerland.

While working with André in Paris he met Mister Paz, a *porteño*, who talked to him about Argentina. Later he received an offer to design a park in Córdoba, an Argentine city west of Buenos Aires. Alphand convinced Thays to move and work on the Argentine landscape, so he did. His stay in Argentina was planned to last just a couple of years, but his marriage to a local lady made him stay in Buenos Aires for the rest of his life.

From the beginning of his stay in Buenos Aires, Thays played a paramount role in the configuration of open spaces in the city. He soon became the first *Director de Parques y Paseos*, an institution that would from then on be in charge of the creation and maintenance of all green areas in the city, including street forestation.

Thays was a member of several institutions in the country and in 1913 he was Argentine delegate for the *Congrès Forestier Internationale* in Paris as well as for the International Exhibition in Gent. Thays was extremely respected in all social environments, from the highest classes of Buenos Aires and Paris to the workers and unions. As a writer he

was the first one to publish a book about green spaces in Argentina: *El Jardín Botanico de Buenos Aires*, appeared as homage to the Centennial of Independence in 1910. He also published the book Les Forêts Naturelles de la Republique Argentine, published in France after his visit to the *Congrès Forestier Internationale*. The local professionals appreciated his participation in the Conference and this is seen in the comments after his session:

> "I do not want to close this session without thanking M. Thays for the interesting and pleasant conference that he just presented. He has passed in front of our eyes a series of frames, as artistic as instructive, that us French can see as a great benefit. The Argentine government shows us the way that should be followed for the creation in France of the national parks and we can be usefully inspired by the examples that our friend republic offers us. If our flora and fauna do not permit us to compete with her we could at least imitate them."[28]

This quotation shows that influences in landscape design were not only unilateral and decisions made in a *peripheral* country such as Argentina could be considered even in the most established environments, such as Paris.

Thays is considered by Sonia Berjman as the synthesis of the *generación del 80*, but in contrast to most of the characters of this generation, who were praised as well as hardly criticised for their discourse and their doing, Thays was mostly praised. His work in the beginning of 1890s is regarded highly and shows an inflection compared to previous projects. His work for the city was extended until the 1920s, when he retired and left his son to take over.

Thays' period of work in the parks of Buenos Aires was one of democratisation. The process in which the oligarchy began to lose power to democratic political parties coincided with his park designs. This process made the parks that had begun as a privilege of the elite turn into parks available for the whole population of the city.

Having worked with Edouard André, and also having been close to Alphand was crucial for the formation of Thays as a park designer. He reached maturity in Paris, and for the time he came to Buenos Aires ha was already 40 years old. This made him follow the tradition of his mentors and follow their aesthetic, hygiene and recreation principles, considered for all social classes and for the improvement of the urban landscape.

According to Berjman the whole work of Thays was not an isolated system of open spaces for the service of the population. It was one more element in the configuration of the urban landscape in which *power structures* –government houses, tribunals, ministries – *services* – hospitals, cemeteries, libraries, schools, universities – and *infrastructure* – harbours, railways and water provision and sewage – were all being developed as a whole system.

This process of reconfiguration of the urban environment was a product of an oligarchy that was socially conscious and using models from abroad adapted them to the local situation to create a new system that was suitable for the new urban centres that were

developing. This process was not only a reflection of foreign ideas but an implementation that provided specialised multiple new spaces in the city.

The position as *Director de Parques y Paseos Públicos* was left open in 1891 and the decision was unanimous that Charles Thays would take over the responsibility of all park design and maintenance of the parks of the city. For the competition for the post as Director of parks, Thays presented a text that convinced the jury. He took this position since then until 1913 developing a brilliant career and having influence in every single park that existed in the city at the time.

In his texts, Thays reveals his relation to the ideas of Alphand and André by his description of the concept of garden. For him, the garden is an element created by man, and it is an art, that can influence the behaviour of people through the reproduction of elements of nature.

The second point of his text refers to the nature and hygiene. As Alphand before him, Thays refers to public parks as the *lungs* of the city, a concept that was beginning to be spread internationally, and he proposes the inclusion of new parks and squares in the dirtiest neighbourhoods, especially where there are wetlands and disease was widespread. He also provides information about the capacity of trees to absorb water; he was ahead of his time in this, for now it is well known that in lands that tend to flood it is very beneficial to have trees planted for their capacity of absorption.

Thays thought beauty had the capacity to influence the morals of citizens:

> "A man, especially the one who works, needs distraction. Is there then a healthier, nobler, truer, when able to appreciate it, distraction, than the contemplation of trees, of beautiful flowers, when tastefully laid out? The spirit then rests, sadness is forgotten for a moment at least, and the aspect of the beautiful, of the pure, produces an immediate effect on the heart."[29]

Here we are aware of the importance of passive leisure and the way the environment can be beneficial for the health and morals of citizens. This position is very clear and can be related to leisure practices common at the end of the nineteenth century.

Finally, the last point in his text referred to the criticism of the existing parks and promenades. The main flaws he observed on the local parks were: The bad tracing of the roads, the lack of correct treatment of terrain, the wrong location of the masses of trees, the absolute lack of water games or the wrong location of them, the need for continuing to work on floral decoration. Most importantly he criticised the lack of a park policy that would include all the parks, promenades and avenues of the city.

Thays' discourse was not limited to theory and throughout the 22 years in his position as *Director de Parques* he applied all these enunciates in park design of Buenos Aires and other neighbouring cities of the country and of neighbouring countries.

One of Thays aims was to provide Buenos Aires with at least as much park surface as Paris had. In his *memoria*[30] of the first report as *Director de Parques* he proposed a series of parks and squares that would be added to the existing ones. Paris at the time had 1,950 hectares of green for 2,425,000 inhabitants, corresponding to 7.83 m² of garden per inhabitant and 1 m² of green for each 2.45 m² of the total surface of the city that was 4.700 hectares. Buenos Aires would have, considering the parks projected by Thays: 779 hectares of green space for 550.000 inhabitants corresponding to 14.17 m² of garden per inhabitant and a relation of 1 m² of green for every 25.87 m² of surface of the city that extended through 18,632 hectares (4 times that of Paris).[31]

Thays' role in the exhibition for the Centennial was very important for he transformed his project of Parque Tres de Febrero of 1893 to be able to house the Industrial Exhibition (image 06).

International Exhibition – the project, design and layout

The first location chosen for the Exhibition was Parque Tres de Febrero, the greatest park in Buenos Aires and considered by Bouvard the most suitable place for the pavilions. Finally, the Exhibition took place on different locations mainly in the centre and north of the city. The Northern areas were focused on the parade circuits and the southern and most neglected areas of the city were the site of the protest circuits. The location of the exhibitions was a circuit that would start in the ceremonial centre of Plaza de Mayo and finish in Pacífico, where the Industrial exhibition was held.

The main ceremonial events were realised in the centre of the city, namely on Plaza de Mayo, where the square had been redesigned by Charles Thays in 1894, this layout was kept for the centennial celebrations. Thays' layout followed the principles of geometrical French design. This monumental square had already been turned into an oval by Buschiazzo some years earlier. Thays designed the square as a cross, with a focal point in which the most important monument was placed, the monument of the commemoration of the May Revolution. In 1904 electricity was added to the square and during the exhibition it would be illuminated for evening occasions.

The harbour was also used as a space of celebration, having ships from different parts of the world exhibited day and night. The old harbour of Madero was still in use and located behind the government building and it was considered, as in many other cities which held international exhibitions, as the gateway to the city.

The architectural styles displayed in the exhibition responded to the recent new currents of Art Nouveau, Jugendstil and Modernisme, and were tolerated and lightly criticised considering their temporary condition. However, their influence on the local permanent architecture was greater than expected.

The Art Exhibition had the largest international representation. It was located on the higher ground of Plaza San Martin, north of Plaza de Mayo and close to the wealthiest part of the city. This part of the exhibition had representatives of most European

countries, the United States and some South American countries. It was held on the Pavilion that was used for the World Exhibition of Paris of 1889, designed by French architect Albert Ballú, which measured 1,600 squared metres distributed in two floors. The building was made of iron and glass, which allowed its transportation and reassembly, for it was planned that it would become the fine arts museum of Buenos Aires. At its arrival to Buenos Aires, it was located in Plaza San Martin, close to the centre and to the main railway station and harbour. The Pavilion was restructured for the International Exhibition in 1910, but it kept all its main features. The art exhibition was influential in the development of the city of Buenos Aires not just because of the building it was placed in but also because of the images it showed. Basically these were images related to science, art and labour, which were not only depicting the contemporary image of these activities in Europe but also the local ones, which located labour and science in an important stage in the development of the city.

The international Rail and Transport Exhibition was located in the end of this circuit, closing it in a new monumental area of the city, Pacífico. The exhibition complex was formed by two groups of buildings and a series of gardens and lawns separating them. Between the two groups of buildings there ran the railway line with a station that connected the exhibition with the centre of the city. The main centre of the exhibition was the northern one; a group of buildings organised around a square provided with a garden. This area was considered a civic centre, embellished by the presence of the pavilions. Most of the buildings of this complex were made of iron and glass, and held exhibitions of all kinds of means of transportation. Specifically, the Italian pavilion was designed by Palanti and Moretti, Italian architects. This was a very light iron and glass structure; with a main entrance in the centre of the complex, a squared floor plan with two semi circular extensions on both sides. The building was ornamented with sculptures and had a metal dome in the centre. Other amenities of this part of the exhibition included a Ferris wheel and a cable car, which led from the ground of the British section to the top of one of the main buildings. The southern part of the exhibition, on the other side of the railway line, was just one building, of a more permanent character, with patios and corridors. The transport exhibition not only exposed but also influenced the technological advances in transportation that were to be soon installed in the city, such as new locomotives and motorcars.

The rest of the Exhibitions were located in Parque Tres de Febrero, closer to the river. The Industrial Exhibition, designed also by Thays, was placed in front of the Transport one, across Avenida Vertiz. This was a much more landscaped area than that of the transport exhibition. The main area was green and there was a lake that surrounded part of the pavilions. The area adjacent to the avenue was much more built, holding the pavilions of the workers galleries, raw materials, foodstuff, and other minor pavilions. These were of a more monumental character than those of the transport exhibition, stuccoed and painted white, such as the Spanish pavilion. Closer to the lake there were the pavilions of various provinces of Argentina, as Mendoza or Cordoba, which pavilion was an austere structure made of wood.

The Hygiene, National agriculture and Livestock expositions were also placed in the parks of Palermo. These areas did not have as much international representation as the Art or transport exhibition but were part of a circuit of strategic qualities that allowed the expected spaces of representation.

The Exhibition of Agriculture was a follow up to the annual exhibitions that had been held already since 1886, where products from the whole country were exhibited. The building is one of the few that still exist from the exhibition of 1910.

The Hygiene exhibition was crucial in showing especially the advances in health infrastructure such as the sewer network and new hospital facilities. The Interamerican Congress of Medicine and Hygiene was held parallel to the exhibition. In this exhibition not only products of medical need were exhibited but also products of personal care, such as perfumes and creams, which showed a new face of leisure activities in the city.

Final notes

World Exhibitions have been studied thoroughly, but the work of Pieter van Wesemael[32] is most relevant referring to the architectural and landscape issues of these. In his work he analyses the objectives and motives of these events. The main objectives of the International Exhibitions were the modernisation of Western Society in three main aspects: production, trade, consumption and socio cultural aspects. The motive for these events was based on the possibility of enhancing the country's international status abroad.

All of these issues were present in the Exposition of Buenos Aires.

> "By a means of a world exhibition a small elite of reformist organisers creates an ideological, didactic and spatial framework: a chance for their own programme but also a platform for a global selection of exhibitors who follow their own agendas. Supported by a coherent whole of attractive and entertainingly designed media, they attempt, in a multi sensory fashion, to convey the best and most recent products, achievements, skills, ideas, norms and values from every conceivable walk of life to the public at large. Visitors to the exhibition came due to a mixture of practical interest, inquisitiveness and desire for amusement"[33]

Motivation wise, the exhibition that can be most comparable to the one in Buenos Aires of 1910 was that of Paris of 1900. Scale wise they are incomparable, for the exhibition in Buenos Aires could absolutely not compete with the scale of that in Paris, in amount of exhibitors and public as well as in the quality of the exhibitions. However, the principles that moved them and the fact that Bouvard participated in the landscape and layout of both of them are relevant. According to van Wesemael the exhibition of Paris was influenced by those of Paris 1889 and Chicago 1893. The exhibition was aimed at creating playful, beautiful and spectacular didactics aimed to a larger public than the previous expositions.

The social target of the exhibition in Buenos Aires is not very clear, but even though it was organised by an elite there was a rather high turnout. In Buenos Aires the parades were a much more popular phenomenon than the exhibitions themselves.

Both the urban plan of 1909 and the International Exhibition of 1910 created and determined the limits between the centre and the north and south of Buenos Aires. This led way to new infrastructures and the development of these urban areas.

The issues not addressed in the implementation of the exhibition and in the materialisation of the urban plan were mainly based on this difference between north and south of the city. The northern side was the site of celebration and the bourgeoisie and the southern the space of the working class and protest.

Many issues were involved in the transformation of the city of Buenos Aires, official optimism, immigration and accumulation of capital which led to economical progress and population diversification were all influences in the process. However, the International Exhibition did help this process, being a catalyst of projects that were in the making. The exhibition also provided a set of images that would build the identity of the citizens of Buenos Aires and of Argentina.

The exhibition also contributed in the task of providing leisure spaces that would not only be spaces of passive recreation but also of didactic development. The exhibition introduced the idea of a place of display as a place to learn, so the subsequent development of the botanic gardens, the zoological gardens and the Japanese gardens had a boost of attendance after the exhibition. Monumental compounds as open spaces were also the product of the layout of the exhibition grounds.

The fact that there was an international exhibition also brought a display of social unrest and brought to the eyes of foreigners not only the positivist, capitalist and progressive image, but also the image of the real city, with its social differences and labour and housing problems. Some of these issues were indeed treated in the congresses of social issues and women issues during the centennial celebrations. This brought more awareness to local community about issues such as housing, health and education in Buenos Aires.

Foreign professionals had an important role in the shaping of this image and the urban conditions of the city, however, the conflict that this influence showed with local professionals demonstrated that most of the work done by these foreigners had had a precedent of local expertise. The positive image of Spain was recovered by the exhibition, but still French professionals were called for the tasks of urban planning, for even in Spain, especially Barcelona, it was French professionals such as Leon Jaussely and J.C.N. Forestier who were working especially on open space planning. The systems of parks and avenues that were introduced on the occasion of the exhibition set a standard on park and squares design that would prevail for decades in the city. Foreign professionals did not only work on the shaping of the urban environment but also on the shaping of the new architecture. Foreign architects introduced their styles in

a city that had been, since the 1880s and until then, reproducing the Parisian model of building and architecture.

The Exhibition worked then as a catalyst and tool for the implementation of urban transformations, it worked as a tool for international recognition of a city worth visiting and working with. It developed the northern areas of the city and it finally deepened the segregation problems of the city that are still present today.

Images:

INGENIERO ARQUITECTO JOSÉ BOUVARD
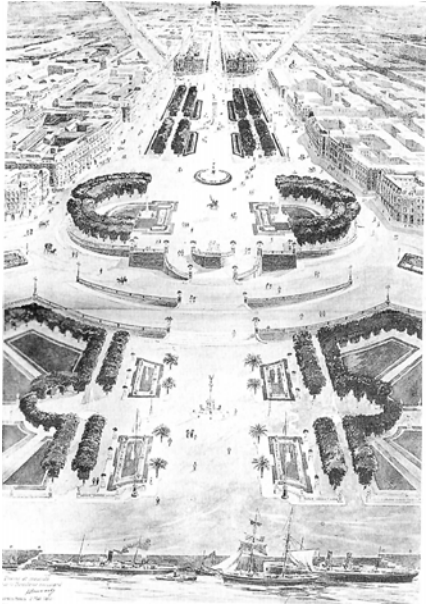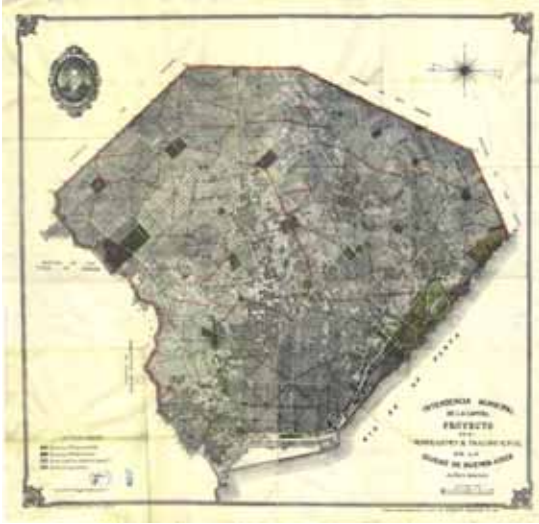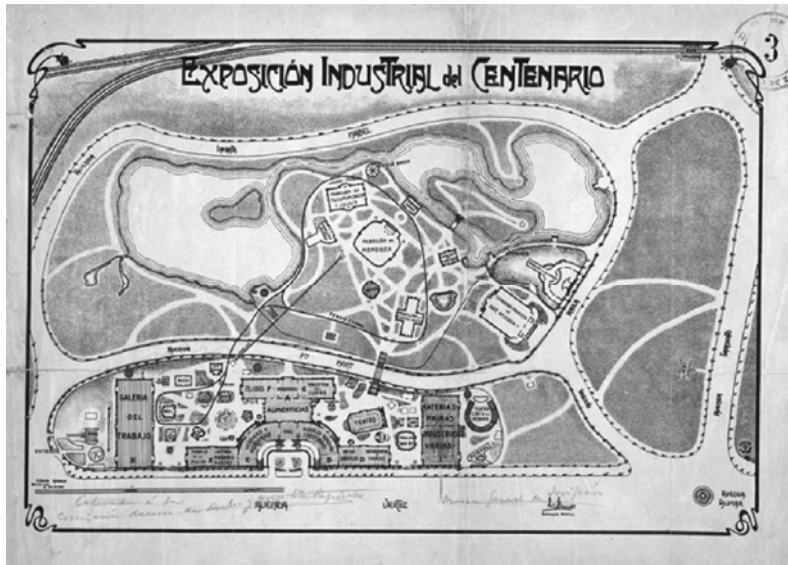
Image 01 - posterexpo-ferrocarriles.tif – 1910 - Billboard of the Railway exhibition – source : Gutman, Margarita, *Buenos Aires 1910, Memoria de un porvenir*, Municipalidad de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires, 2000.

Image 02 - bouvard.tif – Joseph Antoine Bouvard - Source : Archivo General de la Nación . Archivo Fotográfico. Caja 3560 sobre 166. Archivo Caras y Caretas

Image 03 - 1909bouvard.tif – 1909 - Proyecto de modificación al trazado actual de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires. Source: *El Nuevo Plano de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires, Informe del Arquitecto J. Bouvard*, Intendencia Municipal de la Capital, talleres gráficos de la Penitenciaría Nacional. Buenos Aires 1911

Image 04 - 1910-bouvard paseo julio.tif – 1910 – Plaza Colón y Plaza de Mayo – source: Censo Municipal de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires, 1910

Image 05 - thays.tif – 1908 - Jules Charles Thays – source: Archivo General de la Nación. Archivo Fotográfico. Caja 1351 sobre 15

Image 06 - 1910-expothays.tif – 1910. Exposición Industrial del Centenario. Source: Gutman, Margarita, *Buenos Aires 1910, Memoria de un porvenir*, Municipalidad de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires, 2000.

Footnotes

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[6] Carmen Sesto y Maria Ines Rodriguez Aguilar, 'La hispanidad en la esfera urbana: despliegue y festejos en el centenario', in Gutman, Margarita, Reese, Thomas, *Buenos Aires 1910, Un imaginario para una gran capital*, Edudeba, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires 1999. p353

[7] Gonzalez, Joaquin V., *Obras Completas*, Buenos Aires, Camara de diputados, 1935, T.IX, p,90

[8] Celebrated French journalist. He worked in several Parisian journals, such as L'Echo de Paris and Le Figaro. He was specialized in interviews and worked all over Europe due to his writing of the *Enquête sur la question sociale en Europe.*

[9] French statesman, physician and journalist. He served as the prime minister of France from 1906-1909 and 1917-1920. He led France during World War I and was one of the major voices behind the Treaty of Versailles.

[10] Carmen Sesto y Maria Ines Rodriguez Aguilar, 'La hispanidad en la esfera urbana: despliegue y festejos en el centenario', in Gutman, Margarita, Reese, Thomas, *Buenos Aires 1910, Un imaginario para una gran capital*, Edudeba, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires 1999. p.51

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[22] Municipalidad de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires, *El Nuevo Plano de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires,* Talleres Graficos de la Penitenciaia Nacional, Buenos Aires 1910. Pg.10

[23] Main central city square

[24] Bouvard, Joseph Antoine, Intendencia Municipal , *El nuevo plano de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires,* Buenos Aires, 1909.pg.17

[25] Charles Mulford Robinson (1869-1917) was a journalist and a writer who became famous as a pioneering Urban Planning theorist. He was the first Professor for Civic Design at University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, which was only one of two universities offering courses in Urban Planning at the time, the other being Harvard.
Robinson wrote The Fair of Spectacle in 1893, an illustrated description of Chicago's World Columbian Exposition, a watershed event for the City Beautiful Movement, and went on to write the first guide to City Planning in 1901, titled The Improvement of Towns and Cities.

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Town planning in Recife and the circulation of knowledge: the study of the French Dominican priest Louis-Joseph Lebret

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To write about the Movement of the Economy and Humanism[1], the Dominican priest Louis-Joseph Lebret and the engineer Antônio Bezerra Baltar is always a challenge and a gratifying task. The reflections which emanate from the post-World War II period and stretch out to the mid 1960s have not been exhausted. Thus this article sets out to be not something which brings answers to the questions posed by history, but by raising facts to prompt further investigations. Its interest lies in presenting the ideas contained in the documents and public statements regarding the conceptual framework of the Movement of the Economy and Humanism, the relationships established by Lebret in Recife, especially with the engineer Antônio Bezerra Baltar and how various town planning ideas sat alongside each other in Recife in the 1960s.

The Dominican priest Louis-Joseph Lebret

Louis-Joseph Lebret was born in Brittany on 26 June 1897. As a young man, he voluntarily joined up in the army but later he entered the French Navy, where he reached the rank of a ship officer. He left his military career in 1923 in order to become a Dominican friar. Between 1923 and 1939, he set up the "Saint-Malo Movement", out of which were founded fishermen's committees. In 1941 he founded the Economy and Humanism Movement (E.H.). 1942 saw the Movement's launch of its magazine.

It was from 1946 that local the Economy and Humanism groups started to be organized in various regions of France, of Latin America, Africa, Asia and the Middle East. These groups acted as relay stations for the transmission of action for harmonious development. Lebret also founded, from 1957, IRAMM (Institut de Recherche et d'Action sur La Misere du Monde) with Father Pierre, ASCOFAM (Association Mondiale de Lutte Contre La Faim) with Josué de Castro, besides CINAM (Compagnie d'Études Industrielles et d'Aménagement du Territoire) and IRFED (Institut de Recherche et de Formation em Vue du Développement Harmonisé). From 1963 on, he dedicated himself mainly to Church works, by being its representative at several moments, including as an adviser to the II Vatican Council. Lebret died in Paris on 20 July 1966. Among Lebret's main books, special mention should be made of : "La Grande Angoisse de nos Familles Côtières" (1937); "La Méthode d'Enquête" (1944); "A la Découverte du Bien Commun" (1946) and "Suicide ou Survie de l'Occident" (1958).

According to Delprat and Queneau (1986, p. 11), Lebret's work expresses an outlook of action and dialogue, guided by the idea of the common good in which humankind is the centre of social and economic facts. This anthropocentric vision is anchored in a world context of economic and social crises both before and during the two world wars. Thus solutions which might remedy the ills should be founded on knowledge of the social complexes, by following two fundamental axes: the conception that economic

organization should be at the service of humankind and in the association between technical knowledge and political militancy.

Studies conducted on the Economy and Humanism Movement, Fr Lebret's thought and action and the activities of the Society for Graphical and Mechanographic Analysis Applied to Social Complexes (SAGMACS), make substantive contributions. Lamparelli (1994, 1994a and 2000), Leme (1999 and 2004), Lamparelli and Leme (2001), Ângelo (2007) and Josaphat (2007) deserve mention. Lamparelli and Leme provide evidence of not only the contribution which these activities made to the formation of thinking and practices for regional and town planning in Brazil, but they also stress that starting with Lebret's contact with Latin America the direction of their studies started to consider underdevelopment. These scholars further affirm the sociological matrix present in Fr Lebret's formulations out of which he developed his research method, and his permanent reference to the spiritual and religious dimension. Lamparelli (1998, p. 281) emphasizes that this influence is verified mainly in three aspects:

> "(...) first of all by the renewal of the lay militancy of the Catholic movements of young workers and students; parallel to this, by spreading the primacy of the politics of solidarity and the common good as action principles in Third World countries and, finally, by developing an empirical research method, as an instrument of scientific analysis to guide action, aiming at development by the so-called 'l'aménagement du territoire'" ("optimizing the economic division and use of territory – hereinafter referred to as "managing territory")".

This methodology was presented in a systematized way in 1955, in a book published in Paris, Guide Pratique de l'Enquête Sociale: l'enquête urbaine, written by Lebret and Bride, with collaboration from research staff of the Centre de Recherches Sociologiques et Économiques and Michel Quoist, in which the population is a central category.

Another important statement by Lamparelli (1994, p. 91) is that Lebret put forward the Economy and Humanism Movement as the fourth way to distinguish it from the ideologies of Marxism, capitalism and national-socialism, by laying down the primacy of the common good.

Whereas Leme (2004) clarifies the contribution of SAGMACS to training the professional cadres in Brazil:

> "The offices represented a new professional possibility, a qualitatively different experience from the point of the objectives and, also, from the results achieved. On the one hand, Lebret found fertile ground to train young Catholic militants in town planning. (...) On the other hand, Lebret's contact with Latin America bore the stamp of giving a new direction to the Movement's studies to the extent that it included the thematic concept of underdevelopment, a theme which, over the course of the 1950s, became dominant in the Dominican priest's studies."

Ângelo shows that the participation in town planning in Brazil had Lebretian thought as one of its reference points given the overlap between the sociological and religious matrices. Josaphat emphasizes that one of Lebret's most substantive contributions was

to show the confrontation between the socialist and capitalist systems and to propose a new system which might supersede these two and be creative, in order that a just political system and one of solidarity might be established.

Other contributions such as the special edition of the Revue Économie et Humanisme on Lebret, published in 1986, allow substantive in-depth studies to be made on the conceptual framework of this movement, matrices, mode of activity, method, practices, disciples and themed approaches.

The studies and work undertaken by Lebret and the SAGMACS on development and organization of the territory (aménagement du territoire), were what most distinguished Lebret's activities in Brazil. The method drawn up contains contributions and affiliations which come from the social sciences, especially from sociology and statistics which allowed the base of the research method on the organization of territory to be compiled. Lamparelli (1998, p. 284) quotes Le Play, and her followers such as Tourville, Demolinse, Pierre Du Marousseem and Urbain Guérin. As well as, other "(...) contributions received from different currents of progressive and critical thought. Mounier and Péguy,on the one hand, and Marxism, on the other (...)".

What makes these contributions important for understanding the Economy and Humanism Movement in Brazil is that they centre on the facts verified in São Paulo and leave Fr Lebret's move on to Recife to be narrated. However, one cannot speak of Lebret in Recife without referring to the town planner and engineer Antonio Bezerra Baltar, a member of the Economy and Humanism Movement, who participated in many of the studies undertaken by SAGMACS in Brazil. On the life and work of Baltar, studies have been published not only by the author of this article (1996, 1998, 2000 and 2001), but also by research fellows such as Macedo (2002), Carvalho (1992) and Moreira and Macedo (1998).

Lebret in Recife

It was in 1947 that Fr Lebret first came to Brazil to establish contact with professionals, clerics and governmental authorities besides for the purposes of propagating the philosophical and scientific principles of the Economy and Humanism Movement. He came to the city of Recife and made contact with Baltar[2]. According to Macedo (2002), Lebret's coming to Recife was to hold a conference on housing cooperatives. From then on, they worked on establishing strong professional links between themselves. At the same time, clarification needs to be given to the claim that the Economy and Humanism Movement in Recife benefited from the support of Fr Hélder Câmara. It is probable that this support has been verified in a general way for Brazil as a whole, for at that moment, Hélder Câmara was in Rio de Janeiro as an assistant Bishop and later as a bishop and it was only in 1954 that he was enthroned as Archbishop of Recife and Olinda.

Making explicit how they formed a professional and personal relationship allows an explanation of why one vision of Lebret complements the other contributions cited above.

Here are Baltar's words on Lebret, recorded in the preface to the study on setting up industries in Pernambuco, which were drafted and published in 1954:

> "As to natural gifts of perspicacity when observing economic and social facts, Fr Lebret's are, right now, extremely sharp on account of his tremendous experience as a research worker (...). His ability to apprehend rapidly the facts characteristic of an economic complex, to establish relationships between these facts and to interpret them correctly, as a whole, has once more been demonstrated in this study".

Antônio Bezerra Baltar had already spent 15 years working with other important professionals before becoming one of the main members of SAGMACS in Brazil. As a student, he had had a practical attachment to the architect Luiz Nunes. After graduating and as a member, for about 18 years, of the Committee for City Planning, he had interacted with the most prominent town planners in the City of Recife, besides those from the outside who spent some time in the city.

Baltar was a member of the SAGMACS[3] team, and had conducted studies, based in São Paulo. Therefore he states:

> "I was here in Pernambuco lecturing at the University and SAGMACS was there. When a job appeared, I took off for São Paulo, but I only went there when there was a job to be done and they needed me. Now I am one of the Directors (...)"

> "(...) because I worked in São Paulo, I was more linked to the São Paulo unit". (Baltar, 1989)

Baltar stresses that the Economy and Humanism Movement took shape as a reaction to the social doctrine of the Church, then in force. His words show an understanding of economics very unique to that moment, but which was then spread and guided the attitude of many professionals.

> "They were all Christians, Catholics, concerned about the total divergence between what they had learned for centuries in economics and sociology studies and the so-called social doctrine of the Church. If this was not entirely a divorce, what were shown to be insufficient were the economic analyses contained within the encyclicals. They were Catholics, Christians, they recognized that the economy, the economy, in the sense of economic activity, did not have deep thinking from the point of view of Catholic doctrine. Therefore, they decided to found a movement around a magazine: a movement that would seek economics at the service of humankind and would not allow people to continue to be at the beck and call of the economy. This distinction that they made is: the economy, which is a thing of subsistence, is a prisoner of the idea that it is a set of activities through which people satisfy their personal aspirations, and their collective and social needs; on the contrary, people instead of being served by the economy are being enslaved to the urgings and praxis of the economy". (Baltar, 1989)

According to Baltar, Lebret came several times to the Northeast, although how many, at what moments and for what purposes have not been made clear; nor is there any due reference to a SAGMACS office having been set up in Recife or if it were only a case of intellectuals sympathizing with the Economy and Humanism Movement.

But, on one of his trips, Lebret went to Baltar's home, and it is probable that this was in 1954 when Lebret came to conduct a study on the Pernambuco economy. In Baltar's report his admiration for Lebret can be perceived:

> "He came to my house, in Rua das Fronteiras, in Paissandu, (...) he asked for a map of Pernambuco, put it on the table, took a sheet of transparent paper, put the transparent paper on top of it, drew the main lines and then began to question me: into how many economic zones is this state divided ? (...) This took five hours (...). When he finished, he had an economic map of Pernambuco (...)".

For Lamparelli (2000), the presence of Prof. Baltar in a support role to Fr. Lebret and the full SAGMACS team in the ambit of town planning should be stressed.

> "For Fr Lebret, Prof. Baltar alongside some Dominican Friars, especially Friar Benevenuto, was always a competent assistant and an indefatigable promoter of E&H. (...) Prof. Baltar's contribution was especially important in Town Planning Research for, it was based on his theory of town planning indices (...) The objective of the theory and the method in the research was to determine the empirical".

If not all of Lebret's trips to Recife have as at today been identified, two have been duly recorded. One, in 1953, when he gave a lecture in the Grand Hall of the Faculty of Law of Recife, And, the other, in order to conduct a study on locating industries in Pernambuco.

The conference "Civilization's Problems" was mounted at the invitation of the Rector of the University of Recife[4], Prof. Joaquim Inácio de Almeida Amazonas. The key-note address was delivered by Lebret in French, recorded on magnetic tape by the students of the faculty, and later translated into Portuguese. Then, in 1954, it was published with the note, "responsibility for the translation and notes as well as for publication is assumed by the Economy and Humanism Group of Brazil".

However, according to Baltar in his lecture delivered in Recife, in 1989, it was he who translated Lebret´s address : "At the invitation of the Faculty of Law, Lebret delivered this key-note address and I did the translation, the translation errors are mine, the rest are Lebret's."

The conference was presided over by the Archbishop of Olinda and Recife, D. Antônio de Almeida Morais Jr.[5], who proffered words of praise on Lebret's work, and these were incorporated by way of the preface to the publication. It can be said that this moment was very significant, for it represented respect and acceptance being given to the ideas of the Economy and Humanism Movement by the leading intellectual, ecclesiastical and political lights, in a city with conservative traces dating back to its social formation which was linked to the barons of the sugar industry. It is probable that by this conference Lebret acquired professional recognition in the eyes of local leading political figures and thus was invited, in 1954, to conduct the study on the Pernambuco economy.

The extent of the Church´s agreement with Lebretian concepts can be measured through the Archbishop's words:

> "All those who study the social question, sincerely and with righteous intention, can observe the concern with which the Catholic Church has been studying it and seeking to find solutions. (...) Today Father Lebret continues along this fine track set by the Church, seeking, as ever, to awaken the economy to its profoundly human sense".

In 1989, on referring to this conference, Baltar shows with great objectivity the kernel of Lebret's words, especially when he clarifies notions dear to the doctrine. However, what is more interesting is to put forward as possible the influence of Saint Simon on Lebret's thought, perhaps not brought out as much by other interpreters:

> "Well now, in this publication you all see another idea developed by him (Lebret), which is the idea of civilization. He is a little saintsimonesque in this point. Culture within the theories of Economy and Humanism is the result of the accumulation of knowledge, of techniques, of ways of thinking which go on being made from generation to generation, in space and time; and give shape to a context which is understandable and coherent. While civilization is a system, a system of values which the community accepts by a process or by a commitment in a given situation. Thus he shows by means of this address that at the end of the day the problem of development is a problem of civilization. From this comes the spirit of this conference ".

It should be noted that in the period which followed the fall of the New State and lasted throughout the 1950s there was a great political bubbling up in Recife, shaped by the tone of popular culture alongside which Freyrian regionalism remained. The lively cultural atmosphere, swathed in democratic euphoria, saw the revival or the burgeoning of countless artistic groups. Concomitantly with the new cultural expressions, the 50s political scenario was marked by debates centred on the questions of regional disparities, of the under-development of the North-east region and of the social reforms; that is to say, intellectuals sought to propagate and spread ideas the effect of which would be to reverse statements on abject poverty and regional backwardness. Among the technical and political events held, special mention needs to be given to the Congress for Saving the Northeast, the 1st Encounter of the Bishops of the Northeast, the Encounter of Salgueiro and the Seminar for the Development of the Northeast. One of the main objectives of these technical events, the vehicles for ideas and concepts to modernize the region used by Northeast intellectuals and authorities in the Northeast and throughout Brazil was reached with the creation of SUDENE, by Law n.º 3.692, of 15/12/1959, under the directorship of the economist Celso Furtado.

In the early 1950s, the need was made public to create a body focused on planning studies for the local state economy in which the representatives of the executive and legislative powers met with those of the producer classes and the local banking network, with a view to guiding studies, research and programs for economic development, due to the advent of the Paulo Afonso hydroelectric power stations. The expectation surrounding this event and its repercussions on the economy of the region and, in particular, in that of the State of Pernambuco began to motivate intellectuals and the authorities to prepare for its coming into being and to forecast the future. Therefore,

Governor Agamenon Magalhães created the Commission for Economic Development in Pernambuco (Codepe in Port), according to Deceree Law n.º 180, of 11 August, 1952, as a consultative organ of the government and as one that would give assistance to the initiatives for economic development (Codepe, year I, n.º 1, feb./1954, p. 4). The main purpose of this commission was to produce suggestions and proposals to be adopted by the state government, from the perspective of modernizing the Pernambuco environment.

Through the Codepe Information Bulletin, theses, communications, reports and information was broadcast, reproducing the discussions on the then issues and needs. The general tone of these studies from this Commission was industrialization, which should be made a reality, especially, in the city of Recife. Among the issues on industrialization, the need was made public to decentralize industrial development in the sense of taking alternative economies to the interior so as to stem the rural exodus and contain the vertiginous growth in population observed for Recife.

Owing to the expectations and uncertainties of the industrialization which should take place in the State, Codepe decided to seek help from specialists, besides those already to hand in the region. Thus, when its work schedule for 1954 went forward for approval, at a meeting convened on 17 February of that year, the invitation to Lebret was earmarked. The request made to Lebret consisted of the study of the Pernambuco economy, including the presentation of suggestions as to where new industries might be localized in the State.

According to Baltar´s account in the preface of the study, published in 1954, the facts arose as follows:

> "The intervention of Father Louis Joseph Lebret O.P. (...) resulted in the invitation which was extended to him by the Government of the State at the suggestion of the General Secretary of that Commission (...) Fr Lebret got ready to come here to study the problem, so that he could stay here for about two or three weeks, and carry out a programme of intensive work which he himself would outline. About three months in advance, Fr Lebret sent the Secretariat of Codepe, a detailed list for the organization of a dossier which would bring together all the preliminary data for the study in question and in large part would be focused under a cartographical form (...) Thus, on his arrival in Recife, on 3 August 1954, Fr Lebret was immediately able to start studies in accordance with his original method of working (...).During the first days of his stay, Fr Lebret devoted himself to the study of this dossier, his advisors being the General Secretary of Codepe and the author of this preface, placed at his disposal by the University of Recife".

It is worth investigating if it can be stated that the invitation to Fr Lebret bore the feature of this study being under the aegis of SAGMACS, or if there was a distinction between the creator and the institution created.

In August 1954, Lebret spent fifteen days in the State. Moreover he held meetings with the members of the Commission, went on an aerial reconnaissance flight of the region,

and held collective meetings with different groups of specialists, and only then did he go on to interpret and systematize the data collected.

In order to transpose Lebret's ideas to Brazil and, in particular, to Pernambuco, Baltar (1995) states: "a great deal of what was done after his work here in terms of planning closely followed certain guidance he gave before leaving. They were not all cast by him, but there was what was most up-to-date in terms of planning and he was influenced by the great currents of town planning such as the English, German and French ones. And he left ideas which little by little were being absorbed and put into practice".

The result of all this work was consubstantiated in the document entitled "A Study on Developing and Setting up Industries, of Interest to Pernambuco and the Northeast". The central idea present in this document was the feasibility of development via industrialization in Pernambuco and, as a result, reducing its state of under-development.

According to Célestin (1988), the notion of humanized "mise-en-valeur" of regional spaces as a synonym for "aménagement du territoire" present in this study had already been underlined as an essential component of the Economy and Humanism since the Manifesto of 1942, although only in 1952, in the "Charte de l'Aménagement", had this notion been more precisely defined. This understanding subscribed to the outlook of "progressively setting up a human economy following a "pyramidal" model made up of integrating balanced territorial units into different scales, ranging from 'base communities' to a world level, upwards through country, region and nation (Célestin, 1986, p. 113).

Formulating hypotheses ongoing value to territory was founded on the following elements: i) space and the problems of location; ii) duration and the problem of the phases of "aménagement" ; iii) density and the problems of population.

Throughout the study, Lebret emphasized its incomplete character, he considered it as preliminary projections, susceptible to being consolidated. The diagnostics showed the unfavorable position of the Northeast in relation to the Centre-South and the privileged position of Pernambuco relative to the other Northeast States. He declared Recife as a regional metropolis because it has the greatest density of population in the Northeast, it had the only large port in the Northeast, it is well-positioned in relation to the means of highway and rail communications and to navigable routes, it was close to Paulo Afonso and has cultural tradition and is culturally equipped. This was a reading of the regional disparities according to a model of linking up pieces of information and elements of analysis from the Cepalin paradigm. However, they were not differentiated from each other in the final statements on the condition of the Northeast.

The hypotheses for solutions in Lebret's study consisted of organizing emigration and giving rational value to the Northeast. As part of organizing emigration, the need for land reform was put forward. However, such an issue was not relevant. On the contrary, it was indicated as a complex alternative, the structuring of which would demand a long time to mature. The hypothesis of giving value included planned and coordinated

industrialization but it was mainly underpinned by the emphatic demand for specialist knowledge.

The essence of the study was introduced into the long-term planning guidelines and, especially, those for the immediate plan. The first guidelines were general indications as to the types of industries to be set up and the necessary complementary features. In tackling the immediate plan, Lebret made them more concrete, and proposed a scheme for containing internal migrations in which new industries should be located and zoning for the city of Recife. The scheme to contain the population exodus to Recife consisted of two elements: the "crystallization points" and the "towns situated in a rosary". These elements were to be located beside the highways and railroads and were to be applied concomitantly, so as to form perimeter barriers for containing migration. As to locating such elements, those towns were identified which once were centers of production, relations and services and which should have a very prominent role in the economic development of the region.

In the second part of the report, guidelines were established for Recife, which met two priorities: the expansion of the port and the location of new industries. That is to say, on the one hand, the port function would be maintained, out of which the city had been formed, and, on the other hand, the industrial function would be designated as the new route by which to leverage economic growth. These intentions were translated into zoning Recife. Its most favorable areas for expansion were preponderantly set aside for industrial occupation; the hilly areas would serve for setting up a lower-income or blue-collar worker town. The proposal for zoning was based on four functional mechanisms: control of the densities, fluidity of the circulation, a reserve of green spaces and reducing commuting from home-work, by means of the following zones.

Recife as ordered by Lebret was to be an industrial and port city in which industries and the port would dominate the city landscape, and determine its vitality. It was to be, as a result, a blue-collar city, which hitherto had only been a city of the "sub-proletariat", but the chimera of industrialization of which would rescue it from the ills of under-development, and provide the population with better standards of living.

The framework of Ideas for the economy and Humanism Movement in Baltar´s studies

Although Baltar had maintained contact with Lebret since 1947, we consider that it was only in 1949, that he went on to style himself as a member of the Economy and Humanism Movement. Regarding his published works, in a lecture given as ´godfather' of the graduates from the School of Engineering of the University of Recife, he spoke on the doctrine of the Economy and Humanism Movement, as an alternative to passing on the problems of humanity. Entitled "For a Human Economy", the speech expatiated on the task of rehabilitating humanity, also reserved to engineering, i.e. the role of placing technical progress for the benefit of Man fell to the engineer, and he criticized economic liberalism and Marxism since they did not solve mankind's problems and contained contradictions inherent to their objectives and their practices. At the close of his speech,

the doctrine of the Economy and Humanism was introduced as a third alternative for tackling the problem of technical progress given the benefits it would bring to humanity.

In 1951, well before the GTDN (Working Group for Development of the Northeast) report and Lebret's study, Baltar presented his competitive entrance examination thesis for taking up the vacancy in the chair of town planning and landscape architecture. Therefore this did not amount to a SAGMACS study which is an error of understanding that some authors seem to fall into. The primacy of the notion of region over that of city brought as a consequence change in the proposed character of town planning which had been predominant in the practice of town planners in the 1930s.

The fundamental idea of the thesis was to show the city integrated into the region, with which it maintained an intense living relationship; to affirm regional planning and to refute the primitive ideas of town planning being targeted on making the city beautiful, solutions for problems of hygiene, housing, traffic, and town planning perspectives. The objective of the study was to present an expansion scheme for cities, in particular, for Recife.

Therefore, he proposed a detailed check-list for a city, in accordance with three categories of problems: appropriate occupation of the territory, number if inhabitants and their distribution and urban equipment. This scheme consisted of the component elements of the "aménagement du territoire", thus denoting the transposition of planning methods and techniques from the Economy and Humanism Movement, however highlighting references to modern British town planning. More recently, Baltar (1993) had this to say in the first chapter of his thesis:

> "This chapter places great emphasis on the fundamental role which the English have had in this formulation, which International Conferences on Modern Architecture have had,German Bauhaus has had, but, principally the practice of town planning in England, ending with the 1947 Law, drawn up soon after the end of World War II which is the most complete and most perfect document of legal town planning which has ever been made in the world, until today. The 1947 Law analyzes the urban structure, analyzes the economic, juridical, social and political determinations of the evolution of cities and proposes things which affect each on of these aspects of the growth of cities".

The urban model of a regional city, sketched out generically by Baltar, is made up of the following units: the urban nucleus of the regional city; the satellite cities, with their respective urban centers and residential units; residential units, with their respective local centers; the industrial units and the green zones – agricultural and forest areas; besides the road-rail system.

Baltar made the transposition of the principles of architecture and modern town planning broadcast by the CINAMs, but he transposed, especially, the experiences of post-war British town planning, above all the town planning legislation of 1947. The transposition of the garden-city model was preponderant, whether as a standard for re-modeling what already existed, or to guide the new occupations and city edifications. Nevertheless, the transposition of the framework of ideas of the Economy and Humanism Movement is

present in adopting the notion of region yet his work as a whole is focused more on modern town planning.

In the 1953 text "University, Economy and Humanism", Baltar tackled the problem of integrating the university into the modern world by putting on display the ideas and history of the Economy and Humanism Movement. In this text, he is emphasizing the concept of the common good, which was based on the doctrine of St Thomas Aquinus, and the contributions of René Moreux because he had undertaken studies on the transformations of the world centers of production; of Jean Marius Gatheron, because of his analysis of the chronic imbalance between agriculture and industry; of François Perroux on account of his analysis of the transformations underway in politico-economic institutions; of Loew, because he had studied "in loco" the conditions of the workers of the docks in Marseilles; and, also, of Thibon, Dubois, and Laulhère because of their studies on the agricultural and industrial structures of France.

Those who embraced the doctrine of the Economy and Humanism seem to have kept on broadcasting its principles for longer. Thus, the Seminar of Specialists and Staff in Town Planning, held in Bogotá, from 05 to 31 October 1958, resulting in the Andes Charter, demonstrated humanist ideas were present, by the fact of its thematic framework and the fact of those who participated. Baltar, the engineer Mário Laranjeiras de Mendonça (from Lebret´s team in São Paulo) and the architect from Bahaia Newton Oliveira formed the Brazilian delegation. Baltar's performance at the Seminar was remarkable, as he himself was present in all the debates, presided over one of the thematic committees, gave a keynote speech and granted two interviews.

> "A month was spent in Bogotá discussing six themes, each one of which had been developed by specialists of an international level, UNO, OAE and other international bodies which were present at the meeting and who discussed each theme with everyone present who numbered more or less around forty. Then they wrote the Andes Charter a good part of which was edited by me because they had had a great many arguments and I was regarded as the peace-keeper, I did the editing which everyone accepted."[6]

The framework of ideas of the Economy and Humanism Movement was, unquestionably, one of the most important such frameworks ever transposed to Brazil, and, it was Baltar, in the city of Recife, who best spread it. Currently, humanism continues to be an anchorage from which reality can be interpreted and economic and social proposals formulated. Therefore this continuity is emphasized.

The innovations introduce by the framework of ideas of the Economy and Humanism Movement did not amount to a rupture with the framework of ideas of the CINAMs and post-war British town planning. Defining guidelines regarding the location of economic and residential structures, locating street furniture and living quarters and population densities and dislocations did not contradict the precepts of modern architecture and town planning; these were rules regarding the different levels of ordering and control - in one of them, they were guidelines on procedures and modes of doing, in the other one, they were determinations of what to do, which found expression in relations and dimensions.

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[1] The Movement of the Economy and Humanism was establishing in 1941, with the aim of state the bases of doctrine convergent with the Christianity faith and criticize the politics systems at the time actually. This Movement was the answer and one alternative the Christian democrat ideology then actually in Europe of post-World War II, one social mission of the Catholic Church. Yours promoters begin with the engagement in the workers communities, realizing studies that have supporting of the doctrine funded in the prime of common well and the human economy.

[2] Antônio Bezerra Baltar was born in Recife, on 16/08/1915. He graduated in civil engineering in 1938. As a student: he had a practical attachment to the Directorate of Architecture and Town Planning of the Secretariat for Highways and Works of the State headed by Luiz Nunes, and was a member of the Organizing Committee of the Institute for Social Security of the State of Pernambuco. As a politician: a member of the Democratic Left and of the Brazilian Socialist Party (PSB), he was a member of the municipal, state and national directorate; in Recife he was twice elected as a councillor for the PSB, first in 1955; he was elected as the under-study of Senator Barros de Carvalho on the slate of Cid Sampaio, in the election for the government of the State in 1958. As a professional: Head of the Engineering Department of IPSEP until 1943, engineer of the Brazilian Association of Portland Cement; District Head of DNER; Representative of the Engineering Club in the Planning Committee for the City from 1944; Superintendent Director of COPERBO, in the first Arraes Government; a member of Father Lebret's team, in Brazil, for 15 years. Founder of the Study Center for Urban Planning (CEPUR), in 1962. In exile, he worked on the Economic Committee for Latin América from 1965 to 1982. As a teacher: in the School of Fine Art, temporarily, in the chair of Town Planning (1941-42), having successively taught the courses on Perspective, Theory of Architecture and Small Compositions and, as a duly approved by public examination teacher of Town Planning (for 24 years). In the School of Engineering, in the chair of Economics and Finances (for 20 years). Stripped of his position by Institutional Act No.1, he was sent into exile from 1965 to1982, after return from which he taught for two years before taking retirement. Information taken from Montenegro, A. T., Siqueira, A. J. e Aguiar, A. C. M. de (orgs.) (1995) and from an interview held with Baltar in February 1995.

[3] According to Macedo (2002, p. 63), it was as from when Baltar took part in the study on the economy of Pernambuco, in 1954, that he became leader of the town planning research of the SAGMACS and remained so until 1965.

[4] In 1965, the University of Recife started to become an integral part of the new educational system in Braziland assumed the name of the Federal University of Pernambuco.

[5] D. Antônio de Almeida Morais Jr. was a teacher and performed various sacerdotal duties in São Paulo; he was Bishop of Montes Claros (MG); Archbishop of Olinda and Recife (1952-1960) and Archbishop of Niterói (RJ) until 1979. In the Northeast, he took part in discussion groups, comprising members of the Federal public administration of the Brazilian episcopate, which together put forward a solution for the problems of the Region. He published various books.

[6] In an interview granted by Baltar to the author of this article, in Recife, in February 1995.

Redevelopment in Japan and replanning in the United Kingdom after the Second World War

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Introduction

Town planning systems vary depending on their historical and socio-economic backgrounds. Furthermore, they are influenced by various natural and geographical conditions. Therefore, there is a difference in the value, which has been made a goal of the system. For example, in Japan the security against disasters and fire is one of the first targets.

This paper focuses on the features of the Japanese war damage reconstruction plans and projects, which were similar to that of the English planning schemes or outline plans. It also refers to some weak points, which the Japanese reconstruction plans had, in comparison to the English reconstruction plans. One of the most important planning goals was to rebuild disaster prevention performance within urban infrastructures in Japan. It was difficult to include rebuildings in the reconstruction planning, for Japanese cities mainly consisted of wooden buildings prior to the Second World War.

This report examines the experiences of the Japanese pre-war planning and post-war reconstruction projects, mainly in Okayama and considers the position and significance of rebuilding plans in the Japanese planning system. Okayama is located about 600 km west of Tokyo.

The evolution of modern town planning in Japan and the Great Kanto Earthquake

The modern town planning started with the first plan for urban improvement in Tokyo in 1889. At that time, the form of main cities in Japan still remained early modern place and space system. Tokyo, Kyoto and Osaka had populations of several hundred thousand, main cities in local areas as Kanazawa, Hiroshima and etc. had populations under one hundred thousand. Many of them remained urban patterns of early modern castle towns. Okayama, one of traditional castle towns, had a population of just about thirty thousand.

As a modernizing country, the central government promoted regional and industrial development policies. The growth of main cities changed variously. In 1920, the first census survey was held; Tokyo and Osaka emerged to megalopolises with over one million population. Kyoto, Nagoya, Yokohama and Kobe became metropolises with populations over four hundred thousand. Kanazawa, Hiroshima, Sendai, Nagasaki, Kagoshima and Hakodate developed into regional centers with populations over one

hundred thousand, Wakayama, Fukuoka, Niigata and Okayama were also developing into regional towns with about one hundred thousand.

In those days, the 1919 Town Planning Act and Urban Building Act were promulgated, and modern town planning system was established in Japan. Until then, main cities such as Tokyo and Osaka were preparing to establish modern town planning system through urban improvement planning.

Four years later, the great Kanto Earthquake occurred around Tokyo and Yokohama. The 1919 Act had some articles on land readjustment method, but they had no large-scale applied example in Japan. So the central government enacted and applied the Special Town Planning Act in 1923 to restore and rebuild the damaged areas. The central government hurried to realize important urban facilities aimed in the 1919 Act. Those facilities were urban infrastructures to maintain public peace and order, and to improve civic well-being.

On the other hand, the central government as a modernizing country encouraged the promotion of industries and foreign trades. The policies of the government were reflected growing population in the cities mentioned above. Almost all main cities in Japan proposed constructions of industrial areas and port facilities as urban targets. After World War II, Japanese social system changed seriously, but these targets continued to exist. I would like to examine the fact through a study on the Okayama rebuilding planning and projects.

Town planning in Okayama before the Second World War

In several previous years of the 1919 Act, meetings of the city improvement survey committee started in Okayama city assembly. The record of the city assembly meeting dated June 4th 1913 shows statements on the establishment of the city improvement survey committee and three time meetings. They show also the names of eight members of the committee. The detail of activities of the committee is not clear. The record dated March 7th 1914 shows that the provisions of the city improvement survey committee consisted of six articles was presented as 27th Bill and decided.

The details of activities of the committee after that are not clear. According to the record dated March 8th 1923, eight members of the town planning survey committee were elected. The record dated September 18th same year shows that the abolition of the provision of the town planning survey committee was presented and decided as 70th Bill. A comment describes that Okayama was designated as a registered city on July 1st under the article 2 of the 1919 Act, and the provision of the committee which was announced as 3rd city notice in December 1922, was abolished by the order of the authorities.

According to some records of the city assembly meetings, town-planning areas were decided in 1924, and on August 6th 1925 six members of local town planning committee were appointed among the city councilors by the chairman of the city assembly.

By these records, we can recognize that the Okayama own urban improvement survey committee was abolished by the establishment of the local town planning committee under promulgation and enforcement of the 1919 Act. Thus the town planning in Okayama was situated under the advice and control of the central government through the local town planning committee of Okayama prefecture after the 1920s.

The records of the city assembly have no describes of the activities of the local town planning committee. The records show the promotion of industrial developments, constructions of the Okayama port and main roads as urban policies. Also many records show the promotion and advices of land readjustment projects for construction of important urban infrastructures.

A published document in 1938 showed a road plan, a transport facilities plan and land-use zoning plan. The document was published by the town planning division of Okayama city, but the plans were decided by the local planning committee.

The city administration area of Okayama was 5.77 square kilometers and its population was 47,564 in 1889, when the modern city administration system started. By 1935, the area became about 48 square kilometers, and the population increased to about 1.6 hundred thousand through the consolidations of neighboring smaller municipalities to form the greater Okayama. The population density decreased from 8,243 per square kilometer to 3,443, but the population density in inner built-up area was still high.

Development projects in Okayama and Japan before the Second World War

The national land planning after the 1930s stressed the importance on the restraints of metropolises, and the green space plan as a metropolitan area planning. In the 1940's, national and local land plans were supposed to push ahead for the decentralization of industries. This was decided in "the matter related to the dispersion of industries" issued by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in 1939, and was carried out with "provisional measures on industry restricted areas and industry promoted areas "in June 1942.

On the one hand, the construction project of the Shinkansen, or a bullet train, between Tokyo and Shimonoseki was decided in the 75th Imperial Diet in 1940. Moreover, some committees involved, decided "the construction standards for the Shinkansen between Tokyo and Shimonoseki". The plans for construction works were approved from 1940 to 1942. 821 kilometers of the total route were decided, some construction sites were purchased, and the work eventually began. However, the situation in the Pacific War was getting worse, and construction of the Shinkansen halted in 1944.

In Okayama, the Town Planning of Okayama was officially announced in 1938, which was decided already in 1927-29. Meanwhile, Okayama prefecture made rules about the committee on attraction of industrial development according to a national policy. In effect, it invited some companies such as Kisha-Seizo Co. Ltd to set up in the southern areas of Okayama. It also made a start on the construction of the port of Okayama.

Therefore, the construction of transport facilities was required in this area called the Konan Industrial District. Delegates from companies located in the area had meetings since 1944. In May 1943 Seikichi Hashimoto, the Governor of Okayama Prefecture, applied to Yoshiaki Hatta, the Minister of Railway, for approval of railway construction survey and planning in the coastal industrial region. Later, the construction of the railway(Okayama Rinko Tetsudo) started at Oomoto station on the Uno Line after the war.

Rebuilding plans and redevelopment projects in Japan after the Second World War

Okayama, Wakayama, Himeji, Tokushima and Tsu were listed and developed as urban areas under the development policies of industrial cities in Japan. Consequently, these cities were seriously damaged during the war. The damage in each city covered an area of 1,000,000 to 2,000,000 *tsubo* (1*tsubo*=3.3 square meters) and included some 10,000 to 30,000 houses, and about 500 to 1,700 citizens were killed.

After the end of war, the national government issued an outline for building emergency housing in devastated cities, and the Cabinet decided on the basic policy for the reconstruction plan for war-damaged areas: The basic policy and direction became one of holding down on excessively large cities and promoting the development of small and medium-sized cities in localities.

On the other hand, pre-war local committees of town planning continued. In Tokushima the committee decided a reconstruction plan in March 1946,and in Okayama in June in the same year. These reconstruction plans mainly consisted of road plans.

The Cabinet also decided to promote implementation of land readjustment projects by some associations for war damage rehabilitation areas of Tokyo in May 1946. The War Damage Rehabilitation Board(WDRB) established criteria for design for rehabilitation land readjustment in July the same year. After that, the Special City Planning Act of September 1946 was necessary for their implementation.

Therefore, those cities mentioned above were included in the 115 cities, which were officially designated as war-damaged cities on October 9th 1946 under the Act. Each city was considered a full functioning urban area with public health, disaster prevention, and so on, under the basic policies of the previous year. They were also making reconstruction plans, the goal of which was to promote scenic areas, and to establish transportation, industries, and cultural events.

In Okayama City, Tomisaburo Hashimoto, the new post-war governor, made a proposal for a reconstruction plan including the construction plans of Rinko and bullet train railways. He was not only the governor of Okayama City at that time, but he was also the president of a local newspaper. He was known as a person who did not follow tradition, but a person representing the rising interests in developing industrial areas located in the southern region of Okayama Prefecture.

The outline of Hashimoto's proposal was presented at the Consultation Committee during the city assembly on January 21st 1946, consisted of a total of sixteen items. Nine of the sixteen items involved proposals on the width of main roads. The other seven involved the relocation of the city hall near Oomoto station, the decision on where to put the city market place, the relocation of the prison, the construction for a new bridge, the construction of the overhead Sanyo Line, and the designation of two green belts. It should be noted that two east-west roads with widths of 70 meters, and three north-south roads with widths of 36-50 meters were outlined in detail within the proposal. If one examined road maps from the outline, one might conclude that the prewar loop road plan had become secondary to the plan of widening main streets in the city center.

The reconstruction plan of Okayama city (No.43 notification of town planning decision by WDRB, June 13th 1946 before the promulgation of the Special City Planning Act, implementation order by Prime Minister Sept. 3rd 1946) was presented in front of the city assembly in November 1946. However, the plan was trimmed down due to financial difficulties, and the strong objection against burdens from the local landowners (30 percent area reduction or contribution system and relocation of over 10,000 houses), and was changed, according to the 184th Notification of Construction Bureau on May 15th 1948. Moreover, the plan was drastically cut down on project areas, according to the "Fundamental Policy for the Reconsideration of Reconstruction Planning" adopted by the Japanese Cabinet on June 24th 1949.

Consequently, the reconstruction plan of each city was a construction plan for urban infrastructures, which mainly consisted of green spaces, roads, and bridges under the leadership of the central government. The plan was expected to be materialised through land readjustment projects. The difference among each city's plan was road patterns influenced by hills and rivers, the reconstruction of symbolic castles, and the reuse of castle sites. It was one of the most important planning issues aimed at for the conservation, and the formation of the townscape, that in turn will be important into the future.

In Okayama, the route of the pre-war planned bullet train was explained in detail in the first war-damage reconstruction plan. The plan included Shin- Okayama station in the neighborhood of Oomoto station on the Uno Line. Eventually, the construction project of Shinkansen as envisaged in the inter-war period was abolished in 1956 and Shin-Okayama station was not built. New post-war Shinkansen construction work started in 1959.

In addition, it was written in the history of many cities, that reconstruction activities in local economic communities were established immediately after the end of the war. Reconstruction activities by local citizens were carried out as rebuilding shopping arcades and their own houses. Therefore, to the best of my knowledge, those documents of the reconstruction planning hardly remain as formal records today.

Replanning movement in the UK around the Second World War

In the UK, approximately 250 "reconstruction plans" have been traced for the period c.1940-1952 by Prof. Peter J. Larkham. Many planning authorities and joint committees were established in the first half of 20th century in England. Some of them were preparing outline plans or advisory plans.

After bomb damages of the second World War, they made up many interesting and significant reconstruction plans including no war-damage town and cities. The plans also were outline or advisory plans. The decade will be called a peak of planning movement around the second World War. The nature of rebuilding plans would be in the following concepts and procedures;

(1) Shaping of the town images
(2) Reconfirmation of the concepts of development and conservation for amenity
(3) Reformation and reorganization of urban structure
(4) Establishment of planning profession
(5) Beginning of area-based approach
(6) Formation of reconstruction planning within surrounding regional planning

Even if the rebuilding plans in England had the nature of place promotion and civic boosterism, they were plans which were prepared by the leadership of local authorities and committees. They will be said community reconstruction plans

Summary and conclusion

Immediately after the establishment of the 1919 town planning system in Japan, reconstruction planning and projects were needed for the damaged areas of the great Kanto Earthquake. To build urban infrastructures for facilitating disaster prevention performance, the central government was asked to take rapid measures and leadership.

Formerly, a system of local planning committees leaded by the central government was established to build urban infrastructures for promotions of industrial development and trades. The policies for these promotions were reinforced through the rebuilding projects and planning after the Second World War. The reconstruction planning was also speeded up for rapid rebuilding and the Special City Planning Act was enacted. Measures for the reconstructions were also land readjustment projects.

I described above on these central government-led and project-oriented town planning system through a study on the town planning of Okayama pre- and post-war period.

The main policies of the central government were promotion of industrial developments, trades and infrastructure building for industries. The plan of the bullet train was also a central government-led infrastructure-building project of national land planning.

In comparison with Japanese planning system, many reconstruction plans in the UK around the Second World War were rebuilding plans of communities. The new town plans to decentralize population and industries of metropolitan areas were also community-rebuilding plans. We had both a development- oriented planning system in Japan and a planning-oriented system in the UK in 20th century.

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The patterns of *Machi-zukuri* in *Japan* and *Maul-mandulgi* in *Korea* on historic townscape conservation; focused on the resident organization

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1. Introduction

1-1. Background of this Study

In *Korea*, until the 1990s, strong regulations for historic townscape conservation by the government failed to conserve the historic area, because there was no consensus of local residents. In other words, there was no participation of local residents. Rather, movements against the regulations by the residents often happened. But, since 2000s, because of a new initiative which is not only based on the support of the government but also the collaboration of the local people, the local government, and professionals, the situation has been changing. Lots of resident organizations on conservation have been created and have come to play an active role.

As can be seen in this case study, a consensus of local residents is one of the keys to the success of the town conservation planning and projects, especially in Asia. And on achieving a close consensus on the planning or the project itself, activities towards the sustainable development by resident organizations with support from the government become an important initiation.

On the other hand, in *Japan*, activities by the resident organizations also play an important role in arriving at a consensus of residents. But after achieving a consensus, it is usually the government and a representative of the local, for example, the *Machi-zukuri* Council, that lead the conservation planning and projects. Often, new issues such as house unoccupancy due to a dislike of traditional houses, negative impact from tourism activities, etc, begin to appear in the conservation areas. However, it is impossible for the government to cope with all the problems including landscape design guidelines, due to its limitations, especially manpower and financial limitations. In such circumstances, the resident organizations, for example, NPOs, should continually have more involvement on the conservation.

With the *Korea*'s and *Japan*'s case, we can say that the community style such as the system of the resident organizations or the relationship among the subjects on historic townscape conservation is one of the important parts to research.

1-2. Objectives

Therefore the aim of this research is to reveal the role and characteristics of the resident organizations for conservation, and the relationship among the local people, the

government and the resident organizations after the initiation of the project with the case studies of *Korea* and *Japan*. And in this research we will compare townscape conservation in *Korea* and *Japan* by looking at the characteristics of *Maul-mandulgi* in *Korea* and *Machi-zukuri* in *Japan*, which both can be simply defined as the residents' continual involvement in the regeneration of their environment (Note 1, Note 2), but which are different.

The ultimate target is to consider the ideal system of the resident organization and to get a more general suggestion to support the community design by looking at cases in other countries. In this research we used *Yanaka* area in *Tokyo, Japan* and *Bukchon* area in *Seoul, Korea* as the study areas that the townscape conservation project has been initiated and the resident organizations are actively involved in the conservation.

1-3. Definition of Terms in this study

(1) Resident organization
A resident organization is usually defined as the organization consisting of people who live in the same area and are involved in the politics, economy, customs, etc, of that area. In this study especially, we will focus on the 'theme community' which is a newly organized community by the local people to act on a specific part as opposed to the 'traditional community'.

(2) Citizen Organization
In this study, a citizen organization can be defined as a NPO (non-profit organization) made up mainly of experts or the citizens, and supports urban regeneration activities on a wider regional scale.
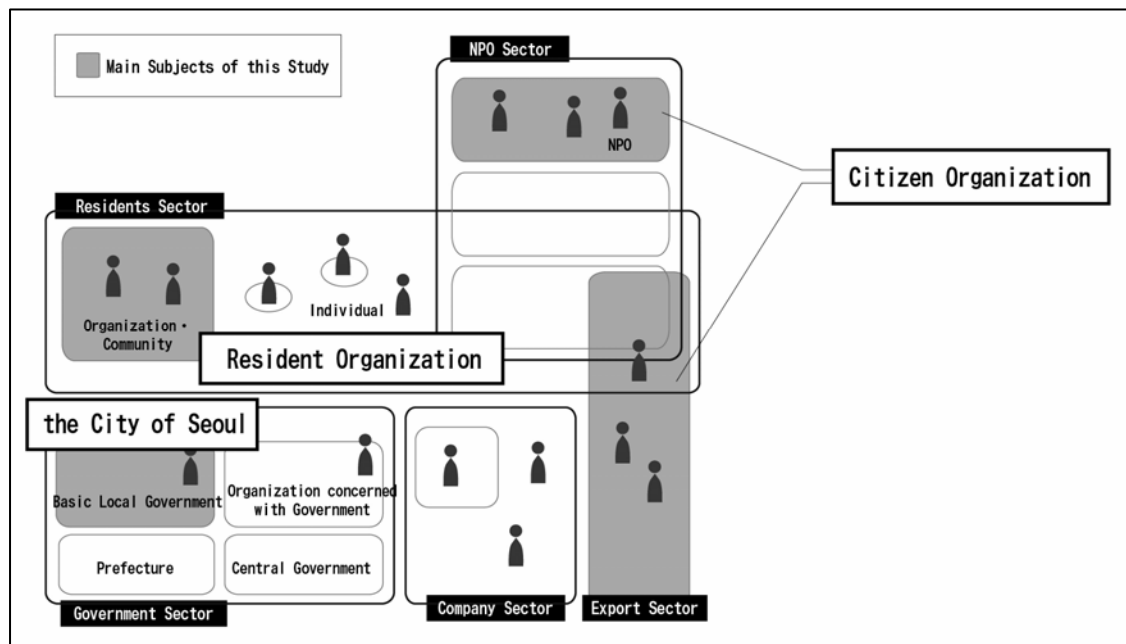
Fig. 1 Main Subjects of this Study
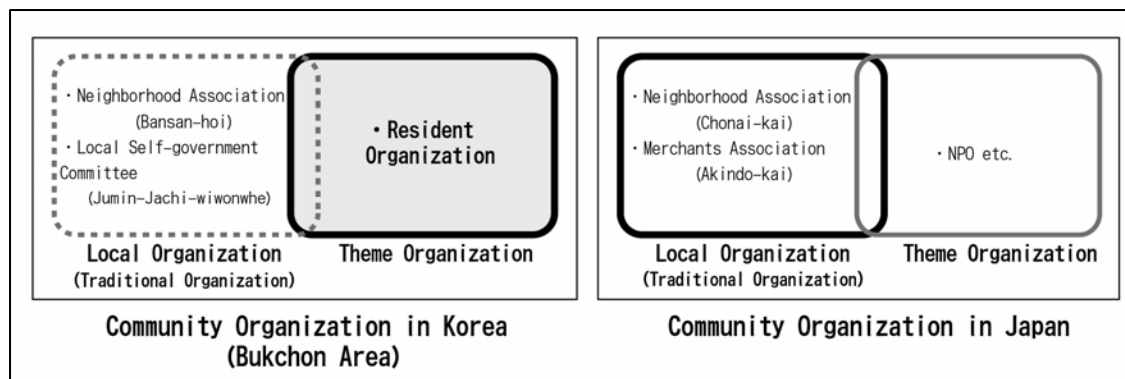
Fig. 2 Limit of Resident Organization on this Study

2. Placement of this study

2-1. Placement of this Study in *Japan*

In the case of *Japan*, movements by the local people on their welfare, environmental conservation and so on which can be called *Machi-zukuri* started to spread in the early 1970s. And in the late 1980s, community activities by various citizens on concepts like historical townscape design, disaster prevention etc. became common. Because of such movements, in the 1990s, collaboration among the local government, local people and the citizens like NPOs became to spread on a national scale. In addition, government policies such as the *Machi-zukuri* Ordinance became enacted. (Note 3)

2-2. Placement of this Study in *Korea*

In the case of the regular areas in *Korea*, community activities which can be called *Maul-mandulgi* became to spread in the late 1980s. On the other hand, in the case of the historic townscape conservation areas, as we mentioned before, movements by the local people against the government's conservation policy often occurred. However, after the 2000s, because of the collaboration project of the government with the local people, the townscape of the area began to improve, starting with the repair and maintenance of the historic buildings, and the image by the local people towards local area also began to improve. As a result, activities by the local people towards conservation started to spread.
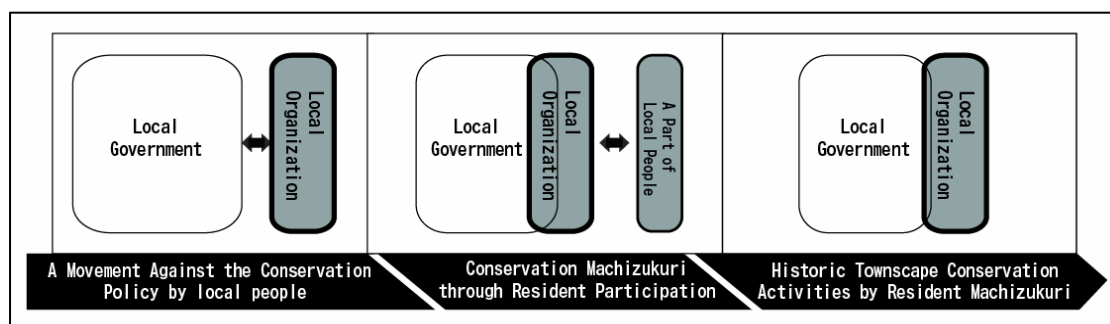
Fig. 3 Transition of Collaboration judging from the Relationship between Government and Local People in the Historic Townscape Conservation Area in *Korea*

2-3. Placement of this Study after the conservation project in *Japan* and *Korea*

In the case in the historic townscape conservation area in *Japan*, the activities by the resident organizations take an important role in the townscape conservation. But after the designation of a conservation district or a conservation project, design guide policy tends to be led by government and the local council. On the other hand, resident organizations and citizen organizations, etc. deal with the problems like house unoccupancy promptly and flexibly.

In the case of *Korea*, after the designation of a conservation district or the conservation project, the government led all the execution, even though it collected the opinion of the residents. But because of the limitation of the government and necessity for a more livable environment, local people started to carry out conservation activities and deal with the local problems by themselves.
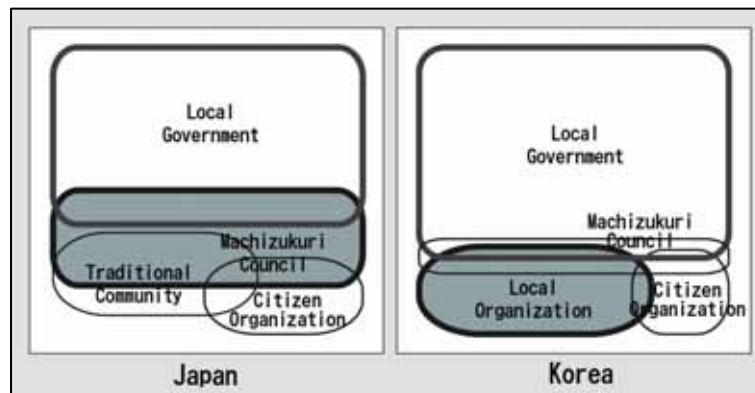
Fig. 4 Comparison of Collaboration System on the Townscape Conservation between *Korea* and *Japan*

3. Conservation project and *Machi-zukuri* in *Yanaka* Area, *Japan*

3-1. Outline of *Yanaka* Area

Yanaka area, now attracting widespread of popularity as a "town of temples and slope" has historically been a temple town since the *Edo* period when the urban program at that time solicited many Buddhist temples to relocate there. However, beginning from the *Meiji* period and until the present, this area has experienced rapid construction of roads and new buildings. But regardless of these changes, historical sites such as temples, houses and old streets still remain in *Yanaka*.

Yanaka area is the 83 ha area bordering Taito ward, Bunkyo ward and has the scenery of lots of temples and houses. As the administrative division, *Yanaka* is located in Taito Ward. But, from the view point of landscape and community, there is a remarkable organic and flexible continuity with other neighboring wards. Even though Yanaka has faced disastrous times such as the *Ueno* War (1868), damage from the *Kanto*

Earthquake (1923) and the Second World War (~1945), we can still find a chronological order of historical continuity from the *Edo* period to the contemporary time. *Yanaka* area has had more temples than any other area. So it can be said to be a temple town. This was as a result of the *Edo* policy of trying to move the temples into this area because of *Mereki* Fire (1657), and so on. As the temples increased, visitors to the temples also increased gradually. Naturally the need for a commercial area led the established of a merchant town. More than 70 temples and *Machiya* from the *Edo* period exist until now. (Note 4, Note 5)

Yanaka area still retains the old style of narrow streets and many temples. However, the area is now on the process of various structural developments including development of huge apartment etc.(Note 6)

3-2. Actual Condition of Resident Organization in *Yanaka* Area

Since the early 1980s, there has been lots of resident organizations; *Yanaka* Community Committee, Young People Countermeasure Committee etc. In addition, because of the promotion efforts by local magazine [Yanesen] since 1984, the image of *Yanaka* has become to change from a negative one to a positive one. In 1989, *Machi-zukuri* group [*Yanaka* School] made up of architecture and urban planning students as well as representatives of local people was created and since then it has been active offering professional advice on the local level.

From the 1980s, because of the bubble economy and the deregulation of the architectural industry in 1986-89, construction of huge apartments has led to the destruction of historical buildings, temples and the streetscape in *Yanaka* area. An example of this was the announcement of a plan for a large-scale apartment containing 9 floors. Against this plan, activities like the examination of the building conditions and a signature campaign for the plan review was started by the neighborhood association, temple organizations and [*Yanaka* School] members aimed at the plan review. As a result of these activities, the plan was changed from 9 floors to 6 floors.

Because of this movement, the [*Yanaka*-Ueno Sakuragi district *Machi-zukuri* Charter] was established and the consensus for the building standards was undertaken. And as a *Machi-zukuri* council for the whole area, [*Yanaka* district *Machi-zukuri* Council] was established by the neighborhood association, the business association, Community Committee etc. These organizations have been examining and proposing projects for the Ward. In addition, Taito-Ward organized [*Yanaka* district *Machi-zukuri* Examination Committee], which has made various adjustments concerning the project plans.

But at the same time, the participation of the experts in planning, support for the condition examination and their offer of the plans that take into consideration values important to a particular region was necessary. So, the [NPO *Hito-Machi* CDC] was established by the members of [*Yanaka* School], as the supporter of *Machi-zukuri* Council. (Note 7)

3-3. *Machi-zukuri* on townscape conservation in *Japan*

It is important to gain the consensus of the local residents before initiating a project especially a large scale project such as townscape conservation project. So, establishing the *Machi-zukuri* Council composed of the local people and the local government is very common in *Japan.* This is the main concept of *Machi-zukuri* in *Japan. Machi-zukuri* Council starts to solve some problems over the whole area. And of course, the council is based on the [local community], for example, the neighborhood associations. As a result of this system, the participation of the local people, as well as the collaboration of the residents and the local government becomes possible.

However, the councils are limited by their jurisdictive boundaries. Therefore, even as they attempt to solve various problems, they often face difficulties and are often unable to offer prompt response. In addition, although the relationship between the members in the council is very strong, the relationship with other groups can easily result in conflict.

4. Conservation project in *Bukchon* Area

4-1. Outline of *Bukchon* Area (*Hanok* Village)

In *Korea*, there are 6,420,000 apartments, representing 52% of the total number of houses (June, 2004, Construction Traffic Department). On the other hand, until now, in *Bukchon* area, there has been a historic townscape with historic houses, streets, and so on. So it can be said that *Bukchon* has very special meaning in *Korea*. This area is in the center of *Seoul,* and it takes about 20 min on foot from downtown *Seoul.* The area is about 78.735 ha, which has been designated as the urban esthetic district since 1983. In *Chosen* period, noblemen lived there. Such large sites have been subdivided since 1900s because of a sudden increase in population and the resulting housing shortage, and standardized *Korean* Houses (*Hanok*) have come to be steadily built in the smaller sites.(Fig 5, Fig 6)

4-2. Genealogy of Conservation Policies ; 1980s-1990s

The conservation policies in *Bukchon* area started in 1983 with a regulation designating it as urban aesthetic district. However, as stricter regulations appeared, movements against the regulations by the local people intensified. For example, the [Association for the Cancellation of *Hanok* Preservation District] was formed in 1988. Consequently, the regulations in this area have come to decrease since the 1990's. As a result, the historic houses and townscape have become disturbed. This has resulted in the townscape of *Bukchon* changing rapidly.

Fig. 5 General Scenery of *Seoul*

Fig. 6 Scenery of *Bukchon* Area

4-3. *Bukchon-Gakugi* Project

From now, we will talk about [*Bukchon-Gakugi* Project] which means the project in *Bukchon* area for historic townscape conservation based on citizen participation. Because of the rapid changes of townscape such as streetscape changes or changes in living environment, in 1999, some of the local people began to demand conservation measures from the local government and in 2000, the *Seoul* Government established [*Seoul* Central Planning Bureau for Conservation of Historicity and Tradition] .
As a result of these developments, a project plan was initiated with discussions at the [*Bukchon-Gakugi* Task forces] in which the local people, local government and professionals participated, in addition to an informal discussion between planner and local people. The project started on Dec in 2001 with the establishment of [*Bukchon-Gakugi* Master Plan].

The project was comprised of 3 parts. Firstly, the [guide support] for *Hanok* was started. [*Hanok* Support Ordinance] was created in order to support the cost of repairing houses. At the same time, the *Seoul* Government purchased and leased lots of *Hanok* for cultural use such as use as guesthouses, museums, etc. And, [Prior Consultation System for Building] was formed to conserve the historical townscape. Secondly, the [support system] was improved. Before the change of the system, the services connected with [*Bukchon-Gakugi*] Project such like housing, tourism, urban planning were not integrated. So the residents faced inconveniences while trying to do anything concerning the project even inquiry. Because of this, a City Office was established in *Bukchon*. Thirdly, [environment improvement project] was formed. The *Seoul* Government paved the roads with traditional material while burying underground telegraph wires.

Because of this project, a lot of things changed. The rate of loss of the historical houses decreased, and their condition also improved. As a result, the streetscape of the area also improved. The street views also improved. As a result, the real estate value in this area rose. As a result, the images of *hanok* and *Bukchon* area have improved. As a matter of fact, the project also raised the confidence of the residents to the conservation project. (Note 8)

At the same time, some trouble arose between the residents and the local government due to their dissatisfaction with the Prior Consultation System, local commercialization and tourism, etc. In order for the locals to solve these problems by themselves, lots of resident organizations were established with the support of the citizen organizations. These organizations have played an active role in creating a more livable area. (Note 9)

Fig. 7 Guesthouse which the *Seoul* Government purchased and leased to local people
Fig. 8 Streetscape in *Bukchon* after [*Bukchon-Gakugi* Project]

5. Actual condition of Resident Organization in *Bukchon*

5-1. Outline of Resident Organization and Citizen Organization

Here is the list of the resident organizations and the citizen organizations that have been active in *Bukchon* and their characteristics as obtained through the interviews and documents.(Note 10) The activities of main organizations are like these:

● Resident Organizations
  • Organization by Local Residents

Z1 *Jogno-Bukchon* Preservation Association (After *Bukchon* Preservation Assoc.)

: [Association for the Cancellation of *Hanok* Preservation District] which had demanded the cancellation of severe building regulations in the conservation district was renamed as [*Jogno-Bukchon* Preservation Association] in 1998. It has changed its direction and started supporting conservation by the government. It is not representative of the *Bukchon* area. But it was the first movement for the conservation by the residents. And when problems arose among the residents or between the residents and government, it also interceded.

Tab. 1 Analysis of Resident & Citizen Organizations

Classification	Name	Org. No.	Start Year (or Start Activity in Bukchon)	Goal and Outline	Starter's Occupation	Core Members (Steering Committee)	Member Constitution	Number of the Members	Establishment Factor (or Start Activity in Bukchon)	Type	Operating Finance	Main Activities	Cooperation Situation	Cooperation with Seoul City
Resident Organization	Jogno-Bukchon Preservation Association	Z1	1991 (1988)	It was established with local people to build and succeed to the history culture tradition of Bukchon	politician	10	vice chairman at Korea Physical Education Society, Chairman at elderly people's club, honorary Mayor of ward, chairman at Ee-hwa Women's University Old Girls' Association	about 500	movement against building regulation Growing tendency to Participate in	corporation	fee and own expense	propose to local government, mediation between residents, monitor of townscape conservation	Z2 S2	
	Bukchon Service Association	Z2	2000	It was established to slove the local problmes by themselves and support for poor people	politician	?	various	about 147	Bukchon-Gakugi Project	voluntary	fee and contribution	propose to local government, mediation between residents, monitor of townscape	Z1 etc.	
	Hanok Lover Society	Z3	2000	It was organized by people who are living in Hanok, or who want to live in Hanok And they are trying to improve the bad point and to succeed to good point and the beauty of Hanok, as Hanok s Lover Group.	Guest House manager	18	traditional craftsmen, art designer, university professor, residents and citizens	about 100	Bukchon-Gakugi Project	voluntary	fee, financial support by the Seoul city, charitable work	opening a village party and, walking event aroud Bukchon	Z1 S2 S4	
	Hanok Guard Solidarity	Z4	2002	It was formed as residents in Gahoi-dong so that they can build community and to maintain the beauty of the Hanok Village.		14	Residents around No. 31 Gahoi-dong	65	Bukchon-Gakugi Project	voluntary	fee	Monitor fuction to Hanok repair, propose the system of townscape deliberation and Hanok removal	S2	
	Bukchon Neighborhood Society	Z5	2006	It was organized with about 10 people of the elementary school PTA, for the purpose of studying and developing about their village by themselves.	housewife	12	housewife	12	by the support of Hanok Lover Society and City Joint	voluntary	financial support by the Seoul city and the Ministry of Government Affairs and	Improvement of the wall in school district, propose the master plan of Bukchon	S4	
	Samchung-dong Prosperity Association	Z6	2006 (1980s)	It was organized as Samchung-dong Mall Prosperity Association , but it was rebeared as Samchung-dong Prosperity Association merging with Samchung-dong Resident Autonomy Committee	politician	30 Samchung-dong Resident Autonomy Committee	various	Samchuhng-dong Residents	movement against building regulation Growing tendency to Participate in Machizukuri	Resident Autonomy Committee	fee, financial support by the dong office, contribution	Samchung-dong Culture Festival, management of Resident Automy Center		
	Hanok Value Society	Z7	2000	It is consisted of members who are interested in Korean traditional culture, residence culture in particular, and preservation management of Hanok village and culture	Museum Director	?	housewife, art uni. Professor, enterpriser, designer	about 50	(voluntarily)	voluntary	fee	purchase of Hanok, repair	S2	
Citizen Organization	Arumjigi (Culture Keepers Foundation)	S1	2003 (2001)	It was organized so that they can put small power together to guard cultures of their own and to create it again to match modern living environment	activist		various	about 300	Bukchon-Gakugi Project	foundation	fee	preservation movement of districed culture heritage, propose about preservation policy Improvement		
	Bukchon Culture Forum	S2	2001	It was founded by professionals of culture art aiming at conservation of historic environment and improvement of living environment of Bukchon.	National Center Museum Director	about 20	architect, university professor, gallery representative, museum director, activist, occupation concerned with the religious world, occupation concerned with the	about 80	with activities for preserving scenery of the heritage and bukchon village	NPO	fee	research Bukchon's value and the problems, Monitor for the policy the system about the issue of Bukchon, discussion the practical suggestion for the problem	Z1 Z3 Z4 Z7 S3	
	Culture Joint	S3	2001	They are campaigning to preserve lots of culture heritages.	(collaboration)	15(24)	occupation concerned with culture art world	about 1700	preservation movement for the culture heritage in	NPO	fee	movement for townscape conservation and preservation of the culture heritage	S2 S4	
	Citizen Joint for Making a Walkable City	S4	2001	They support Machizukuri activities of the residents by themselves keeping the historic environment.	activist	4	various include local residents	about 350	with walking event around Bukchon	corporation	fee	movement for making poket park, support rearing enlightenment for the residents	Z1 Z3	

Z3 *Hanok* Lovers Society

: Some of the residents and citizens also sympathized with the necessity of *Hanok* conservation, and [*Hanok* Lovers Society] was establishing in 2000 as a group for organizing friendship parties. The group organized parties for the own community, such as a party commemorating the Bukchon Cultural Center . These parties became regular friendship parties for *Bukchon* residents. In addition, they organized a *Bukchon* tour for the foreigners, citizens and the residents. Through holding the events, the group

has helped increase *Bukchon*'s awareness. On the other hand, the group has also tried to solve confrontation problems between the residents.

Z4 *Hanok* Guard Solidarity

: This was established in 2002 by inhabitants of 65 households in No. 31 *Gahoi*-dong to preserve the *hanok* and the townscape of this area. They performed various activities and discussed how to maintain the scenery and also acted as monitors. They insisted especially on the conservation of townscape view. They also tried to solve the confrontation problems among the residents such as problems resulting from the right to view by acting as mediators.

● Citizen Organizations
  • Organization concerned with *Bukchon* Area

S2 *Bukchon* Culture Forum

: In 2001, a movement to save the cultural heritage of *Bukchon* by the experts of culture and art occurred. Taking this opportunity, the above organization was founded mainly by these experts (more than 60) who were interested in *Bukchon.* They have done research on the problem, monitoring of the administration, the policy and the system concerning *Bukchon.* They also discussed practical suggestions to that problem.

S4 Citizen Joint for Making a Walkable City (After City Joint)

: Since joining *Bukchon* area, this organization has organized [*Han-pyong* park] movements with the participation of residents, organized movements for promotion of walk regulation and the movement to rescue the small 12 shops in *Insadong*, etc. Since July 2001, the organization has also held *Bukchon* cultural tours for *Bukchon* residents and has continued to offer consistent support to the residents.

5-2. Analysis of Relationship between Organizations (include Citizen Organization & Professionals)

Because of the above collaborations, the relationship between the local government and the local people also has changed from bad to good. The organization of these events was made by lots of mediators, like resident organizations, local government and citizen organizations. For example, [Walking Event around *Bukchon*] was held mainly by [*Hanok* Lovers Society] and [City Joint]. Of course, a lot of other organizations also participated. The [*Bukchon* Regional Society Conference] was organized by [*Bukchon* Culture Forum] with the involvement of some of the resident organizations, citizen organizations, professionals, etc. Triggered by these events and movements, the [*Bukchon* Workshop] was held, too. As a result of these events and movements, we can say that the relationship between all the subjects involved has been strengthened. (Fig 9.)
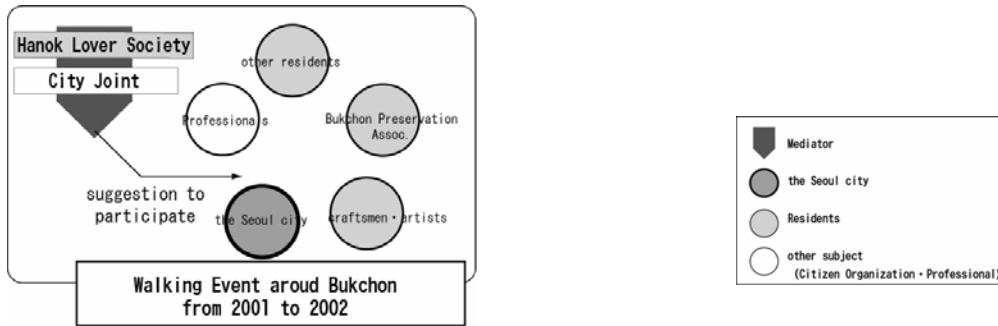
Fig. 9-1 Mediator for the cooperation

Fig. 9-2 Mediator for the cooperation

5-3. Transition Process on Relation of {Government-Local People>, <Resident Organization-Resident Organization}

In the transition process on relationship between the {government-local people}, {resident organization-resident organization}, there was a period of opposition between the {government-local people} which lasted until 1990s. On the other hand, in the first action period in 2000, lots of resident organizations started to cooperate with each other. Actually, the relationships were of a loose and equal category. There was also the opposition between the resident organizations from 2002 until 2005, a stagnation period where one organization was dismantled. On the other hand, a new group was formed by housewives in 2006, and we can say that there still will be other movements by the resident organizations from now on. In conclusion, we can say that, first, the bonds between the groups have been strengthened. Second, the relationships are loose and equal in terms of cooperation. (Fig 10.)

5-4. Activities of Resident Organizations

As can be seen from the above discussion, activities by the resident organizations can be summarized into the following 3 points. The first point is raising an appeal. From 1999, they demanded conservation measures from the *Seoul* Government, and suggested measures for problems relating to townscape views, etc. The second point is

conservation activity. Not only did they carry out conservation activities like a walk around the local area, hold residents party and purchase *Hanok*, they also carried out various improvements on their immediate environment. The third point is mediation. They got involved in the confrontation problems among the local people as well as between the local people and local government and tried to mediate on the conflicts. As a result of these activities, the resident organizations' recognition as well as trust from the local people began to rise. And this has enabled them to act as mediators for the local people.
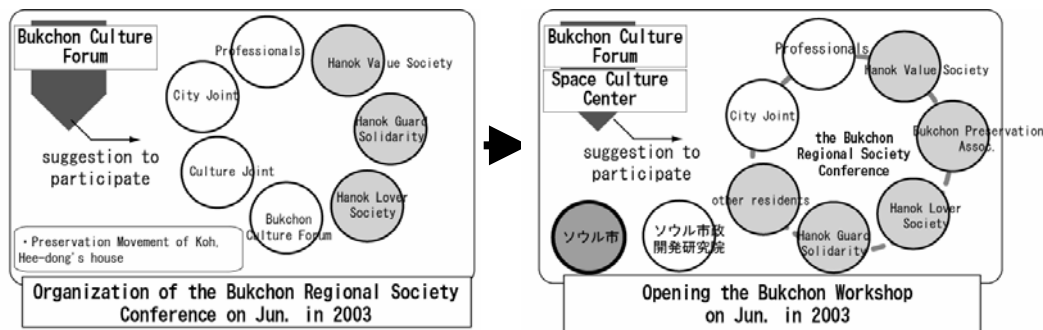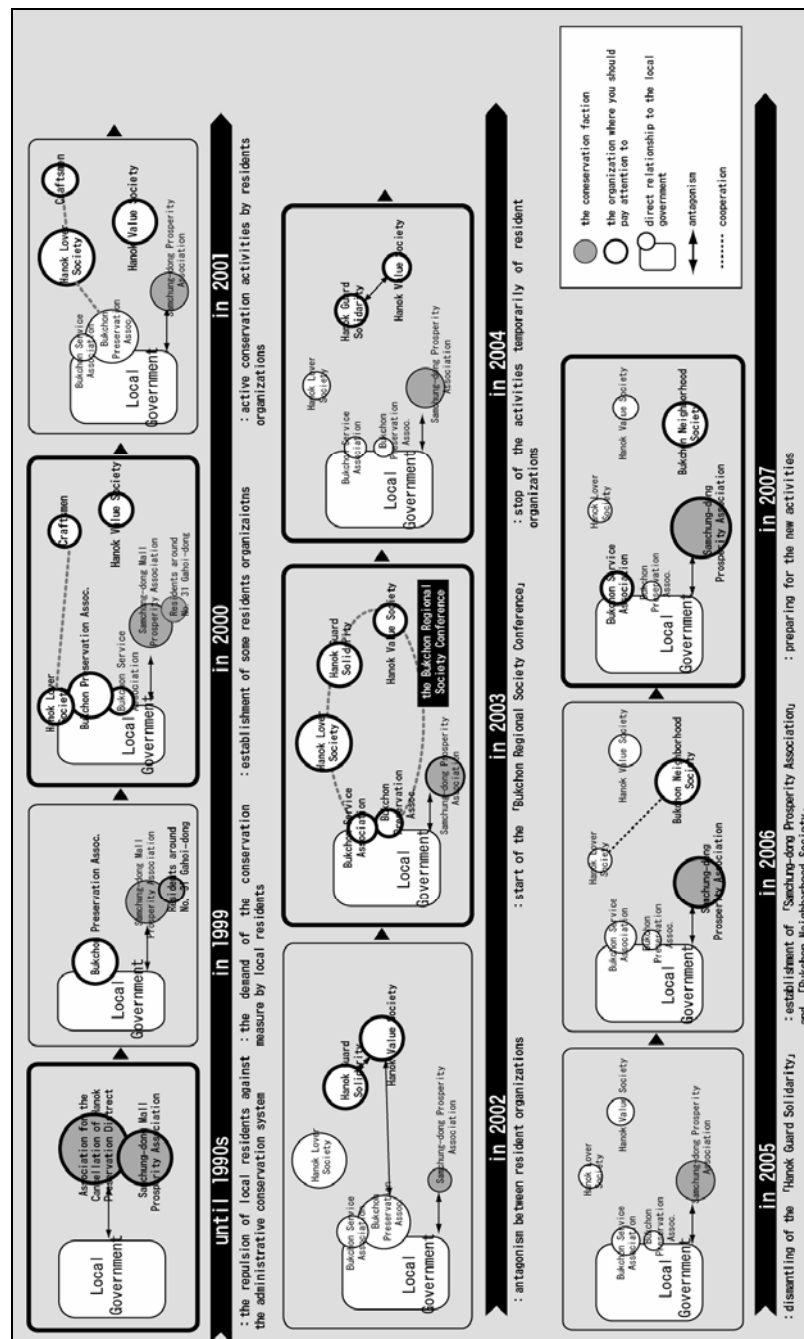

Fig. 10. Transition Process on Relation of {Government-Local People} & {Resident Organization-Resident Organization}

5-5. *Maul-mandulgi* on townscape conservation in *Korea*

As the conservation project goes on, lots of problems start to occur such as problems relating to Townscape Design Guidelines, one on right to a view, on conservation of modern architectural heritage, on local tourism etc.

In the case of *Korea*, the local government as the coordinator has of course been coping well on solving these confrontation problems. For example, to solve conflicts towards of townscape design guidelines, they did on-the-spot investigation, and consulted with the people involved. Secondly, for the confrontation problems on the operation of the guest house, they opened a meeting for the concerned parties to talk to each other. Thirdly, to solve conflicts involving the conservation of modern architectural heritage, they opted to try and purchase such heritage.

However, the local governments sometimes faced various limitations, including problems involved fairness, personal and financial limitations, etc. Because of this, therefore, in some cases, they could not ease or solve the opposition..

Resident organizations have coped with the confrontation problem well by trying to reach an agreement of views with the residents. For example, they opened a meeting for talks between the people involved, and showed to them the positive images of the future of a historic townscape. And they also talked and persuaded with people concerned. Moreover, they opened a campaign to collect signatures. They also independently carried out research on problems affecting the local area and requested measures from the government.
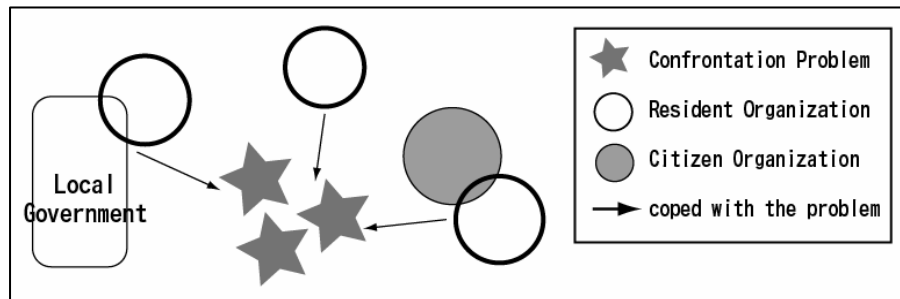
Fig. 11 Coordination Subject on Confrontation Problem

6. Conclusion

6-1. Significance of *Machi-zukuri* in *Japan*

In case of *Machi-zukuri* in *Japan*, due to economic limitations of the government, and also in order to spontaneously develop community activities, a *Machi-zukuri* Council was usually established. This council coped with various kinds of problems affecting the whole area.

However, at the same time, the councils were limited by their jurisdictive boundaries, and also the members were representatives of neighborhood associations. In addition, council members formed a vertical rather than an equal relationship. This made it difficult for the councils to respond quickly some problems. Because of this, new groups like NPOs had to take the roles where the *Machi-zukuri* council could not cope.

6-2. Significance of *Maul-mandulgi* in *Korea*

On *Maul-mandulgi* in *Korea*, the activities by the resident organizations can be said to be raising appeals, conservation activities, and coordination. Especially, the coordination role has been especially done by the resident organizations. The relationship of these organizations on matters dealing with cooperation was loose and horizontal in nature.

Of course, there were some limitations especially in the resident organizations. First, there was not so much maintenance for acting. The reasons could be said to be opposition between the resident organizations, discord in the groups, lacks of the leadership etc. Second, there was not representative organization of the area. In *Bukchon* case, [*Bukchon* Preservation Assoc.] came into action as a representation of local area, but it cannot be said as local representative, because it did not have any consensus in the whole area. So it is thinkable that a representative organization is organized and takes in opinions from the local residents temporarily only when necessary.

6-3. Conclusion

This study shows the placement of the community style in townscape conservation area.

In the case of *Japan*, most problems are led by the local government and the council. On the contrary, in the case of *Korea*, for the problems affecting the wider area, the local government and a representative organization of local area lead. But, for more local problems, various kinds of the resident organizations and the citizen groups cope with. The reason of the difference can be said to be due to a difference of the systems and also a difference of the people.

We cannot determine which system is better between *Machi-zukuri* and *Maul-mandulgi*. But we can pick up the good points from each. Our ultimate goal is to determine which system best suits a particular community design in one country by getting ideas from cases the other country.
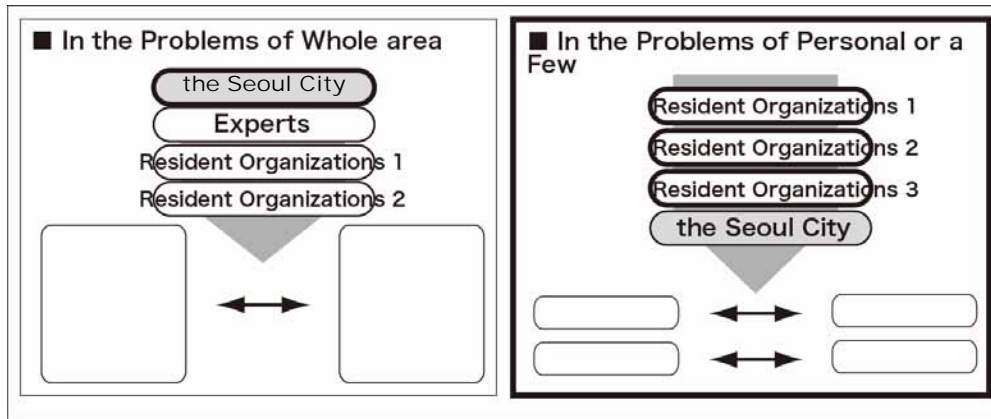
Fig. 12 Counter Subject to the Problems (*Bukchon* Area in *Korea*)
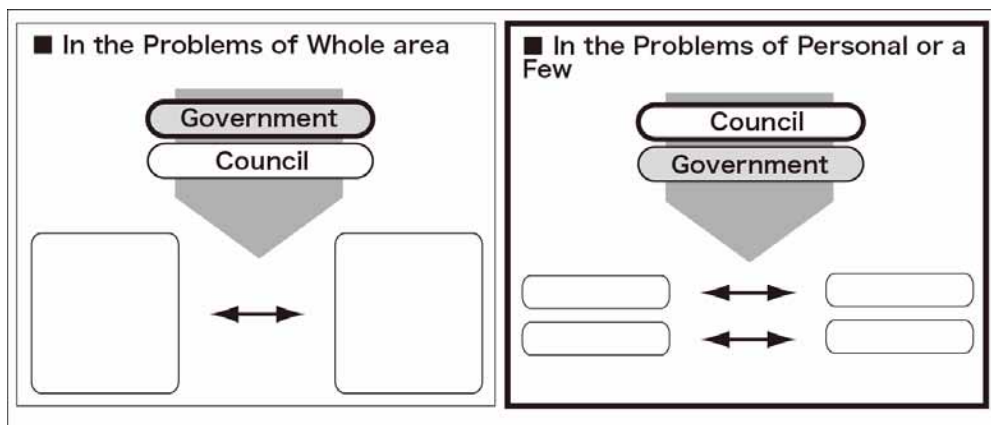
Fig. 13 Counter Subject to the Problems (Japan)

Note

1) Ref. (1)
2) Ref. (2), p. 3
3) Ref. (2), p. 13-14
4) Ref. (4), p. 79-91, Ref. (10)
5) Machiya are traditional wooden townhouses found throughout Japan (from Wikipedia)
6) Ref. (11)
7) Ref. (3), p. 94-100
8) *Hanok* is a historical house of *Korea*
9) Ref. (5)
10) By the interviews of the resident organizations and Seoul Metropolitan Government

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Exploring the state of exception in urbanization: the case of urban villages in Zhuhai, China

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Introduction

Urban villages are a special phenomenon in China. Along with rapid economic growth brought about by the economic reform and opening since December 1978, the rate of urbanization in China increased from 14% at the end of the 1970s to 41.8% in 2005. In the course of such a rapid expansion of cities, many villages, originally located in the countryside, were wrapped completely in the newly constructed blocks or development zones of the city, without being adjusted and renovated. Thus appeared the so-called 'urban villages' (literally translated as 'villages-in-city'). By breaking down the former equilibrium in the countryside, the transition changed the social structure of the entire villages and brought about a series of social, economic and physical problems.

Given that farmlands formerly cultivated by villagers were compulsorily purchased by the government, and being short of adequate working skill in the city, villagers found their way of making a living by renting extra rooms to increasingly floating migrants. In order to accommodate the bulky demands for affordable housing, villagers often rebuilt their houses. Those that were previously one to two floors were converted to three to five floors, whilst the coverage rate of houses in urban villages increased from 40% or so to around 70%. This situation results in two severe issues. Firstly, urban villages become highly dense with narrow alleys, which are difficult for vehicles to pass through, especially in an emergency, such as a fire. The natural lighting and ventilation are also poor. Secondly, cheap accommodation for migrants and rare formal social control make villages the breeding grounds for some crimes such as theft, drug addiction and prostitution. In addition, there is no 'informal' concept in the local government's dictionary. Most of the new houses in urban villages are regarded as illegal because of the lack the government's endorsement of construction.

These issues and the illegal problems mentioned above annoy the government so much that the latter strives to carry on some aggressive actions. However, if all illegal houses were to be torn down according to prior customs and regulations, the villagers will resist and cost a considerable amount of money. How will this dilemma be treated? One way is adopting the conception of exception which means accepting some parts of informal urbanization beyond the order of formal urbanization. Here, exception is a special state with the power, granted by the juridical order, of proclaiming the exclusive rights of the planning apparatus over an area and people. Peter Ward (1999) elaborated the need for exceptions in the case of colonias in Texas. The colonias are informal subdivisions. Ward suggests a state of exception, to have a 5-year moratorium on codes while infrastructure is extended to the homes in the colonias, and at the same time to provide financing mechanisms for these settlements to upgrade them to code. Ananya Roy (2005, p. 153) suggests the regularity exceptions because "one important reason for

displacement is that formalization regularizes the irregularity of payments and transactions." Regularity exceptions have to be applied not only to land titling but also to service provisions. However, the state of exception is a very new idea for both urban policy makers and urban planners in China. Is it meaningful to use the concept of exception with respect to urban villages? In order to answer the question, we should articulate the following: why should we use the concept of the state of exception? What kinds of exceptions should we hold? And how does the state of exception contribute to the solution of the pressing issues in urban villages? By addressing these questions, the author attempts to seek an alternative for the future transformation of urban villages.

Methodology

Although a state of exception in urban planning is never formally mentioned in China, it is interesting that the state of exception has actually existed in urban villages for a long time. As their farmland was expropriated by the government, urban villages were laid out under the situation of self-help and self-control with scarce resources. That was essentially a state of exception. Ananya Roy (2005, p.153) states "there are two forms of exception: regulatory exception and regularity exception". She suggests that what Peter Ward (1999) recommended, the moratorium on codes, is the regulatory exception, while the regular exception of land titling and service provision are regularity exceptions. In terms of the role of the government, I argue that the regulatory exception can be further distinguished into two categories: passive exception and positive exception. In urban villages, the space development was overwhelmingly controlled by villagers and the government neglected or failed to superintend it. This situation could be regarded as the passive exception. Contrastingly, as the government takes a positive attitude in engaging in the space transformation of urban villages, while conceding the existing informal construction, this can be ascribed to the positive exception. In the process of villages' transformation, the state of exception played a vital role. The hypothesis of the study is that the state of the exception constitutes the institutional basis for urban villages' survival and development.

Using the case of Zhuhai, a new seashore city in the southern area of China, where there are typical urban villages, the article traces a route of how a state of exception in urban villages is generated, how it is evolving, and how it parallels the informal transformation of villages' space. Based on the analysis, the article finds a close relation between the space transformation of urban villages and the state of exception. It argues that a positive state of exception is valuable in the future transformation of urban villages.

Due to deficient data about urban villages in China, I applied the Anthropology approach. The three urban villages of Jida, Shanchang and Cuiwei, which are respectively located downtown, on the fringe of downtown, and on the city fringe of Zhuhai, are the main objects of the study. Adopting the half-structural form, I interviewed 30 or so informants in each village, including 20 village clerks and ordinary villagers, and 10 migrants, as well as local enforcement members and bureaucrats charged with urban planning. Village informants cover a range of people from yong to

elderly people. Most of the interviews were conducted in 2000-2005. Today, urban villages in Zhuhai are still in the same situation as before.

Origin of the state of exception in Zhuhai

In December 1978, faced with the dual difficulties of political uncertainty in the wake of Mao's death in 1967 and several years of economic stagnation, the Chinese leadership, under Den Xiaoping, announced a program of economic reform and opening to the outside world. In August 1980, the Chinese government designated four southeast coastal areas as "Special Economic Zones". Zhuhai, situated in the southern part of Guangdong province and adjcent to Macau and once a rarely known small town with a population of less than 20,000, was one of "Special Economic Zones". Invigorated by the favorable policies, a strong "engine" coming from the state, the area of the city of Zhuhai expanded from 6.81 square kilometers in 1980 to 121.0 square kilometers in 2002, and the population soared from 20,000 to 120 million at the same time. In the rapid urbanization, 25 villages, once in the countryside but now in the city of Zhuhai, step by step lost their farmland and became urban villages.

China has set up two kinds of land ownership systems since 1949. Land in the country belongs to the village collective, an organization responsible for common villager affairs. By this institutional arrangement, villagers reached their goal of owning farmland after a long period of revolution. On the contrary, land in the urbanized cities is owned by the state. Also villagers in the rural area and citizens in the city are assigned to distinct social, economic and physical operation systems. When the rural villages transitioned into urban villages, the government of Zhuhai changed villagers' household registration from peasant to citizen. However, the ownership of the villagers' residential settlement was still kept for village collectives due to high social and economic costs for the government, which was also struggling for resources in the initial stage of economic reform and opening to the outside world. If the land ownership of villagers' residential settlements were taken from village collectives and given to the state, the government had to purchase and compensate villagers for their lost dwellings and arrange jobs for the unskilled villagers in the city. In fact, villagers were regarded as "burdensome parcels" by the government. By keeping the residential land ownership with villagers, villagers still maintained their original identity as peasants even though they were in the city and without farmland. Therefore, two differing operational systems exist in the city to this day. The government administers common economic and social affairs in the city, while village committees manage the villagers' affairs under the condition of original rural regulations and laws. Actually, the status of urban villages is complicated. What is clear is that village committees are responsible for arranging jobs, providing welfare and bonuses, and paying for the infrastructure construction for villagers; whereas, the government is exempted from the expected obligation of providing public services for urban villagers. This gives rise to a passive state of exception in urban villages. Consequently, urban villages, dotting the city, become relatively "independent kingdoms."
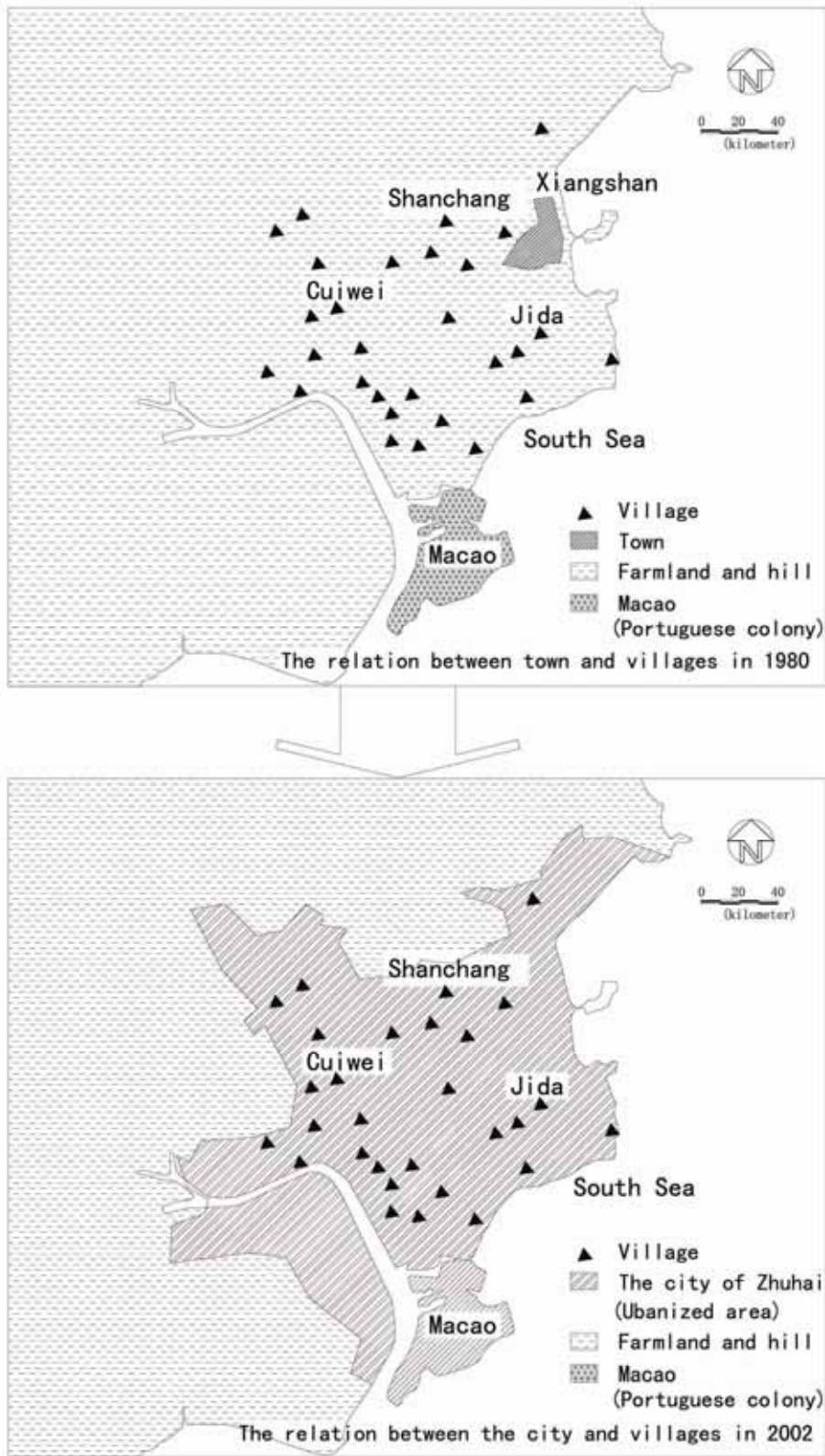
Figure 1 The transition between the city and villages in 1980 and in 2002

Take the typical case of Shanchang, with a population of 2200 villagers. When its farmland of 260 hectares was expropriated in 1988, the compensation was just   19 million (about   2.4 million), in which a mere   3500 (440) was distributed for each villager, amounting to   7.7 million (about   1.0 million) for all villagers; whereas, the rest of the compensation was left to the village collective for future use, such as launching factories and trading businesses. The government also returned 11.4 hectares out of 260 hectares of land for the village's future industrial and residential development. From then on, by leaving the commitments of providing all the village's public affairs to the village committee, the government freed itself from having to expend more funds to the village. Therefore, Shanchang was actually laid aside to be in a state of exception in the city, resorting to self-help and self-administration. All costs, including social welfare, social security, and the infrastructure construction, would totally be covered by the village committee of Shanchang. The government also neglected the elevation of new urban roads around the village, which were designed higher than the ground of the village. These new roads brought about a flood to the village in the raining season, which never happened over the last 700 years, because part of the rain water in the lower location in the village could not flow away. Wu Fuqiang, an informant of mine and a former village clerk in Shanchang talked about details of those difficult situations that their villagers were faced with.

> There were more than 3000 Mu (200 hectares) of rice fields, 900 Mu (60 hectares) or so of hill land (belonging to Shanchang) as the city of Zhuhai was initially set up. Some of the farmland was expropriated to build new roads and infrastructure in 1984-1985. In 1988 all the land, including rice fields and hills, was expropriated by the government. 2200 Farmers have had no land to cultivate since then. At that time the compensation price of hill land was   450 (61) per Mu (0.066 hectare), whilst a 5-year rice product amount multiplied by the state-set rice price was equal to the amount for compensation of rice fields. With these two compensations, the whole village would be paid   1.9 million (260,000), plus 80 Mu (5.3 hectares) of land for villager's future housing construction and 105 Mu (7 hectares) of land for villager's industrial development. In all, a compensation of   3500 (480) was distributed to each villager. From then on, the government no longer paid attention to (our) village. Our village collected funds from ourselves to rebuild the infrastructure. Roads in the village were once covered by blanks, which were not convenient for cleaning the garbage, so villagers paid and replaced them with concrete. The state didn't spend a cent.

> Shanchang has a 700 year history. It never flooded in the past. After the surrounding farmland was expropriated, new urban roads were constructed at a higher elevation, which made the old village lower than the new urbanized development, and the village was flooded because rain could not drain away. The village was damaged severely, especially in 1997-1998.

A thorough state of exception

Although there are two administrative systems in the city, and urban villages are relatively "independent kingdoms," they are theoretically still under the supervision of civil authority. According to the laws, all construction in the city must be endorsed by the Urban Planning Bureau. Otherwise, the house will be claimed as illegal. Anyone who

transgresses it will be punished. Of course, construction in urban villages falls under this rule.

However, urban villages were trapped in troubles after they lost farmland. Though village collectives attempted to launch their new businesses in the returned industrial land, villagers are not congenital entrepreneurs. Most of the village enterprises, except rare ones, failed and villagers lost their jobs. What village committees finally did was rent the factory houses to outsiders. For common villagers, they found it very difficult to get a new job due to their lower education, lack of skills, and low-waged competitions coming from migrants. By the survey of the three villages of Jida, Shanchang and Cuiwei, 18% of 19-50 years old villagers hold elementary or below education, 32% of 19-50 years old villagers hold junior high school education, only 12% possessing college education or above. And among all 19-50 year old villagers, who are of the working age and not in college, 30% of them are unemployed, and another 12% are temporary casual laborers.

Figure 2 Villager education composition

- No education
- Elementary
- Junior high school
- Senior high school
- College or above

12% 4% 14%
38% 32%

Figure 3 Villager employment composition

- Unempolyed
- Temporary laborer
- Blue collar worker
- White collar worker
- Professional
- Self-employed
- Company boss

15% 5% 1%
14%
23% 12% 30%
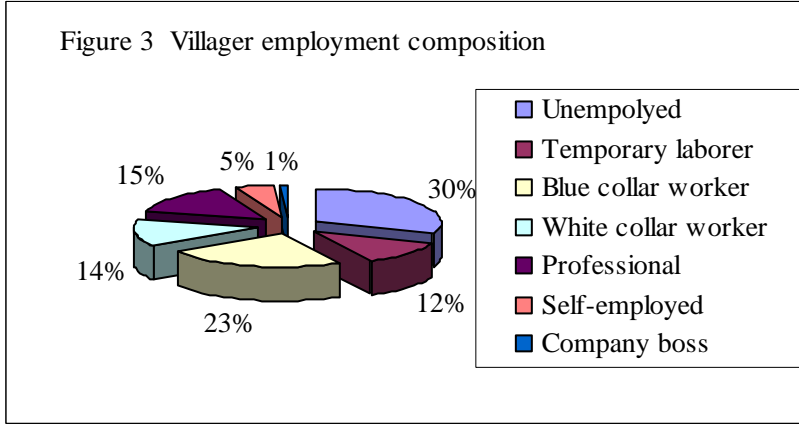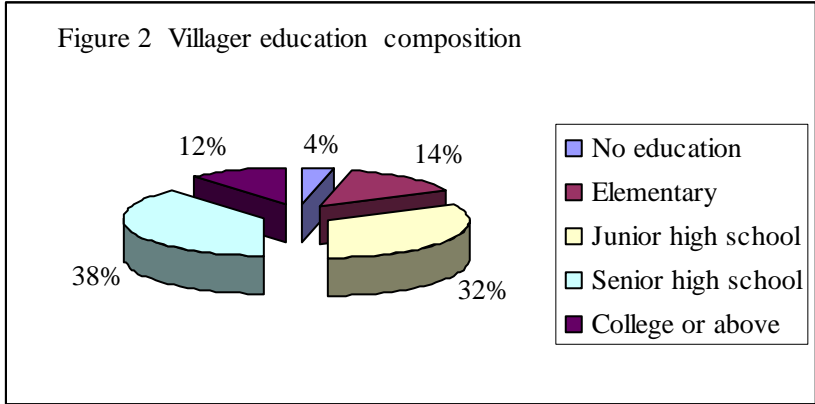
In the meantime, the markedly increased disparity between rural and urban incomes, in both Zhuhai and elsewhere in China, had a tremendous impact on urban villages. Urban incomes in China, that averaged just　80 a year in 1985, soared to over　1,000 in 2004, while rural incomes rose from around　50 to around　300 in the same period. Driven by the huge gap of incomes, rural migrants have continuously flooded into the

cities, especially in the coastal areas with faster economic growth and more chances for work. By the official count in 2004, China had 114 million migrant workers who had left rural areas, temporarily or for good, to work in cities. China is in the midst of the largest mass migration the world has ever seen. Zhuhai, as one of the attractive coastal cities, also amassed rural migrants. The number of "temporary migrants" living in Zhuhai at least half a year increased from 165,000 in 1988 to 510.000 in 2004, almost equal to the household registered population.

Figure 4 Poplulation change of temporary migrants and registered citizens
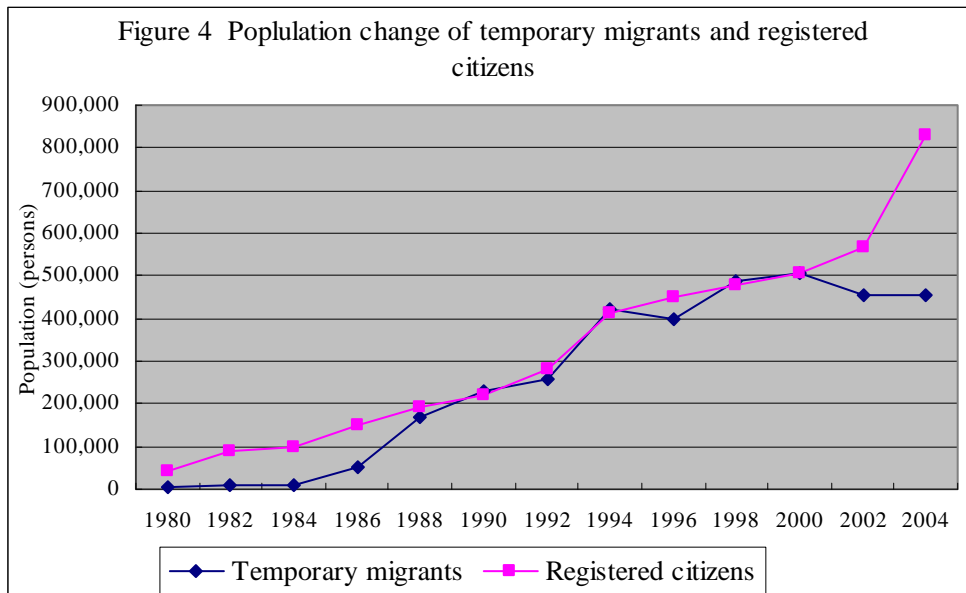
Data source: Zhuhai population census from 1980-2004.

Around 88% of the migrants came from rural areas, most of which are from inland impoverished rural areas. They were eager to look for the cheapest rental housing, which only urban villages would offer. While the renting price of a two bedroom common urban house was ￥1200-1500 (€200 or so) per month, the renting price of a one bedroom was less than ￥200 (around €27). Prices that are six to eight times higher push migrants to urban villages for affordable housing.

Allured by the "gold mine" in the market, almost every family that lived in a village acted quickly to condense their own living space from one house into one room, as to get more vacant rooms to rent. Also, in order to earn a higher profit, some villagers started to add additional three-five floor houses in the empty proximate area on their own plot, or to pull down their old one-two floor houses and rebuild them into three-five floor ones. However, these new houses surpassed the basic rule that houses can only be 2.5 floors high. Also, if the whole floor area of a house in a plot is over 240 square meters, it will be regarded as illegal according to relevant regulations. Therefore, most of the new houses are illegal and, of course, cannot get the endorsement from the Urban Planning Bureau.

However, low compensations for expropriating the farmland, rare income sources, and poor living conditions irritated villages and cause them publicly to defy the rules and regulations. Like Liu Zhiqiang, one law enforcement officer whom I interviewed, said, "Villagers do not care about whether it is legal or illegal to build. What they do care about is whether it is necessary." Even when law enforcement members attempted to interrupt the illegal construction, they met fierce resistance from the amassing numbers of villagers. Also, government inefficiency as well as corruption prevented villagers from seeking legal approaches. At last any intervention in the urban villages had to be given up by the law enforcement. Wu Zhongxian, an informant of mine and a native Shanchang villager, and Liu Zhiqiang both explained in detail why and how the informal construction happened.

Wu Zhongxian:

> There were institutions administrating the construction of urban villages before 1993. However, the fee for proceeding was too high, reaching   19 (around   2.6) per square meter. A number of procedures were neseccery in order to get the building permit. From the Village Committee to the Street Branch of the city government to the Urban Planning Bureau to the State Land Administration Bureau, every step needs to get its stamp. The clerks did not work efficiently. There was a lot of corruption. The construction of houses without endorsement would be checked, but the government could not enforce the administration (to stop building). If they received (black) money, they would not check any more. After 1993, most new buildings were illegal because the floor area of them was over 240 square meters per plot, which is the maximal limitation in terms of relevant regulations. These houses would not be endorsed.

Liu Zhiqiang:

> Villagers see the renting profit, 100-200 Yuan per room per month, which causes an increasing in illegal housing. With respect to the government, it can not spend much money for peasants. Due to impoverished living, villagers can not afford going to school, which in turn keeps them in poor social standing. They often go to the authority office to proclaim their outrage and frustration. The standard compensation (of expropriating farmland) is low so that villagers are very unsatisfied. Villagers do not care about whether it is legal or illegal to build. What they do care about is whether it is necessary. Middle-aged villagers of 40 years old or so are commonly refused by factories and can not attain work. Therefore they can only earn a living by renting rooms.
>
> According to the law of urban planning,village houses can only be built as high as 2.5 floors. But they are actually 3-5 floors. Most new houses are built without endorsement. It is difficult to control. When you check them in the daytime, they will continue to build at night. As our (enforcement) members go there and try to pull down the illegal houses, hundreds of villagers suddenly encompass us and fight against us so that our members are often wounded.

At the initial stage of Zhuhai development, the government shed the social, economic and physical liabilities for urban villages onto village committees, exempting the government's expected commitments of providing public services. It indicates that the government bestowed urban villages a state of exception. Under the sovereignty of

exception, urban villagers become strongly cohesive, especially as their interests are conflicting against those of the government. Pushed by the pressure of poverty and the attraction of the market, urban villages launched bulky informal housing construction and repelled the intervention of law enforcement through violent contesting. By driving out any government involvement in urban villages, this resulted in a thorough state of exception.

Massive informal housing construction

Under a thorough state of exception, massive informal housing, or illegal housing in the terms of the regulations, were built in urban villages. For example, in Shanchang there was a residential land area of 16.3 hectares and a floor area of 56,300 square meters in all of the houses in 1980. In 2002 the number surged to 21.6 hectares of residential land area and 362,000 square meters of floor area. While the residential land area increases only 1.3 times, the floor area soared 6.4 times at the same time. With respect to Jida village, located in the downtown area, the residential land area and the floor area increased 1.2 times and 6.8 times respectively at the same time. In another village, Cuiwei village located in the perimeter of the city, the residential land area and the floor area arose to 1.3 times and 4.2 times respectively. When villagers rebuilt their houses, they deliberately decreased the bedroom space from 12-16 square meters to 8-10 square meters as to get more bedrooms. Such a considerable increase in the amount of informal housing partly mitigated the thirst of migrants for affordable housing. In 2002 in Shanchang, there were around 16,400 migrants comparing to only 2,200 local villagers. The number of migrants was nearly 8 times the population of local villagers; in Jida, there were 860 local villagers and around 6,500 migrants, a disparity of more than 7 times; in Cuiwei, the number was 1,420 local villagers and around 14,300 migrants, a disparity of nearly 10 times.

Figure 5 Floor area comparison between 1980 and 2002

Figure 6 Population comparison between villagers and migrant tenants in urban villages
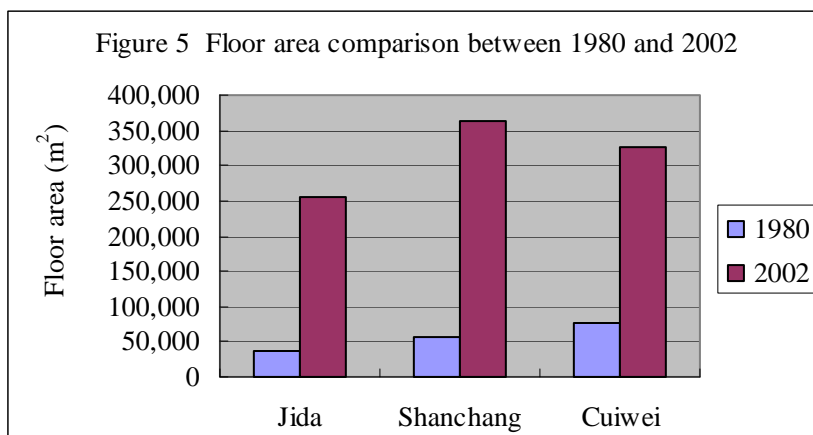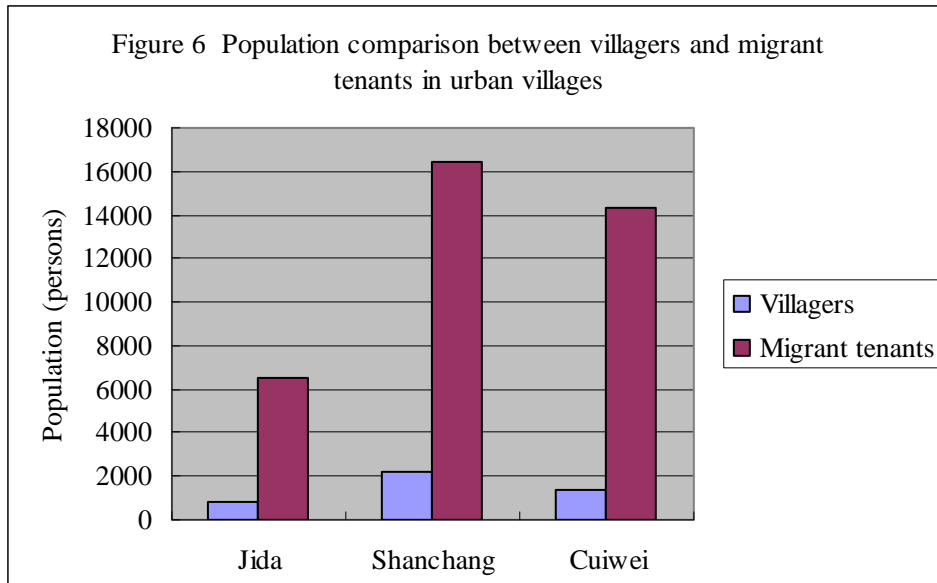
In 2002, 25 urban villages housed 200,000 people in 350 hectares area, consisting of 37,000 villagers, 150, 000 migrants and 8,000 other civic household registered inhabitants. The amount of migrants living in urban villages was close to one third of all migrants in Zhuhai. However, one thing that has to be mentioned is that in spite of high density, one-floor traditional monuments in urban villages are still persevered, such as kinship temples, Buddhist temples, old and delicate large housing, old wells and trees, as well as the open space around the monuments. Massive informal houses offer migrants the most basic living conditions and, in turn, offer villagers who are renting property more money because they can rent more rooms. The two populations have formed a co-existence. However, several issues emerge in urban villages.

With regard to the physical environment in urban villages, the building density is too high, some with near 60% coverage rate, "a stream of sky" and "hand-shaking" houses being often seen. Most streets and lanes are narrow and cramped, not accessible to fire trucks or ambulances. Environmental hygiene is in poor condition with litter almost everywhere. Infrastructures are in backward status, some parts of villages flooded during raining season, and informal housing is built against violation of rules and regulations of land use and construction. But, it needs to be noted that clear water, lighting and most sewer drainage are not available. In respect to social environment, urban villages become the breeding ground of crimes such as stealing, prostitution, gambling and drug abuse.

Such severe issues have a very bad impression on the government, media and citizens. People's Daily Huanan News, on its first page of November 7, 2001, published an article under the title of "Operate on the 'City Tumors' – a Record of Renovation of New Villages in Zhuhai", which held that the current status of old villages in the city produced a serious impact on the entire course of urbanization in Zhuhai, and that the most dirty old villages in the city constituted "scars" and "tumors". Thus, renovating these areas seems imperative.

Picture 1 High density of informal housing in Shanchang

Picture 2 "Shaking hands" buildings in Shanchang

Picture 3 Crowded living space of migrants in Shanchang

Exploration of the positive state of exception

The state of exception in urban villages yields a coin with two sides. One side is attractive. The affordable housing produced under the state of exception benefits villagers, migrants, as well as the government which did not supply them. But the other side is a bit vicious due to severe issues. No doubt, the coin can be refurnished better. It is the government which needs to refill its anticipated places. Also, it indicates a thorough state of exception is not plausible.

The government should bring back its liabilities in public service provisions, including all social, economic and physical spheres, for urban villagers. However, it does not mean to pull down all informal housing and drive away migrants. Rather, the government should learn from the past to respect both villagers' and migrants' "rights to the city" (David, 2000).

Although there are serious problems in urban villages, villagers and migrants have their own viewpoints in judging villages' environmental quality. In a survey of three villages of Jida, Shanchang and Cuiwei, half of villagers believed that their own houses had better ventilation and better lighting conditions despite of high density in the villages. Though most of villagers agreed that public security and environmental hygiene were in bad conditions in the villages, over 80% of the villagers suggested the current situation was acceptable, over 70% of them believed that their villages just need improvement on a

small scale. Similarly, 65.7% of the immigrant tenants were basically satisfied with the living environment of the villages where they chose to stay.

Table 1 Survey of degree of satisfaction of villagers over the living conditions in villages

Village / Evaluation	Jida village		Shanchang village		Cuiwei village		Sub-total	
	Qty	%	Qty	%	Qty	%	Qty	%
Very much satisfied	5	29.4	13	81.2	1	6.2	19	38.9
Satisfied	11	64.7	1	6.3	9	56.3	21	42.8
Neutral	1	5.9	2	12.5	4	25.0	7	14.2
Not satisfied	0	0	0	0	2	12.5	2	4.1
Total	17	100	16	100	16	100	49	100

Note: Jida, Shanchang and Cuiwei villages are located in the downtown, its fringe and city fringe respectively.

Table 2 Survey of degree of satisfaction of migrant tenants over the living conditions in villages

Village / Evaluation	Jida village		Shanchang village		Cuiwei village		Sub-total	
	Qty	%	Qty	%	Qty	%	Qty	%
Very much satisfied	1	9	2	13.3	3	33.3	6	17.1
Satisfied	5	45.5	7	47.0	5	55.6	17	48.6
Neutral	3	27.5	5	34.0	1	11.1	9	25.7
Not satisfied	2	18	1	6.7	0	0	3	8.6
Total	11	100	15	100	9	100	35	100

Table 3 Survey of attitudes of villagers about village renovation

Village / Evaluation	Jida village		Shanchang village		Cuiwei village		Sub-total	
	Qty	%	Qty	%	Qty	%	Qty	%
Very much satisfied, no renovation needed	0	0	5	31.25	0	0	5	10.2
Basically satisfied, only limited renovation needed	15	88.2	7	43.7	11	68.8	32	67.3
Neutral, any renovation approach	0	0	2	12.5	0	0	2	4.1
Not satisfied, large scale renovation needed	2	11.8	2	12.5	5	31.2	9	18.4
Total	17	100	16	100	16	100	49	100

Based on the survey of the satisfaction degree of both villagers and migrant tenants, the distinct objective can be targeted by the government in the transformation of urban villages. That is to solve main issues at a fair and feasible way while maintaining the delicate balance between villagers and migrant tenants. In physical environment, the government should renovate the infrastructures in urban villages, as well as upgrade

environmental facilities. Although the accessible to vehicles, especially fire truck, for main streets is important, the narrow street network, mostly 3-5 meter width in villages, cannot foolishly be destroyed. These streets and other traditional monuments were established in pre-industrial time and had been local collective memory. One alternative is making special small fire truck, similar to what villagers did in pre-industrial time. In all most of the informal houses will be regarded as an exception to be conserved, while upgrading fire safety, ventilation quality and even facade beauty if it is possible. In social environment, more law enforcement power should cooperate with village committees and be deployed in villages to prevent crimes. The government should also provide social welfare for villagers.

Not like an awkward state at the initial stage of the new city, Zhuhai has accumulated tremendous wealth in more than 20 years development. Now it should be able to earmark some funds for upgrading the bewildered villages. Through a policy of the positive state of exception, the government cannot only keep the balance between villagers and migrant tenants, but also renovate the physical and social environment in urban villages, and let it possible for villagers to share the benefits brought by the rapid economic and social development in Zhuhai.

Conclusion

The state of exception in urbanization is a vital yet less-discussed conception. Although it is closely associated with informality (for both of them are the opposite to the order of formal urbanization), it is important to distinguish between the two. The state of exception constitutes the precondition and basis of informal urbanization, while informality is often the outcome. Therefore, the exception acts as an underlying institutional actor in the process of informal urbanization. It becomes important for policy makers to consider why they should allow exceptions, what kinds of exceptions they should permit, and how long the state of exceptions should last as they cope with the informal urbanization.

In contrast to land titling issues in the informal settlements of other developing countries, urban villagers own their land title, while most of the housing structures are informal. Hence they also confront the issue of exceptions. However, the state of exception in urban villages was first bestowed by the government even though the words of the state of exception are never mentioned in relevantly formal documents in China. As villagers' farmlands were expropriated, urban villagers were arranged into a state of self-help. Village committees were put in charge of all duties for villagers including social administration, welfare supply, economic supports and infrastructure construction, which were anticipated to supply by the government and which the latter had avoided to do. That engendered a passive state of exception in urban villages. Subsequently, spurred by the drastic demands of affordable housing for migrants, urban villages held a thorough state of exception by contesting against the government's governance on village space, which brought about an unconstrained tide of informal housing construction. The amount of floor area in urban villages in 2002 was over 5 times that of 1985 and housed nearly one third of migrants in Zhuhai.

However, the passive state of exception is not desirable because severe issues, such as poor infrastructure and some crimes, bewilder urban villages. Therefore, "heroic entrepreneurship" (De Soto) stuck itself in the idea of informality, although the informal housing is the villagers' spontaneous and creative response to the city's incapacity to satisfy the basic needs of the impoverished masses. That means the thorough state of exception, the total sovereignty of planning apparatus, may lead to a failure. Like Peter Ward's (1999) policy recommendation to have a period of moratorium on codes, the government should take the policies of a positive exception. By delivering the social services and keeping the massive informal housing in urban villages, the social and physical environment can be greatly upgraded while the relationship among villagers, migrants and the government will remain in a sustained balance.

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Shaping the city

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Introduction

The Tagus Estuary is a metropolitan central open space that is a catalyst for essential situations that impact on creating the city, morphologically, economically, culturally, and socially. A close examination of the urban formation of Lisbon, in an attempt to understand its open spaces as potential planning and project instruments, unveils the prominent position of its public spaces, not just from an aesthetic and social perspective, but also from the viewpoint of the infrastructure of the city itself and of its future development.

In the context of its own physiography, the urban growth of Lisbon was shaped from opportunities created by the Tagus Estuary, namely the deepest trenches, which determined a marked growth of the area around the harbour. In a stratified manner, the urban formation of the city can be understood as a superposition of complementary layers:

a)   Main axis forming a harbour and river waterfront, crossed by a spinal column expanding to the north;
b)   An external ring characterised by a rural mosaic in transformation, between the expansion of the sedimented city and its successive administrative borders.

A methodological approach

Given metropolitan Lisbon's current urbanistic scenario, a concept for the urban project whose main instrument in characterising identity and structuring growth is the unoccupied space is seen as relevant. This also acts as the agent that articulates the territorial and urban scales. As part of ongoing research (ETSAB-UPC, Barcelona/ FA-UTL, Lisbon), important premises have been defined: a. the potential of unoccupied spaces as instruments for urban control; b. case studies which reveal a certain degree of future impact or an emerging transformation. Specifically, natural and urban areas that are still unoccupied but which will house major infrastructures in the near future were selected: the New International Airport of Lisbon, the high speed train, and a new local skeleton network formed by a metropolitan tramway.

The present research stemmed from the need to systematise and further examine a vast number of overarching questions about the morphogenesis of metropolitan Lisbon, and about the forms of territorial intervention which have conditioned and determined its present state of development.

The first part of the research focused entirely on the morphogenic interpretation of metropolitan Lisbon (Morgado, 2005). It was organised in five consecutive periods

(1860, 1940, 1965, 1992 and 2001), through the morphological identification of non-occupied spaces in accordance with the same matrix – water, land and artificial creation – and with a thematic cartographic production (scales 1:100000 and 1:25000).

From the late 19th century to the mid-20th century, the spatial configuration created by the infrastructures – railways, national roads, docklands and harbours – inducted significant dynamics in the still incipient metropolitan area of Lisbon. The opportunities created by the development of a system of infrastructures promoted an intensive use of the territory and originated a pre-metropolitan configuration. As a result a productivist land use model and a new urban conceptualization, with metropolitan value, started to be developed.

The cartography of 1965 shows a radial structure converging into Lisbon and the Tagus Estuary, reinforcing its current status as metropolitan centre, national centre and European centrality. Regarding land use, large specialised areas emerged, namely industrial, dependent on a direct link to Lisbon and, especially, on the Port of Lisbon infrastructural ring around the Tagus Estuary.

In the 1990s, a consistent metropolitan structure gains shape combined with the renewing of land use opportunities. Democracy in 1974 and the entry of Portugal into the European Union in 1986 opened new political and economic perspectives. Changes in the productive system promoted the obsolescence of industrial and dock areas in central places, the emergence of new forms of centrality, correlated with a knowledge-based economy, integrated in a highway network.

In the Lisbon Metropolitan Area – a metropolitan association of municipalities institutionalised in 1991 – a polycentric system of alternative urban centre begins to develop, supported and integrated by an increasingly dense transport and road network system.

Thus, the radial structure developed into a network system of motorways, creating opportunities for new growth areas along the main axis built by the train in previous periods. As a result, functional complementarities start to develop, between urban centres and the metropolitan centre – Lisbon and the Tagus Estuary. As a consequence, new land uses and functions, previously located in the traditional urban centres, emerged in high connectivity areas and external rings, together with new dense and specialised uses, such as shopping centres and malls. Under high mobility patterns, dimmer urban tissues gained central functions, competing with Lisbon, and shaping a polycentric metropolitan network.

As the 20th century ends, European metropolises reach an advanced development stage, both in terms of achieving high levels of spatial and functional articulation between centres and promoting innovative uses in their territories. Therefore, from 2001 onwards, Lisbon metropolis gains and consolidates its shape, influence and role in the conurbation of Lisbon-Galicia, along the Atlantic coast. This new reality points towards even more complex transformations, to include several concatenated metropolitan

formations. This increasing and extensive urban growth, together with the integration into higher network systems, determines a drastic decrease of continually unoccupied space. At the same time, a landscape homogenisation gains shape contributing to undifferentiated territories with poor urban references.

Further research introduced new questions which, based on a morphogenetic reading of the pre-established metropolitan scale, led to various case studies on a scale which allowed the constitution of an urban morphology interpretation according to identical criteria, but now adapted to a more circumscribed scale.

In this context, the city of Lisbon, one of the case studies in progress, plays a key role, and a study of its urban formation has already been conducted using new sources (cartography, urbanism and planning).

Research is being conducted on specific areas of Lisbon, namely the Valley of Chelas, in the heart of Lisbon, which will be further examined so that its potential as an urban project can be evaluated[1].

Morphogenesis of the City

This interpretation of the urban formation of Lisbon aims to understand the way the city has been shaped. The work resorted to the formulation of its own interpretative guide, which identified morphologies as they progressed in time and space.

The present research allowed the identification of the following: 1. The processes of transformation of rustic structures into urban ones; 2. The nature of their own transformation; 3. The persistence of pre-existing structures and how they were assimilated by new ones; 4. Their importance in the formation of tissues; and finally, 5. It allowed us to identify distinct morphologies, stressing the morphogenesis of the city from the morphological characteristics of open spaces.

Open space and its different structures can provide a lot of the answers to our understanding of the urban formation of Lisbon, for which reason they lie at the root of our explanation for the formation of their morphology, taking into account the following key aspects:

a)   Topography and hydrography: by highlighting the relationship between watercourses and parallel lines and the development of the main infrastructured lines, the configuration of open spaces and of tissues (enclosed monastery areas, parks and gardens, rustic matrices), the importance of the morphology of the land (valleys, hills) and of water (the various coastal lines and the influence of the Tagus in the formation of the city);
b)   The transformation matrices: urban and rural plot division of land and different forms of parcels in accordance with the topography, forms of aggregation (namely, of the built space in its relationship with urban fabric and land uses, including – blocks of buildings and other urban units, disperse building); public space layouts

(including urban types such as plazas, street boulevards and gardens, as well as other types of open spaces and their correlation with major urban elements and outstanding buildings).

This interpretation goes hand in hand with a reflection on the relationship between the morphologies identified in each period in time (1903-37; 1937-49; 1949-71; 1971-87; 1987-2008, in progress), urban planning models and the city and architecture theoretical and cultural references, in their various movements, specifically:

a) Rustic pre-existing structures and the form in which they were integrated into the urbanisation process, particularly in the pre-industrial period.
b) Industrialisation and the expansion of the city in the 19th century – the formation of a green belt, circumscribed by two ring roads which set the administrative boundaries of Lisbon, in distinct periods of time, the last one dating from the end of the 19th century;
c) The shaping of the modern city – modernist disjunction, formation of zoning areas and of specialised areas located predominantly in this green belt and whose somehow disperse urbanization results in a landscape of rustic origins which are becoming obsolete, Post-modern period and obsolescence of industrial and rustic uses, abandonment and transformation of central spaces and the search for new programmes for the city;
d) Post-industrialisation and new approaches to collective space; urban projects through public space, the urban and environmental regeneration, miscegenation of uses and technological innovation.

Two axes and a ring

The Tagus Estuary was the major driver for the urban development of the Lisbon metropolitan area, with regard to the location of the various urban settings on its left and right banks and, particularly in the case of the latter, by fostering the creation of an urban formation which shaped the modern configuration of the city of Lisbon.

Therefore, in addition to the interpretative model for creating the metropolitan structure, this work proposes the study of specific situations arguing that the unoccupied space should be the basis for the articulation between metropolitan planning and the urban project.

The development of new forms of intervention in the city from the middle of the 19th century allowed for the possibility of planned innovation in the city of Lisbon, generally resorting to very interesting urban plans. The several varied urban plans for the city, particularly the plan for expansion to the north and improvements to the harbour (Ressano Garcia, up to 1903), which made clear references to Haussmann's interventions in Paris, allowed an initial qualification of the urban space by including new typologies for public spaces that complemented existing squares and plazas (development of an axis of great architectonic interest between Terreiro do Paço, which limits the city from the Tagus Estuary, through the Old Town – *Baixa Pombalina* -

reconstructed by the Marquis of Pombal up to the north, including the new boulevards in *Avenidas Novas* - New Avenues).

At the same time as it attempted to bestow the city with new, more cosmopolitan urban areas, appropriate to a European city, Ressano Garcia widened the area around the port, giving origin to new artificialised areas in the margins of the city which were vital to a major port city and which nowadays constitute privileged ground for urban intervention from the viewpoint of the qualification of public space and urban regeneration. Nowadays, the Tagus Estuary, which has a major harbour infrastructure appropriate to a city which was, in the past, the capital of an overseas empire, has been subjected to several changes with the purpose of readjusting its initial vocation to a more urban usage, including leisure purposes, benefiting not only Lisbon but equally other cities with waterfronts.

As a consequence, the qualification of the urban space through new proposals of public space has improved and shaped the Tagus Estuary, which has become an area that is both functional and highly qualified from a landscape perspective, with symbolic and strong identifying features that can characterize it as the *metropolitan plaza*.

A close examination of the urban formation of Lisbon, in an attempt to understand its open spaces as potential planning and project instruments, unveils the prominent position of its public spaces, not just from an aesthetic and social perspective, but also from the viewpoint of the infrastructure of the city itself and of its future development.

The consolidation of knowledge regarding the various forms of urban planning and design is a fundamental objective of the present work, as it aims to provide an understanding of how the different planning models of the city also conditioned, or gave origin to, both qualified open spaces and residual urban voids.

The option chosen for this analysis included essentially the observation and identification of morphologies which could, in a systematic form, highlight transformation processes of the city at specific periods of time. This analysis resorted basically to the production of a thematic cartography in which characteristic areas of a particular functional and formal coherence are identified, and contact points with the main plans for the city of Lisbon are established.

In a preliminary phase that is still currently in progress, several categories of urban forms have been identified, with a view to future conceptualization as part of Theory of Urbanism. In the systemization of the categories, several large scale city structuring elements were taken into consideration, as well as their desegregation into more specific and detailed morphologies.

In the context of its own physiography, the urban growth of Lisbon was shaped from opportunities created by the Tagus Estuary, namely the deepest trenches, which determined a marked growth of the area around the harbour. In a stratified manner, the

urban formation of the city can be understood as a superposition of complementary layers:

a) Main axis forming a harbour and river waterfront, crossed by a spinal column expanding to the north;
b) An external ring characterised by a rural mosaic in transformation, between the expansion of the sedimented city and its successive administrative borders.

The axes are characterised by:

c) Urban Fabrics – various forms of occupation in the context of the city, expressed through several approaches to urban space, as well as by growth areas that were planned and built.
d) Infrastructural lines – forms of linear development in which the role of infrastructuring is fundamental, such as the embankments on the harbour which were raised from the river Tagus, and the routes which have been shaping the growth of the urban tissue, such as transportation infrastructures and other public facilities.
e) Specific Uses – areas for specialised and frequently mono-functional land uses, indispensable to the city's structural functioning and with clear morphological characteristics, such as: public facilities areas; cemeteries, industrial and military zones.

The external green belt is formed by:

a) Specific open spaces: spaces with a precise identity that appear as part of an urban design project (such as public gardens), or as part of an idea of a city (such as Monsanto Park, which delineates a partial green belt), or as single elements in architectonic groups (erudite gardens in palaces).
b) Rural Matrix: distinct forms of rural plot division and of related land uses which register their progressive transformation and occupation by the urban space, as well as the features which will influence the formation of urban tissues.

In the urban formation of the city of Lisbon, mainly through the development of the road system and the intervention of Ressano Garcia in the 19th century, together with the successive external and internal ring roads, the compact nucleus of the city is surrounded by a transitional belt which began to be formed by farms and small towns in the outskirts of Lisbon with two types of fundamental landscapes (Atlantic and Mediterranean), which determines the different forms of land division and agriculture and, consequently, conditions urban development.

The intersection of these axes with the green belt, anchored on an older central part of Lisbon, contributed towards the definition of four sector identities with increasingly more specific characteristics regarding urban form and transformation, and which are regarded as the transition point to the urban areas of adjacent municipalities (Oeiras, Amadora, Odivelas and Loures, respectively):

a)   Belém/Monsanto sector;
b)   Benfica/Campo Grande sector;
c)   Lumiar/Airport sector
d)   Olivais/Chelas sector.

Following our interpretation of the urban formation of Lisbon and corresponding identification of the four sectors with their own specific characteristics, we have selected The Valley of Chelas as the object of more detailed study.

Bordering Territory

The Valley of Chelas, which lies both in the transitional green belt of the City of Lisbon and in the potential axis with Barreiro, is a border area of Lisbon and part of the rustic green belt characterised by the urban development of the first half of the 20th century, where the most relevant urban experiments took place.

This belt was included in several city plans, resorting to urbanism concepts related to the City Beautiful movement, and was reserved for infrastructures and Urban Parks and Woods, of which *Campo Grande* (included in Ressano Garcia's plan, but in a shorter version that the one originally planned) was the only park to see the light. Later, the Monsanto Forest, which was part of the De Gröer plan, was created in the late 1930s. In this context, key references, such as Abercrombie's Greater London Plan or Olmstead's innovations in various American cities, such as Chicago, played a fundamental role.

For several reasons, this green belt was never created. Quite the opposite: the differences between the various sectors deepened and widened even further the existing gap, given that the road system benefited mostly the centripedal radial structure of Lisbon, to the detriment of the strengthening of a transversal north/south type of road system, which anyway had been proposed in Meyer-Heine Master Plan for the City (1967-76). The transversal structure was set up in part with the new underground line to the Expo'98 (May 1998) Station and Interface, with the Chelas station and, more recently, it was included again in the Lisbon Municipal Master Plan. This fact was a major contribution to the recognition of this area as being equally part of the city, and it increased accessibility by public transport and by car. This had hitherto been an area of social housing whose residents, of low income and mixed social and ethnic origins, had restricted mobility, a factor which contributed to the strong segregation of this area in relation to the city of Lisbon. This area to the Western side of the city was characterised by social conflict and by the miscegenation of uses and urban forms, which had their origin in the contrasts between an industrial waterfront (Xabregas and Marvila), discontinued spaces between residential and industrial zoned occupations (Chelas) and, over the past 10 years, the latest measures for the re-conversion of industrial areas (Expo Park and Western Urban Rehabilitation Society/SRU - Lisboa Oriental).

In this particular case, research focused on how urban master plans for the city conditioned and gave origin to unoccupied space (vacant, derelict and brownfield areas), mostly comparing the various master plans for the city (Ressano Garcia, 1903;

De Gröer, 1948; GEU, 1954-59; Mayer-Heine, 1967-76; Lisbon Council/CML and the ongoing revision) with the Chelas and Olivais urban plans and the implementation of major infrastructures (railways and eventually high speed train).

The area under study is located precisely in this *green* belt – rustic space with specific characteristics and whose urbanisation process evolved in an atomised form and resorted to the introduction of new urban occupations which were perfectly delimitated and whose projects revealed specific characteristics (with exemplary references in the context of the history and theory of urbanism, such as the city-garden, modern architecture international congresses/ CIAM and TeamX), but which were equally autonomous in a city bordering territory organised from rustic structures bearing distinct characteristics (common farms as well as leisure farms, with gardens and palaces of high architectonic erudition).

Accordingly, this area stands out in the city of Lisbon due to its special discontinuities, which were basically caused by intermittent urban interventions in the 20th century, although, in themselves, they constitute good examples of the innovation and quality of the projects and of the architects who authored them, and started a certain type of territorial urbanisation which was different from the traditional approach, creating urban continuities of which the axis Baixa (Low Downtown) – Avenidas Novas (New Avenues)/Alvalade, and more recently the Alta de Lisboa (High Part of Lisbon, Airport Area) are models and equally relevant in the context of urban experimentation.

The Valley of Chelas has always been considered an infrastructural reserve of the City, as well as a privileged one for industrial type occupations (port and others). Presently, several interventions are planned which will certainly lead to major transformations in these discontinued spaces of a sectorial nature.

Nevertheless, the planned interventions, of different impact and characteristics, highly uncertain as to their future configuration or even accomplishment, are, for the most part, independent from each other, and the high structuring of open space, including their infrastructural and open space dimensions, may become the topic of an urban project with a high planning capacity in a fragile area.

Besides, the available spaces surrounding the areas of highest density, which between the 1960s and the 1990s were fully occupied by slums and thus affected by serious safety and social exclusion related problems (due to the rural exodus and the end of the Portuguese colonies in Africa) have been subject to landscape intervention, resulting in the creation of various urban parks with facilities and commerce, hosting important cultural events /such as Rock in Rio Lisbon, although they still lack a global articulation project. The most recent toponomy has recouped the references to the old Estates, as opposed to the more aseptic designations of the second half of the 20th century (such as Zones J, I, N).

Besides these collective spaces and transformations, the following interventions, which may eventually occur, were considered: high speed train, potential new crossings over

the Tagus river, like the Chelas-Barreiro bridge and other options, the location of major facilities, such as the Portuguese Cancer Institute (*Instituto Português de Oncologia*/IPO) and the All Saints Hospital (*Hospital de Todos os Santos*) and the potential relocation of the present Lisbon International Airport outside the city limits, probably in Benavente.

It is this uncertainty, together with the pre-existing rustic matrix, zoned interventions and infrastructured lines for specific purposes (which were unsuccessfully articulated superimpositions carried out sequentially in time), that originated the poor structuring and lack of urban coherence of the Valley of Chelas, both within itself and in relation to the context of the city.

The Valley of Chelas, which has always been an important reference in the context of architectonic and urban experimentation and innovation, inevitably finds its projects postponed, and the interventions that are actually made are always of a sectorial nature or, on the contrary, of an infrastructural character, in the form of motorways and railways. Above all, it is fragmented and disconnected, which increasingly poses more difficulties for any future truly coherent project, which is always in the pipeline but never actually put into practice. Although of a residual nature as an object of intervention, the Valley of Chelas is also central in terms of its potential in the context of metropolitan networks, where urban growth occurs by coalescence, stimulated by the development of the Vila-Franca de Xira industrial axis.

This creates a significant urban porosity and encourages a network of available spaces lacking coherence which, in themselves, constitute a major opportunity for urban connections and for continuities through new projects for public space, which, in this context, may be perceived as a major infrastructure of the city.

Conclusions

The present study has allowed us to consolidate the idea that the city of Lisbon has always been, for a variety of reasons (cultural, social, political and administrative), the object of more qualified studies and interventions in the context of national architecture and urbanism. However, from the 1990s onwards, while its metropolitan area underwent a consolidation process, from a functional, morphological and economic perspective, its study was systematically left behind in favour of projects which sometimes served different agendas. Focused interventions on a more metropolitan scale have been preferred, such as in the Lisbon metropolitan area, on other emerging municipalities, which in terms of centrality were alternative to Lisbon. The same applies to the options to study its urban tissues, which were more qualified from a project perspective, but were already consolidated and relatively old.

The evolution and nature of urban territories in European metropolises, mostly in Southern Europe, have contributed towards this situation, and, as a result of this evolution, so has the lack of adaptation of current urban intervention forms (urban design, urban and spatial planning) to areas whose characteristics are not always

clearly of an urban nature, in a context in which the city is not exclusively perceived as a result of the expansion over rural areas.

In fact, and with the exception of a few specific examples (such as Expo 98), over the past ten years Lisbon has not been subject to any structuring urban interventions based on the Idea of the City. In terms of innovation, architectonic and urban space quality, it does not show any specific particularities in recent years, although some examples of regeneration and qualification of interesting public space can be mentioned (the waterfront area, for example).

It has equally been noted that the study of the urban formation of Lisbon, besides focusing on the more compact areas, has left out the city's peripheral territory, which has a rustic basis and presents a mixture of occupation forms of high urban innovation. In reality, the major urban experiences of the 20th century have occurred in *green belt* and are often rooted in small villages, of which the following are easily identifiable: the social boroughs of the *Estado Novo* (1933-1974), which followed the city garden model; the new areas of the modern city, such as North and South Olivais; and, in the conceptual transition to more recent interventions, the Chelas and Telheiras Master/Urban Plans. More recently, atomised and discontinued proposals in the form of mega-structures of high metropolitan impact (large buildings and infrastructures or parks) are also examples of the above.

Interventions as part of a process of regeneration of decayed and obsolete areas give back to the city zones of privilege, through land use innovation and qualification of urban space. Fundamentally, at the external belt of Lisbon identical situations can be identified. Given their morphological characteristics, these areas could benefit the whole city had they not been systematically excluded from the city planning projects' main goals, except when considered as building zones.

At the level of intervention in the city, it is also observed that there is an urgent need for a new kind of town planning approach, of a spatial and design nature, capable of regenerating land use and restoring the landscape morphological coherence. In precise terms, in the context of urban space and planning, this should be achieved through the contraction of discontinuous and residual spaces which could become both anchors and control mechanisms for new projects of urban occupation.

Thus, and mostly from the beginning of the 20th century, the study of urbanistic formation in an urban context, alongside the concepts associated with its production, has demonstrated that architects and urban planners are intervening increasingly less, as they become more conciliatory in a territory whose circumstances extend well beyond the capacity for intervention in the city on a global scale.

Indeed, it was in the period up to the middle of the 20th century that we find the most meaningful and innovative references to the idea of city and which in fact led to new urban forms, whereas, at present, the intellectual effort has been focusing on the attempt to understand the urban phenomenon on a metropolis which goes beyond our

capacity for efficient intervention. Within this set of circumstances, innovation takes place mostly through resorting to processes which act at the level of economical, social and infra-structural dynamics, while relying less on the conception of new forms of urban space (for example, authors such as Patrick Geddes, Frank Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier, who have proposed innovative models based on typological and technological innovation, and authors like Melwin Webber and, much more recently, Edward Soja, Joel Garreau, Indovina, Rem Koolhaas, who presented interpretations of urban phenomena on regional scales). In this context, public space does not always appear as the structuring element of the urban fabrics of conventional cities, or as a support (modernist dialectics figure/background) as in the modern model.

Basically, public space extends as an articulation element which "glues" together urban splinters, forming an extensive patchwork over which, in our opinion, new opportunities for a project and coherence of the contemporary city unfold.

These contrasting phenomena between macro and micro scales, which are generalized in European cities and more specifically in North American cities, can also be found in Lisbon.

Urban intervention, from what can be observed and read, balances between large-scale projects resorting to very abstract models which do not take into account the morphological coherence of the territory – urban, natural, rural (patterns, zoning and infrastructure) – and interventions of urban acupuncture in derelict and extremely central key areas (see emerging topics which include a combination of urban sprawl and urban shrinkage).

Nevertheless, it is also noted that the instruments that are now available (particularly GIS) enable us to intervene on a metropolitan city scale, and resort to a new urban language, using contemporary public space concepts and introducing new scales in the field of Urban Design.

A new idea of city would include innovative approaches in the field of intervention in collective spaces, as a means of improving and defining the articulation between spaces which are predominantly built and the ones remaining clearly open.
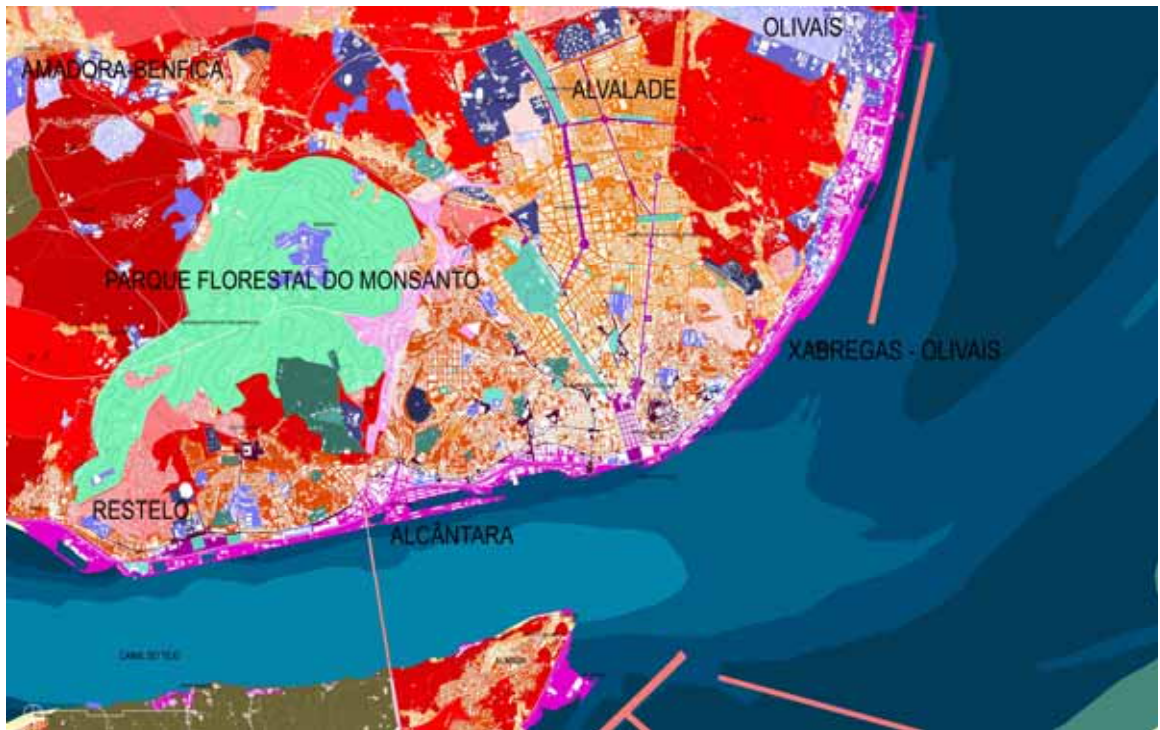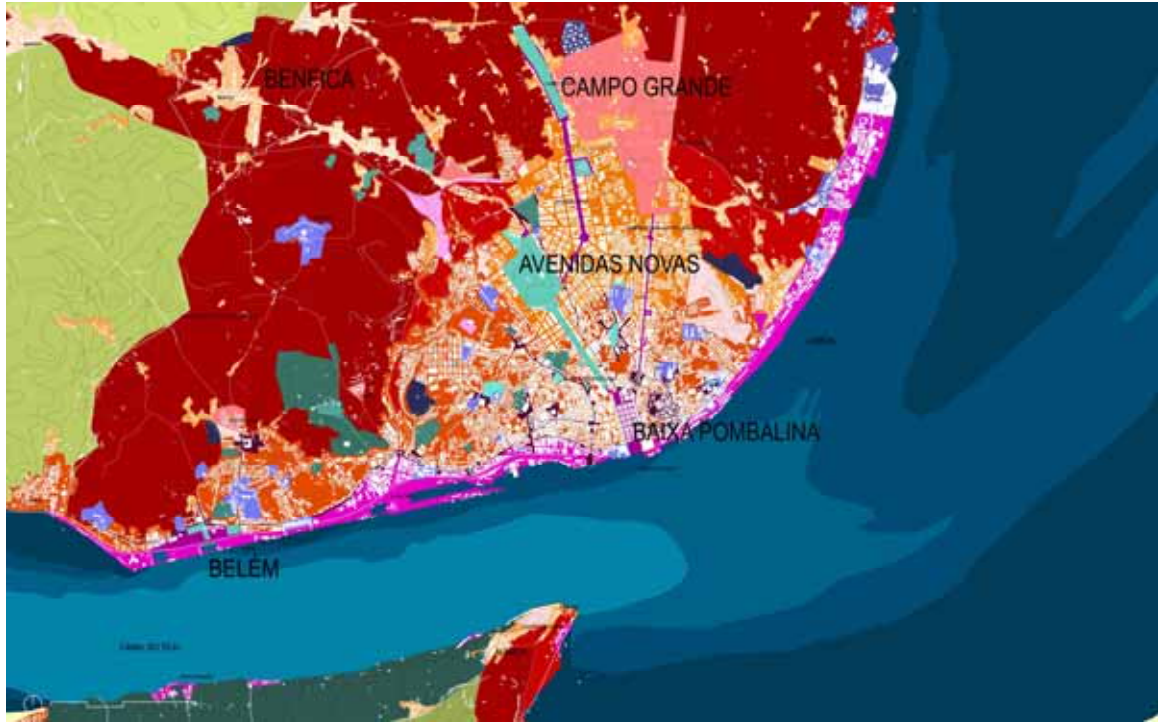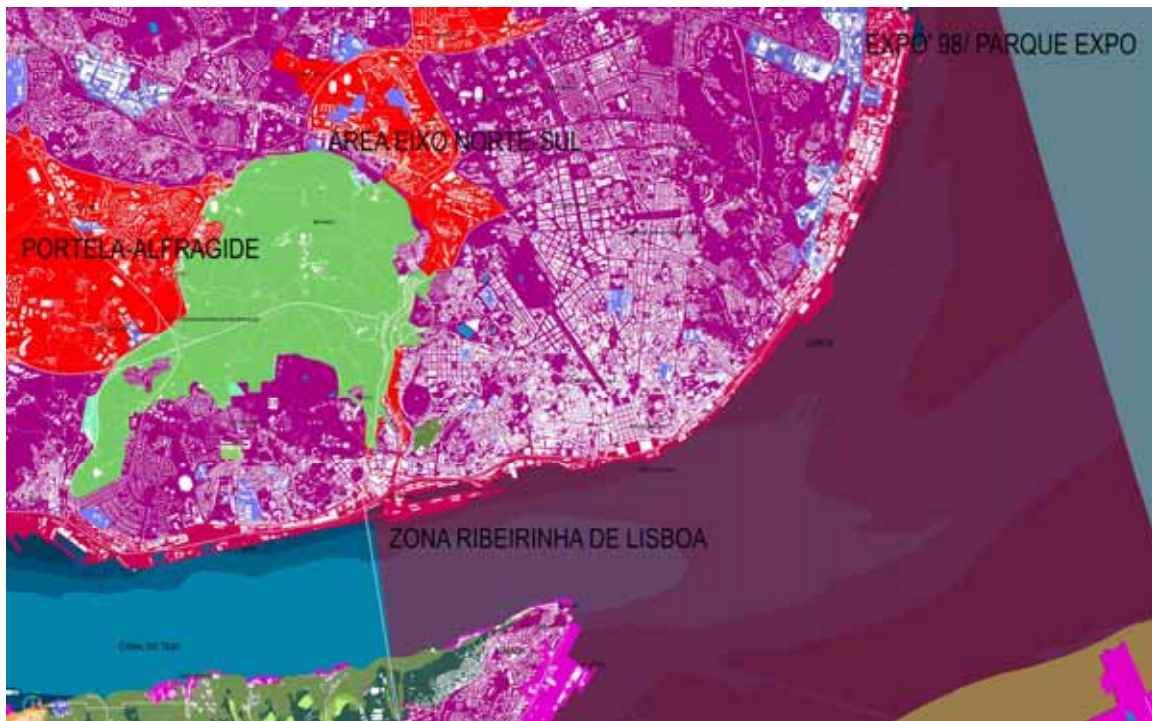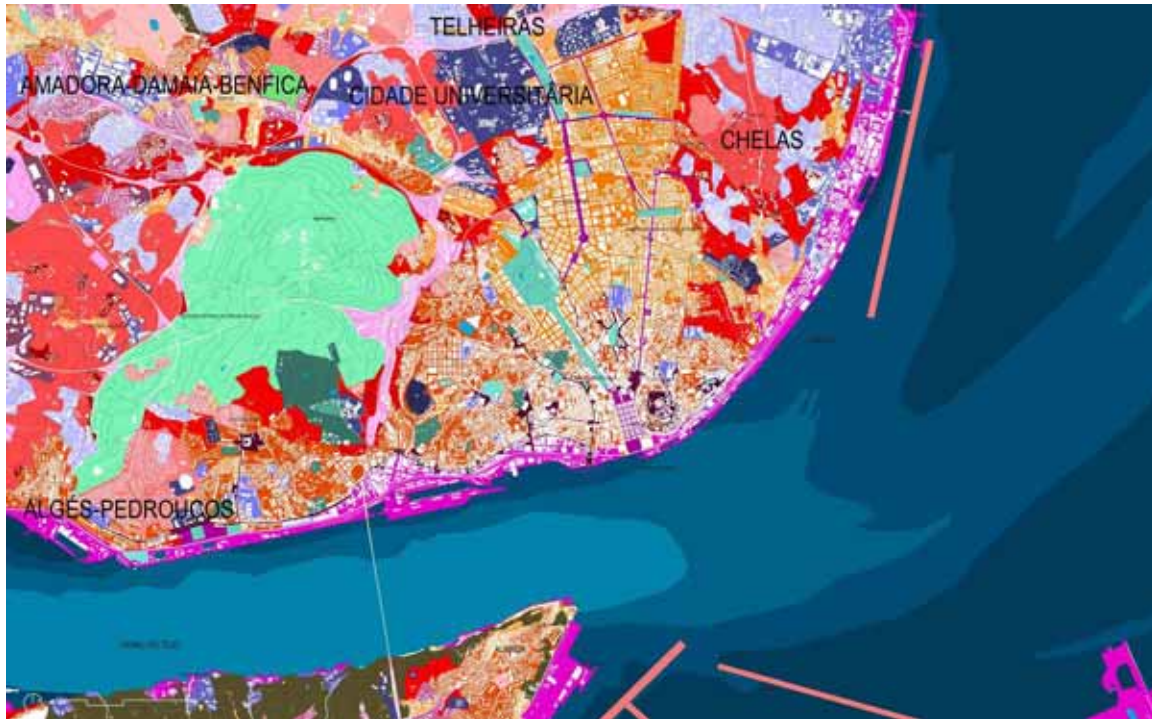
Figure captions

Figure 1. Lisbon 1940 Source: research by the author/to be completed after the blind review
Figure 2. Lisbon 1965 Source: research by the author/to be completed after the blind review

Figure 3. Lisbon 1992 Source: research by the author/to be completed after the blind review
Figure 4. Lisbon 2001 Source: research by the author/to be completed after the blind review

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Enron on the Mississippi: the planning and failure of Cairo, Illinois, 1838-1840

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Precis

If geography were destiny, then Cairo, Illinois would have been one of the great cities of the United States, if not the world. The title of 'inland metropolis' would have gone to it, rather than to Cincinnati, or Memphis, or, later, St. Louis. But geography is, unfortunately, linked to topography, and the topography of the confluence of two of the great inland waterways of the U.S. – the Ohio and the Mississippi – was not kind to city building.

This lesson was learned the hard way by many people in the early and mid-nineteenth century. Though beginning with the first attempt, in 1818, to establish a great city at the bottom end of the new state of Illinois, this paper primarily concentrates on the second attempt to found a city – Cairo – where the Ohio joined the Mississippi. This effort, linked at first to the establishment of the Illinois Central Railroad, was spearheaded by the New York capitalist, Darius B. Holbrook. Holbrook has been treated well in past literature on Cairo – too well, it seems, and the evidence presented here shows Holbrook to be a charming but unscrupulous con artist who well understood the powerful effects of greed on human actions, and knew how to use the ever-present temptation to get something for nothing to his benefit.

Holbrook was the sole link between the generally honorable Illinoisans involved in the dual enterprises of railroad and city building, and the investors, for the most part Englishmen. He provided what investors wanted, both in the form of prospectuses and, once he had employed William Strickland, noted American architect, engineer and graphic artist, compelling images of the (wholly imaginary) city of Cairo. Rumors of the direct financial involvement of Charles Dickens in the Cairo debacle, circulating since the early twentieth century, are laid to rest, while that writer's famously vicious description of the site of Cairo in his *American Notes* of 1842 is attributed to personal sympathy for those affected by Holbrook's swindle.

To anyone looking at a map of the inland United States near the beginning of the nineteenth century, one geographical point would have immediately leapt out, demanding attention: the spot where the great Ohio River, flowing southwestwards, joined with the sluggish, brown Mississippi, winding its way haphazardly south to the Gulf of Mexico (pl.1). There could be no doubt but that, if there was to be a "future metropolis of the Western world" anywhere, this was where it was going to be. In this case it looked like geography was destiny. [1]

It certainly was destiny to John G. Comegys, a native of Baltimore who had come west early in the new century and settled in St. Louis, where he became a merchant. Little is

known of his life there other than that his was a frequent name in court dockets, where he was often a plaintiff collecting debts. He was also a land speculator who paid close attention to politics. In July, 1817, Comegys bought 1800 acres comprising the very southern tip of the then-territory of Illinois. The land was still technically owned by the Kaskaskia Indians, since it was to be more than a year before their title was extinguished; a necessary preliminary to the offering of the land for public sale. Apparently this bothered neither Comegys nor the Register and Receiver of the territorial land office in Kaskaskia, across the Mississippi River from St. Louis, who concluded the sale.[2] So it was that when Illinois became the twenty-first state in the Union, on December 2, 1818, its southern tip was already privately owned by someone who had great plans.

Comegys did not just snatch up the Illinois land with the vague idea of doing something or other with it some day. Less than six months after his purchase, he and eight other men were the beneficiaries of an Act, passed by the territorial legislature, incorporating "the City and Bank of Cairo."[3] Comegys and his compatriots had clearly been looking at maps, and had decided, reasonably enough given that information, that the confluence of the two great rivers was the perfect spot for the future great American metropolis. Their choice of name for the future town was an interesting one, reflecting, no doubt, one or more of the speculators' familiarity with the then-current fascination with all things Egyptian. And given that fascination, what could be more natural than to assimilate the Nile to the great inland river of the U.S.?[4] They certainly had big dreams, and the plat of Cairo that Comegys had drawn up was remarkable for its expansiveness. It was for a gridded town, with seventeen east-west streets and thirty that ran north and south. They were all 80 feet wide. There were 290 blocks, four of which were set aside for markets. The longest streets ran for nearly two miles.[5]

Hope dies hard, and Comegys made payments on his land for the two years after he purchased it, but in 1820 he died and his business partners apparently lost hope. The land defaulted to the state of Illinois, with whom it remained for fifteen years. There were reasons for this failure. Major Stephen H. Long, of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, on his first exploratory journey west to the Rocky Mountains in 1819, commented on reaching the site of this stillborn city that 'the grandeur of the place fell short of what one would suppose or expect from the conjunction of two such mighty rivers.'[6] The topography did not match the geography.

In 1835 Comegys's lands were finally bought again. The purchasers of record were Judge Sidney Breese, Anthony Olney, Alexander M. Jenkins, Thomas Stanwick, Miles A. Gilbert, and David J. Baker. On January 16, 1836, the Illinois Central Railroad Company was incorporated. Two days later the Illinois Exporting Company was incorporated by the legislature. Its principals were James S. Lane, Thomas G. Hawley, Anthony Olney, John M. Crum and Darius B. Holbrook.[7] A new plan for the bottom of the state was taking shape.

This second attempt to create Cairo was closely linked to the desire to establish a railroad through the state. Judge Breese, mentioned above as one of the purchasers of

the Comegys lands, was an indefatigable supporter of this still new form of transportation. That he was intimately associated with land speculation closely connected with the proposed railway did not bother many people at the time. In the fall of 1835, about the time of his involvement with the purchase of the land at the confluence of the two great rivers, Judge Breese published a letter that called on the state to build a railroad from the proposed southern terminus of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, at Peru, to the future site of Cairo.[8] As has already been noted, the Illinois Central Railroad Company was incorporated shortly afterwards, in January, 1836.

On February 27, 1837, the Illinois legislature passed the infamous and ill-fated "Act to Establish a General System of Internal Improvements" within the state.[9] Five days later, on March 4, 1837, the Cairo City and Canal Company was incorporated. Its principals were Miles A. Gilbert, a judge, John S. Hacker, William M. Walker, Anthony Olney, Alexander M. Jenkins, who had until the year before been the Lieutenant Governor of Illinois, and Darius B. Holbrook, the President of the new company. It must be remembered that at this time there *was* no Cairo, nevertheless, the Internal Improvement Act specified that the main north-south railway line, to be built as part of the program, was to have its southern terminus "from the City of Cairo, at or near the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers."[10] $3.5 million, or a third of the total amount appropriated for the improvements, was to be expended on this line.

John Landsen, the historian of Cairo, interpreted this as a surprise and a shock to the incorporators of the Illinois Central Railroad Company and the Cairo City and Canal Company. "The news of its introduction [the Internal Improvement Act] into the legislature must have produced in the minds of those Cairo people a state of feeling little short of consternation."[11] This is a generous and protective response, and Lansden praises the men for their selfless releasing of the rights to the railroad. But it is difficult to believe that a group of men so intimately associated with early Illinois politics in all its rough-and-tumble frontier forms would have been taken unawares. It is much more likely that this was precisely the state of affairs desired by the incorporators, particularly of the Cairo City and Canal Company. The Internal Improvement Act provided an enormous amount of state money to build what otherwise they would have had to pay for themselves, and their relinquishing of their ownership rights was carefully conditioned so that, should the state default at any time, ownership would revert to the original incorporators. They were set to have their cake and eat it too.

With one exception, all the men involved in the incorporation of the Illinois Central Railroad and the Cairo City and Canal Company were permanent residents of Illinois. Most of them had come from elsewhere, but they were long settled in the area, and were generally well-connected with state politics. The one exception was Darius Blake Holbrook.

Holbrook was born in Dorchester, Massachusetts. The year of his birth is apparently not recorded. He had settled in New York by the 1830s. Holbrook was an enormously successful speculator in Western lands, and by the time of his death, in Mobile, Alabama in 1858, had amassed a huge fortune. In the early twentieth century he was

characterized, in a sympathetic magazine article, as "a man of daring, misguided perspicacity, an Alnaschar in kind."[12] Holbrook was clearly the man leading the efforts both to establish the Illinois Central Railroad and the new city of Cairo. He did not do this as a newly-relocated citizen of Illinois, but continued to influence events from afar – probably from New York, though, as we shall see, he was also in London at crucial stages of the working out of this story. For Holbrook, the topographical details of the site for the future town were not particularly important since there is no evidence he was committed to its success. The circumstantial evidence points to his involvement in the two-pronged scheme primarily as a way of pocketing funds intended for other uses. Holbrook no doubt would have been happy to see Cairo succeed as a town, and it is likely that the possibility of its success formed part of a back-up plan from which he would have reaped a more modest return, spread over a longer period of time. Holbrook's success as a swindler in this affair depended on the involvement of the other investors, who really did, for the most part, think they were committed to building a town and a railroad. Although it is impossible to know for certain, Holbrook must have bamboozled his fellow principals as thoroughly as he did the later investors in the schemes. Expansive projects like these – a town and a railroad to link the disparate parts of a state together – needed large amounts of capital. That capital was hard to come by on the frontier. It was even difficult to amass in the large cities of the eastern seaboard. Holbrook must have assured his frontier compatriots that he had wealthy and influential contacts not only in eastern cities, but in Europe as well. It is reported in a very general way that Holbrook made repeated trips to London in connection with the Illinois ventures. He almost surely made one of them in 1838, when he would have been in London at the same time as the Philadelphia architect and engineer, William Strickland.[13]

In 1838 Strickland was one of the most well-known and highly respected architects working in the United States. Since his first great design success with the Second Bank of the United States, built on Chestnut Street in Philadelphia in 1818-24, Strickland had gone on to create many of the most important Greek Revival structures in his hometown. In the overwrought sentiments of after-dinner toasts, Strickland was once compared to the Emperor Augustus, who had found Rome a city of brick and left it one of marble. The same claim was made (with some justification) about Strickland and Philadelphia. In late 1836, a group of architects meeting in New York City to establish a professional organization, the American Institution of Architects, elected Strickland their first president. In the months before that honor, he had been consulted by the state of North Carolina regarding the propriety of details suggested for their State Capitol, then abuilding in Raleigh.

The proposed professional organization of architects died a sudden death with the collapse of the American economy in the spring of 1837. Strickland himself had enough work to keep him busy until the end of the year, but in early 1838, with prospects dim for new building, he took his two daughters and sailed from Philadelphia to England, with plans to travel on to the continent, making a modified Grand Tour. This was the third time Strickland had gone to Britain, though he had never yet crossed the English Channel. In 1821, flush with the success of the Second Bank, and a few hundred dollars

ahead for the first time in his life, the impetuous young architect had taken himself off to England. In 1825 he returned to England, with visits to Scotland and Ireland, as the agent for the newly organized 'Society for the Promotion of Internal Improvement in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.' In that capacity he spent many months examining canals, railroads, breakwaters and other forms of technological improvements for which Britain was, at the time, justly famous as being in the forefront of innovation and development.

Strickland was the ideal man to serve as agent for such an undertaking. He was known and admired on both sides of the Atlantic for his architectural work. His early apprenticeship with the first professional architect in America, the Englishman Benjamin Henry Latrobe, had involved Strickland not only design, but trained him as a surveyor as well. It was not for nothing that he referred to himself consistently throughout his career as 'architect and engineer.' At the beginning of the nineteenth century it was still possible to blend those two professions together. Strickland's was the last generation where that was possible, however, and the 'architect and engineer' himself trained, through apprenticeship, as many of the next generation of professional engineers as he did architects.

Strickland and his daughters arrived in Liverpool, where they stayed with an old family friend. They are documented in London from February 6, 1838, and they stayed in the city until the beginning of March, when they departed for Paris.[14] They returned to London briefly in June, before taking ship again for Philadelphia. Although records of Darius Holbrook's visits to London remain elusive, the two men could have met one another either in February or June of 1838. That they did meet is highly likely, for soon after Strickland returned to the United States he left Philadelphia for the western frontier to carry out a survey preparatory to establishing the future great city of Cairo, Illinois.

Strickland and another man, the English surveyor and Geologist Richard C. Taylor, had been hired to survey the site by the London banking firm, Messers Wright and Co. Wright & Co. was an old and highly respected banking house that could trace its operations back to seventeenth-century goldsmiths, the predecessors of modern banks.[15] Holbrook had engaged the bank to offer bonds in England for his Cairo City and Canal Company, and Wright & Co. were doing almost a literal 'land-office business' selling them. The bonds were much in demand among English aristocrats and members of the nobility, as well as commoners who could afford them. They were apparently a very hot commodity on the London market in the late 1830s. Holbrook was a master at his business of promoting his investment schemes. He had published and circulated various pamphlets, both from the failed 1818 venture to create the city, as well as reassuringly official documents related to the current projects. It is likely that Holbrook reused the 1818 material – a 'Prospectus of the City' and a plat of the 'City of Cairo' -- for two reasons: to give the impression that this was such a good idea that it had been initiated two decades previously, and because he had no pictures to offer potential investors.[16]

Although Strickland referred to himself as 'Architect and Engineer' throughout his career when it suited the circumstances, he had long since dropped the 'Engineer' when working primarily as an architect. He had also given up the arduous life of a field surveyor, no doubt to his wife's satisfaction, if not at her urging. But with architectural work non-existent because of the dismal economic situation following the Panic of 1837, he had little choice, and soon after returning to Philadelphia in the summer of 1838, Strickland and Taylor set off for the western frontier.

From a strictly practical point of view, the Philadelphian and the Englishman were not needed in Illinois. James Thompson, a resident of the state, had been hired to survey the site of the town in 1837 and had already produced a perfectly acceptable plat of a part of the township that the city of Cairo was to be in. Strickland and Taylor were needed for another purpose: to provide an additional level of respectability and legitimacy to the enterprise, for Strickland, especially, was well-known on both sides of the Atlantic. Since it is likely Holbrook never intended actually to pay these men for their work, their services entailed little expense. [17]

After conducting their survey, Strickland and Taylor must have had some concerns; however, since their job was not to determine the suitability of the site, but rather to suggest the best way to render it practical to construct a city on, they did not spend any time in their report dwelling on the difficulties presented by an area inundated by almost annual flooding. They took the positive approach: the site would be ideal for a city provided adequate levees were constructed and the ground level raised several feet.[18] These were both very expensive propositions, and Strickland must have stressed to Holbrook their cost as well as their necessity. Venturing completely into the realm of supposition here, it is not hard to imagine Holbrook airily dismissing the concerns of his engineers over the cost of their recommendations, assuring them there was plenty of money available for needed improvements, and that whatever was necessary for the success of the enterprise would be done. Holbrook was nothing if not optimistic, and the optimism of men who control vast sums of capital is invariably infectious. He was also the only man in the whole intricate web of dealing and action who saw both sides. The capital was being raised in England while the surveyors were working on the muddy banks of the Ohio and Mississippi, thousands of miles away. Holbrook could say what he wanted to curious questioners at either end of his transatlantic span with no possibility of contradiction.[19]

But there was more that Strickland, particularly, could do for Holbrook. The architect could provide what was lacking in the mountain of publicity material the capitalist had assembled in his quest for cash: he could produce compelling images of what was to be. Prospectuses were all well and good, and compilations of statistics useful and reassuring to those with a bent for figures. But there is nothing quite as effective as a visual image at persuading the reluctant. Pictures are the basis of advertising.

Holbrook had Comegys' 1818 plat for the first proposed Cairo (pl.2), but it was pedestrian to a fault. John Reps rightly related it to William Penn's plan for Philadelphia of 1682. This 'new Philadelphia on the Mississippi' as Reps called it, was scarcely a

compelling design, even in 1818, let alone twenty years later.[20] But Strickland was on salary for the Cairo City and Canal Company, which meant that promises were all that was needed to keep him content. And Strickland was a highly talented draftsman, known since his youth for his ability with a pencil.[21] So it was that the middle-aged architect turned his hand to urban design for the first and only time in his career.

It should not be surprising that, after a lifetime spent in Philadelphia, his proposal displayed more than distant echoes of Penn's town (pl.3). A seventeen by eighteen-block grid at its largest extent, it displayed a consistent regularity except where it died into the levees intended to surround the town. But Strickland's plan eschewed the undifferentiated grid of Philadelphia, substituting for it a much more sophisticated series of primary and secondary axes, as well as nearly a half dozen regularly interposed but significantly more complex residential focal points. The most immediately noticeable feature of the plan, however, is what was apparently intended to be the civic center of town, at the southeast corner, fronting onto the Ohio River. It will become clear momentarily why this is identified as the civic center of town, but the plan itself makes it evident that this is a separate, and more important, part of the proposed city. The street grid continues, but there is a noticeable variance in the arrangement of the square. Most dramatically, there is a nearly complete reversal of color values on the plat to make the point that this is the most important part of town. Within this eight by six block rectangle there is another public square, but this one has been expanded in comparison to the other five complete squares of the plan, with four smaller squares surrounding it: one at each corner. At the southern end of the town plan, expanding beyond this civic center area, is a segmental curved area with an axial street intersected by two curved boulevards. Though this plan shows no monuments here, this has the appearance of a monumental zone, and there is some evidence that this is what Strickland was intending.

This plan was no doubt helpful to Holbrook in his marketing of the idea of Cairo, for it showed a much more elegant than normal potential American town. But a plan is still fundamentally an abstraction, something that does not mean much to people who are not trained to interpret it. Holbrook no doubt recognized this, and prevailed upon Strickland to create a more immediately accessible image of what was envisioned for the banks of the Ohio and Mississippi. Although the architect had not produced these topographical landscapes for a number of years, he had been, as a young man, quite adept at them. What he produced now, either on site in Illinois in the fall of 1838 or, more likely, back home in Philadelphia in the winter of 1839, was a masterpiece of the genre (pl.4). There is no doubt that this vision of Cairo (for such it must be described) was created in collaboration with Darius Holbrook, for the promoter was not interested in what the site looked like as much as he was desirous of projecting an image of what could be; as far as potential investors were concerned, what *would* be. Strickland was the delineator, but the content, for the most part, had to have come from Holbrook.

It was a brilliant vision, there is no doubt about that. It included virtually everything that the mid-nineteenth century had come to associate with a wealthy and productive town, especially seen with the eyes of an investor. The first notable feature is that the city is

set on the top of a high bluff. It is difficult to judge scale accurately, but the bluff is lined with riverboats, the stacks of which appear about even with the top of the bluff. This suggests the town was raised about 30 or 40 feet above the level of the Ohio (the view is from a vantage point on the Kentucky side of the river, looking roughly southwest). This is a subtle but reassuring start for minimizing the potential for flooding. At the bottom of the town, to the left, is a courthouse set against a backdrop of sturdy trees; the kind of trees that do not grow on land subject to periodic inundations.

Set back from the riverfront the width of a broad promenade (with groups of promenaders liberally sprinkled along it) are blocks and blocks of three-story factories. These march inward to the center of town with a monotonous but profitable regularity. They are divided into blocks by broad straight streets that debouch onto the riverfront. Over on the Mississippi side of town are a pair of chimneys belching smoke. However unpleasant these seem to 21st-century sensibilities, they meant one thing in 1838: productivity. And productivity meant profit. In between the factory stacks rises a twin towered castellated building, most likely a jail. To a Philadelphian in the 1830s such an arrangement of parts, presented in this style, would immediately bring to mind John Haviland's Eastern State Penitentiary, the most famous penal building of its day.

Rising next to it is the largest structure in the city. The imposing colonnaded drum, carrying a dome crowned by a lantern, stands atop an enormous structure, the triple gabled roofs of which can be discerned rising above the factories. Despite its overtones of governmental dignity – at the level of a state capital at least – it appears most likely to be a hotel. By the late 1830s hotels were another unmistakable sign of prosperity and cosmopolitanism in a city, especially cities associated with railroads, and it will be remembered that Cairo's establishment was intimately associated with the construction of the Illinois Central Railroad. Only a year or two before Strickland created this view of Cairo, James Gallier and Charles Dakin had designed the colossal St. Charles Hotel in New Orleans and crowned it with an enormous dome, very like the one depicted here (pl.5). Strickland who had not yet been to New Orleans, nevertheless was closely connected with architectural developments all over the country, and would no doubt have been familiar with this, the grandest of American hotels.

To the left of the dome of the hotel is a church steeple, suggesting the reassuring stability and respectability of Religion. Finally, farther to the left, down towards the point of the town, is a monument in the form of an enormous obelisk on a base. Its size (it appears to be about 150 feet high), while incongruous, draws attention to itself. We may understand this as a harmless conceit of the artist, who actually produced a design for a much more modest obelisk monument dedicated to the memory of Robert Fulton, which was to be erected in Cairo after the city was built. The two apparently ocean-going ships: a three-masted schooner and a side-wheel steamer, that can be seem anchored improbably in the river in front of the town will be explained later.

This, then, is the image of what every new American town of the nineteenth century aspired to be: prosperous, well-placed, respectable, beautiful. This Cairo was an image of justice, devotion, piety, hard work, wealth. It was, long before Italo Calvino, an

imaginary city. For Darius Holbrook, the picture Strickland drew was useful because it would persuade others of the inevitability of the success of this great new city, and increase the sales of its bonds, which were already going well. Strickland no doubt was proud of the work he thought he was doing for the Cairo City and Canal Company, though there is no evidence he was personally moved by it. Holbrook had offered him a job when he was unemployed, with no hope of architectural work anywhere in sight. Strickland was a grateful man, and happy to have the work, though he would have preferred to have stayed in Philadelphia, and was probably finding it increasingly difficult to get anything but promises out of Holbrook, who had engaged him as an engineer with his company at a salary of $3000 a year: not spectacularly good compared to what he had been receiving back in the 1820s, but nothing to turn down, especially with the country in a depression. The question of Strickland's complicity in Holbrook's schemes must, however, be addressed, for he did draw the picture of the imaginary Cairo.

William Strickland was not a complex man. His Philadelphia friend, the Judge John K. Kane, in writing his obituary in 1854, said: "The characteristics of Mr. Strickland's mind were directness and simplicity. There was nothing complicated or equivocal about him. A stranger could read him like a book…He had a warm heart, direct and gallant purposes, little aptitude of disguise, too little indeed, for promiscuous communion with the world."[22] There were few men in the 1830s more capable of 'promiscuous communion with the world' than Darius Holbrook, and the capitalist had no doubt read Strickland like a book. He saw a man who could do very well what Holbrook needed done, and who would not see through it. However innocent he might have been, Strickland was not stupid, and Holbrook had conceived of the image of Cairo as a sort of two-part invention. Strickland drew the picture, but Holbrook had someone else turn it into a lithograph. The name on the print is 'A. Heffy,' an otherwise unknown lithographer. And the highly misleading title attached to the print of the drawing: 'Prospective View of the City of Cairo, at the Junction of the Ohio with the Mississippi River, *Illinois'* is not something that can be ascribed to Strickland, who, as we shall see, was as taken in by Holbrook as everyone else involved with Cairo.[23]

Armed with Strickland's seductive plan and the newly printed view of Cairo, Holbrook took himself off to London again. It must be remembered that he was the only man who worked both sides of the street in this affair. Whatever he had said to Strickland in Philadelphia, or to the Illinoisans out on the frontier, was not necessarily what he told the eager and curious speculators in the English capital.

Wright & Co. had been aggressively marketing the new town. The bank issued and sold Cairo bonds worth £287,600: about a million and a half dollars in the 1840s and the equivalent of over twenty-five million dollars in today's money. This capital was supposed to be used to build the levees, raise the ground level and create the necessary infrastructure for the town that Strickland and Taylor had specified in their report. This never happened. In November, 1840, Wright & Co. failed, largely because of the Cairo speculation, leaving hundreds of creditors with worthless stock and empty accounts. It has, in the past, been asserted that Charles Dickens was among those who

gambled on Cairo. This is not true, but the failure of Wright & Co. was a monumental blow to the London financial world, and affected many investors, both small and great.[24]

In 1842 Charles Dickens visited America for the first time. His journey took him as far west as St. Louis. He decided to travel by river from Pittsburgh, which may have been largely a choice of convenience, though it did take him to Cairo. That this was completely accidental is unlikely, for Dickens seemed well prepared to detest the place, far beyond his general dislike of the United States and its inhabitants. When he published *American Notes* soon after returning to England, his comments betrayed an animus so pronounced that it is clear there was at least some level of personal revenge; if not for himself, then for friends. Dickens's attack on Cairo is still possibly the most venomous description of a town ever published. He wrote:

> "At length...we arrived at a spot so much more desolate than any we had yet beheld, that the forlornest places we had passed, were, in comparison with it, full of interest. At the junction of the two rivers, on ground so flat and low and marshy, that at certain seasons of the year it is inundated to the house-tops, lies a breeding-place of fever, ague, and death; vaunted in England as a mine of Golden Hope, and speculated in, on the faith of monstrous representations, to many people's ruin. A dismal swamp on which the half-built houses rot away: cleared here and there for the space of a few yards; and teeming, then, with rank unwholesome vegetation, in whose baleful shade the wretched wanderers who are tempted hither, droop, and die, and lay their bones; the hateful Mississippi circling and eddying before it, and turning off upon its southern course a slimy monster hideous to behold; a hotbed of disease, an ugly sepulchre, a grave uncheered by any gleam of promise; a place without one single quality, in earth or air or water, to commend it: such is this dismal Cairo." [25]

It is most likely that at least one aspect, if not in fact the most prominent, of the 'monstrous representations' he alludes to was the lithograph of Strickland's drawing that Holbrook had taken back to England.

Dickens was not done with Cairo even after he had savaged it in his *American Notes*. When he wrote *Martin Chuzzlewit* in 1843-4, he re-expressed his contempt for Cairo in the guise of dreary Eden, itself a sort of 'mine of Golden Hope' for the main character, who nearly dies there.

Even after the collapse of Wright & Co., Holbrook did not cease his promoting of Cairo, which consisted primarily of telling people things about the place that were not true. In the 1839 prospectus for the Cairo City and Canal Company, Holbrook had written that

> The company are proceeding in the execution of their plans as set forth in this prospectus, viz.: to make the levees, streets and embankments of the city; and to erect warehouses, stores and shops convenient for every branch of commercial business; dry docks; also buildings adapted for every useful mechanical and

manufacturing purpose, and dwelling houses of such cost and description as will suit the taste and means of every citizen."[26]

Two years later reports were circulating (most people had never actually seen Cairo) that miles of levees had been built, a hotel put up, lines of brick warehouses erected, docks, mills, iron foundries and workshops all put into service.[27] Essentially everything depicted on the 'Prospective View.' Perhaps most amazing, giving some sense of the unbounded imagination of Darius Holbrook, were 1841 reports published in the national press describing Cairo as a seaport:

> "A ship is now contracted for to be built at Cairo, the steamer designed for a regular trade between that city and Liverpool! Start not reader! This is most certainly true: and ten years will hardly pass before ships (twice the size?) will unload their cargoes at Cairo city which will then be a port of entry, and will take that rank among the cities of the west, to which her unrivalled position – unrivalled in any portion of the world – will entitle her.
>   We will add to this article the fact that the embankment, which will enclose 1303 acres, will be completed in June, after which an overflow of the city will no longer be apprehended."[28]

Even after the collapse of the speculative scheme in London, Holbrook was still pushing the 'Golden Hope' of Cairo.

For him in *was* a golden hope. When he had returned from England, bringing the first million and a half dollars of capital, everyone involved assumed the money would be put into work on the town. It was not. When James Silk Buckingham, the writer, journalist and Member of Parliament, traveled in America in the early 1840s he visited Cairo. In 1842 he wrote:

> "On looking around, however, for the "works already constructed," which are here [in London] said to be "considerable," nothing is seen but a few small dwellings of the humblest class of workmen…the infant settlement has already been completely submerged…and all its inhabitants were obliged to abandon it, to avoid being drowned!"[29]

Holbrook was indiscriminate in his using of people, relying largely on the credibility and greed of people presented with a sure thing. In the case of William Strickland, the creator of the new plan and the vision of Holbrook's Cairo, however, greed was not the primary motive. Strickland was out of work, and the employment offered by Holbrook was honorable. He worked for the Cairo City and Canal Company for a year and a half on the promise of a salary that never materialized. He was paid in company stock that became worthless after the failure of Wright & Co.[30] Holbrook walked away from the debacle, presumably with most of the $2 million (in 1840 dollars) that had been raised by the London bank, for it certainly had not been spent on Cairo.[31] His skill as a con artist – or as an entrepreneur of the most infectious optimism -- is most clearly seen in the fact that in 1846 Holbrook created a new company, the Cairo City Property Trust, to

which the assets of the old Cairo City and Canal Company were sold for $700,000. Half the shares went to Holbrook himself.[32] He essentially stepped from a sinking boat, just as it went under, to a new one, which he had purchased for pennies on the dollar.

Holbrook apparently invested his Cairo money in coal lands in Virginia, West Virginia, and Alabama, as well as maintaining ownership in Illinois property. After his successful exit from the Cairo business, his fertile imagination turned to communications, and in the early 1850s he was a partner in the first successful transatlantic telegraph cable. He died in Mobile, Alabama in 1858, 'one of the wealthiest men in the South,' according to the *New York Times*.[33]

The city of Cairo was essentially refounded in 1851 with the reincorporation of the Illinois Central Railroad early in that year. Holbrook's initial ICRR, which he had wisely abandoned early in the Cairo scheme, had collapsed in 1840 along with Illinois state finances. A town was necessary at the southern terminus of the railroad, and Cairo was it. The early vision of Sidney Breese and other Illinoisans of a railroad that linked the northern and southern ends of the state was finally realized. Holbrook's vision for Cairo evaporated like morning mist on the rivers that fronted it. He could hardly have been surprised.

[1] Deshler Welch, "The Mississippi Eden," *Harpers Monthly Magazine*, 121: 723 (August,1910), 434.

[2] John M. Lansden, *A History of the City of Cairo Illinois*, Chicago: R.R. Donnelley, 1910 (republished, Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1976), 31-2. Comegys bought "the South fractional halves of Sections Fourteen and Fifteen, fractional sections Twenty-Two, Twenty-Three and Twenty-Four, the North Fractional half of Section Twenty-Five, the North half of Section Twenty-Six, and the North East fractional Quarter of Section Twenty-Seven, all in Township Seventeen South, range One West, and all amounting to Eighteen Hundred acres, or thereabouts."

[3] The Act was passed January 9, 1818. The other incorporators were Shadrack Bond, Warren Brown, Michael Jones and Edward Humphreys of Kaskaskia, Illinois Territory, Charles W. Hunter of St. Louis, and Thomas H. Harris, Thomas F. Herbert and Charles Slade of Virginia. Shadrack Bond was the first Governor of the state of Illinois, which gives some indication of the level of connections the group of investors had. Lansden, 33-8. Although named after the medieval Egyptian city on the Nile, the local pronunciation of Cairo is American: KAY-Row.

[4] The naming of Cairo clearly had an influence on General James Winchester, who chose the only other city on the Egyptian Nile as the source for the new town he was involved with, about 150 miles south of Cairo: Memphis. That town, on the fourth Chickasaw Bluff in the southwestern corner of Tennessee, was founded in May, 1819, about a year and a half after Cairo was created on paper. E.J. Johnson and Robert Russell, *Memphis An Architectural Guide*, Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990, 2. Even though Cairo was never particularly successful as a town, its Egyptian name affected the whole lower end of Illinois, which came to be known as 'Little Egypt,' partly because of Cairo, and partly, probably, because that part of the state provided grain to the central and northern regions of Illinois after the hard winter and subsequent early fall frost of 1830-31 that resulted in widespread hardship. Empty wagons going south and returning laden with grain reminded Illinoisans of the Biblical story of the Israelites going down to Egypt to avoid famine. John W. Allen, *Legends and Lore of Southern Illinois*, Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1963.

[5] Lansden, 36.

[6] Ibid., 40.

[7] Ibid., 42.

[8] Alexander Davidson and Bernard Stuvé, *A Complete History of Illinois from 1673 to 1873*, Springfield, IL: D.L. Phillips, 1877, 573.

[9] See, for example, John H. Krenkel, *Illinois Internal Improvements, 1818-1848*, Cedar Rapids, IA: The Torch Press, 1958.

[10] Quoted in Lansden, 43.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Welch, 434.

[13] The primary source for William Strickland has long been Agnes Addison Gilchrist's *William Strickland Architect and Engineer, 1788-1854*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950 (reprinted, with additions by Da Capo Press, 1969).

[14] A sketchbook of the 1838 journey survives in the Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee. The chronology of the Strickland tour is taken from this.

[15] F.G. Hilton Price, *A Handbook of London Bankers*, London: Chatto and Windus, 1876, 140-41.

[16] The list of surviving documents related to the Cairo-Illinois Central schemes is fascinating. Individually, they are perfectly normal documents related to financial transactions, but looked at as a body they represent a remarkably thorough preparation of persuasive material aimed at investors. That, of course, is what they are, but the fact that the documents were found bound together in a volume with Holbrook's signature in it lends a certain credence to a more sinister interpretation of them. The volume included:

1. A Report of the President and Treasurer of the Illinois Exporting Co. (IEC).
2. Resolutions passed by the Board of Directors of the IEC.
3. A Deed of Trust from the Cairo City and Canal Co. to the New York Life Insurance and Trust Co.
4. A form of the Bonds issued in conformity with the Deed of Trust.
5. A form of Release Deed from the New York Life Insurance and Trust Co.
6. An opinion of Chancellor Kent concerning #3 above.
7. A prospectus for the Cairo City and Canal Co.
8. The Charter and By-Laws of the Cairo City and Canal Co.
9. A form of a Stock Certificate for the Cairo City and Canal Co.
10. A map of Township 17 [where Cairo was intended to be built] with the route of the proposed canal.
11. Articles of Agreement between the Illinois Central Railroad Co. and the Cairo City and Canal Co.
12. Articles of Agreement between the IEC and the Cairo City and Canal Co.
13. A survey map of Township 17, done by James Thompson.
14. A Survey Report and letter from Thompson
15, 16, 17 Letters from Wilson Abel, esq., George Cloud, esq. and The Hon. John S Hacker concerning the site proposed for Cairo and the health of the place.
18, A sketch of the town of Alton (IL), referred to in the Prospectus of the Cairo City and Canal Co.
19. A copy of the Illinois Internal Improvement Act of 1837.
20. A map showing the railroads and canals in Illinois.
21. The charter of the 1818 incorporation of the City and Bank of Cairo.
22. The 1818 prospectus of the city of Cairo.
23. A copy of the Charter of the Illinois Central Railroad Co.
24. The release of the Central Road Co. to the state of Illinois.
25. The 1818 plat of the 'City of Cairo.

James Thompson, a surveyor from Kaskaskia, was responsible for items #13 and 14 above. Thompson had been called on in 1830 to create the initial survey of Chicago. Chicago Historical Society, *Charter, Constitution, By-Laws, Membership List, Annual Report*, Chicago: CHS, 1908, 457-8.

[17] The Prospectus and Engineers' Report for the City of Cairo, published in St. Louis in 1839, listed both Strickland and Taylor as members of the Philadelphia committee, capable of providing information about the enterprise. Additionally, Strickland was listed first as a consulting engineer for the Company, a salaried position he held for a year and a half. Lansden, 47-9.

[18] John Reps , "Great Expectations and Hard Times: The Planning of Cairo, Illinois," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XVI, 4, December, 1957, 16.

[19] Lansden, who never for a moment considered Holbrook to be other than a financial genius, possessed of the highest moral principles and capable of unflagging and Herculean effort, distills the relationship between Holbrook and Cairo to this: "I need not say more here…[than] that the Cairo City and Canal

Company was D.B. Holbrook, or D.B. Holbrook was the Cairo City and Canal Company." 52-3. By assuming this virtue however, Lansden is led again and again to metaphorically throw his hands into the air in incomprehension at actions taken or not taken in this period of the late 1830s.

[20] Reps, 14-15. For the amazing variations on the lowly grid that nineteenth-century American town planners were capable of, see Reps' *The Making of Urban America; the History of City Planning in the United States*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965.

[21] His teacher, Latrobe, always thought Strickland the most talented of his pupils, even after they had a falling out. And at the beginning of his architectural career, in 1811, Strickland was asked by his old fellow apprentice, Robert Mills, to do a lithograph of Mills's Memorial Church in Richmond, Virginia, which Mills wanted to sell as a profitable commemoration of the disaster that resulted in Mills receiving the commission for the church. Mills asked Strickland to do the drawing since the latter was so much more proficient at rendering.

[22] J.K. Kane, Obituary notice of William Strickland, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 1854-1858, VI, 31-2.

[23] A 'prospective view' is, of course, just what this image is, and if Holbrook were ever queried about it, he could, in all truth, declare it to be a vision of the future, rather than a factual recording of what it. But swindlers depend on the willing gullibility of their victims, and the fact that 'prospective view' is so close to 'perspective view' which also is what this lithograph is, was precisely what Holbrook intended. That this confusion still works is illustrated by the fact that when I contacted the owners of this print about using it for a publication, they wrote back about their "Perspective View of Cairo."

[24] The association of Charles Dickens with the failure of Wright & Co. and the Cairo scheme goes back to the early twentieth century when two articles, published within a few months of each other, made the claim that Dickens had speculated in Cairo stock. The first of these, "The Mississippi Eden," was written by Deshler Welch and published in *Harper's Monthly Magazine* (121:723 (Aug., 1910), 434-442). The second, a more scholarly undertaking, was John Francis Snyder's "Charles Dickens in Illinois," which appeared in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (III (1910), 7-22). These claims were first refuted in 1951 by Gerald Grubb ("Dickens' Western Tour and the Cairo Legend,' *Studies in Philology*, XLVIII (1951), 87-97), though they continued to circulate. John Reps, in his seminal article about the planning of Cairo, was more circumspect, but still suggested that Dickens "may well have been an investor in the enterprise" (p.18).

Dickens scholars point out that in the late 1830s the writer was not yet very well known, and that while he was not living hand to mouth, he scarcely had the extra cash available for investing. On the other hand, there is evidence that Dickens knew people who suffered losses as a result of the bankruptcy of Wright & Co. In a letter to Charles Molloy, written November 28, 1840, just a few days after the bank failure, he wrote "I hope you have not been, or will not be, a great sufferer by Wright's failure. Remembering you banked there, I feared you might be a loser, when I heard they had stopped payment." *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, Madeline House and Graham Story, eds., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969, v. 2, 159-60.

Though the title of this article refers to the famous debacle of the Enron corporation in the early 2000s, a closer comparison could now be made to the collapse of the Wall Street banking house Bear Stearns, that occurred in early 2008 as a result of unwise speculation in the housing market.

[25] Charles Dickens, *American Notes and Pictures from Italy*, London: Oxford University Press, 1957, 171.

[26] Prospectus and Engineers' Report for the City of Cairo, St. Louis, 1839. Quoted in Lansden, 48.

[27] Reps, 17.

[28] *Niles's National Register*, v.59, Jan. 30, 1841, 342. A couple of months later – and nearly six months after Wright & Co. had gone bankrupt -- Niles's *Register* was still reporting that "Great efforts are now making by a company of capitalists, residing principally in England, to build up a city under the name of Cairo…They have purchased a tract of land, and expended a large sum in grading and embanking to keep out the waters. Quite a business settlement has already been located, and unless the whole town some day slips into and is lost in the rushing flood, money and enterprise will in time make Cairo, and important and flourishing city." April, 17, 1841; the report reprinted from the Cleveland *Herald*.

[29] James Silk Buckingham, *The Eastern and Western States of America*, London: Fisher, Son & Co., 1842, III, 81. Quoted in Reps, 17-18.

[30] In 1841, Congress passed the country's second bankruptcy act, in an attempt to bring relief to the many still suffering from the national depression brought on by the Panic of 1837. The consequent collapse of the building industry was what forced Strickland to accept Holbrook's offer of work, surveying the site of Cairo and his continued employment as an engineer with the Cairo City and Canal Company. The bankruptcy act was repealed in 1843 because of abuses, but in the short time it was in effect, Strickland took advantage of it and petitioned for bankruptcy. He filed his papers on December 27, 1842 and his petition was granted a month later. He was discharged as a bankrupt on May 26, 1843. The record of his petition proves he was swindled in the Cairo affair as much as anyone. His assets portray the sad case of a hopeful and honest man, taken in by fast-talking, unscrupulous con artists. Strickland listed $4500 as a year and a half's salary as an agent for the Cairo City and Canal Company, $10,000 in stock in the same company, $1200 as a claim on the 'Asphalte of Seyssel Company' and $2880 in stock from the company. The bankruptcy commissioners examined these and declared them "worthless." National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Philadelphia, Records of the U.S. District Court – Eastern District of Pennsylvania, case/docket #1389.
[31] Lansden, 51.
[32] Ibid, 51-2; Reps, 20.
[33] *New York Times*, September, 10, 1903.

'Capturing all the fish in the river': Public and private lessons from the making of Greater Brisbane

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Introduction

"An effort to capture all suburban divisional boards and shires at once is sure to fail. It is like trying to capture all the fish in the river in one night…"[1]

On Monday, 25th May, 1925, the outgoing City Council of Brisbane, Australia, voted to produce "an historical sketch of the constitution and work of the Council...". The publication was to be "of a comprehensive character, and … form a suitable Souvenir and Record for presentation purposes"[2] Why the need for such a record?

In his Foreword, Mayor Maurice Barry provides the answer. He called himself "the last Mayor of the first dynasty"[3] because "in a few weeks' time the first phase of municipal history will be closed, and Brisbane, with the suburbs that have grown around it, will enter into a new and testing experience." The changes were to result from what Barry called "the creation of the largest City, geographically, in the English-speaking world, and the entrusting of its government to the inhabitants by a measure of civic autonomy thitherto, I think, unparalleled."[4]

The event to which Mayor Barry referred was the abolition of twenty cities and shires in South East Queensland – including the then much smaller Brisbane City Council – and the creation in their place of the 'greater' Brisbane City Council, implemented through the Queensland State government's *City of Brisbane Act 1924*. The souvenir publication was to be the swan song of the old Council. This paper explores the influence of four factors that influenced the successful implementation of 'Greater' Brisbane: the reforming zeal of the State government, the on-going concerns about coordination and efficiency of municipal administration, the interplay between business values and civic concerns, and the role of the nascent town planning profession. These factors illustrate the critical interplay between the public and the private in the successful implementation of this reform of metropolitan governance in Brisbane.

Greater Brisbane

Debates about the benefits or otherwise of the consolidation of metropolitan local government in Brisbane had raged since the late nineteenth century and paralleled many of the pro-consolidation and anti-consolidation debates elsewhere.[5] However, the Brisbane example is unusual in that, despite wide-spread support for the idea across most of Australia, Brisbane was the only State capital city where such consolidation actually occurred,[6] although there was wide agreement on the need for metropolitan-

wide administration to coordinate the various local government roles in other Australian capitals. Where a distinction is made amongst "amalgamation" (where neighbouring groups of local authorities join together to make fewer but larger local authorities), "joint authorities" (where nominees of constituent local authorities take responsibility for joint actions), "federalization" (where there is a separately elected additional authority overseeing and coordinating major activities) and "unification" (the abolition of the existing system and its replacement with a single omnicompetent metropolitan authority),[7] Brisbane's case was clearly one of unification. What happened in 'greater' Brisbane was only one form of possible metropolitan-wide consolidation and only one form of the use of 'greater' in the metropolitan local government context. The description of a 'greater' city was sometimes also used to refer to the whole metropolitan area, or 'city plus suburbs'. Bromley has pointed out that this was sometimes used in British writings referring to something like the U.S. Metropolitan Statistical Areas.[8] But in the case of the 'greaterized' Brisbane it was the abolition of the existing system of fractured local government administration across the whole metropolitan area and its replacement with a single metropolitan local government.

The changes in Brisbane occurred for a number of reasons that provide the focus for the paper. One of great importance was the reforming zeal of the State government of the time as part of a raft of changes implemented under Premiers T.J. Ryan (1915-1919) and E.G. Theodore (1919-1925).

As leader of the State's Australian Labor Party, T. J. Ryan, had made the amalgamation (or enlargement) of local governments in Queensland a part of his party's platform for the election in 1915. When Ryan's party took office after winning that election the policy was put into force and a number of Queensland regional and non-metropolitan local authorities[9] were enlarged. However, Brisbane, "with its larger population, its many local governing bodies, its diverse interests, presented a problem bristling with difficulties."[10] Bills to implement a Brisbane consolidation of some form were introduced into the Queensland Parliament in 1917 and 1923, but it was not until 30th October 1924 that success was achieved: The *City of Brisbane Act 1924* was passed by the Queensland State Parliament, the new Brisbane City Council was elected by its expanded electorate on 21st February, 1925 and took office on October 1st, 1925. The new unified Council administered an area of some 375 square miles. Soon afterwards it also took over the administration of many of the metropolitan infrastructure providers, such as tramways, the sewerage system, and cross-river bridges.[11]

Influences

What were the public and private influences that led to the suggestion and successful implementation of Greater Brisbane? This question is the focus of the remainder of this paper, although it should be noted that in many situations such as this both the distinction between public and private and the very nature of both the 'public' and the 'private' are problematic.

State government influence

Mayor Maurice Barry praises, in his 'swan song' for the old Council, the role of the Labor Party State government in creating Greater Brisbane. He saw it as a way of improving the efficiency of municipal administration along with the other changes the State administration was making, such as the extension of the adult franchise by removing the property qualification as well as changing the system of municipal elections (including making voting compulsory)[12]. Removal of the property qualification for both voting and eligibility to stand for election to the municipality were thought necessary by public commentators sympathetic to Labor Party views because "the absurd and archaic franchise" was seen as a direct cause of "this low ebb to which local politics has fallen."[13]

Consolidation to produce a Greater Brisbane was actually part of the platforms of both the conservative Premier (D. F. Denham) and Ryan's Labor Party Opposition for the elections of 1915. Denham, in fact, listed "town planning generally" as one of the functional areas that would be improved through consolidation.[14] At first sight it is difficult to see why a State government would support the formation of large and potentially competing administrations at the local government level. Reading between the lines of the kind of rhetoric already mentioned it seems likely that there was frustration with the quality of both the local politicians and local administrations across Queensland. The 'greaterization' proposals applied to many of the larger cities in the State and not just Brisbane. Small local governments were also unable to access loans funds at the lowest rates so there was a potential for the State government to have to provide some kind of financial crutch for, or even have to bail out, small councils.

The Labor Party won the election, and so consolidation became part of the State government agenda. A large and cumbersome *City of Brisbane Bill* was hastily prepared and presented to Parliament in 1917 but never progressed past the First Reading stage. A revised and shorter Bill was presented in 1923 then left on the table for public comment, eventually to be passed in 1924. The State government context is important here. The Labor Party government that ruled from 1915 had a strong reform agenda. Many of these reforms were thwarted by the conservative, appointed members of the Queensland Upper House, called the Legislative Council. In 1922 the government managed, by earlier appointing a 'suicide squad' of sympathizers, to abolish the Legislative Council.[15] This cleared the way for the Labor majority in the Lower House, the Legislative Assembly, to implement their reforms. Although both main parties contesting the 1915 election supported the 'greaterization' of Brisbane, for the Labor Party this move was associated with other social and political reforms.

The powers given to the new council by the State government were quite remarkable. The Council is charged with the "government" of the city. William Jolly, the first Mayor of the enlarged Council, described it as "'Home Rule' for Brisbane", although still subject to State government.[16] The Council was even given the power to resume (expropriate) land for public purposes, a power which other local councils did not have.

The State public influences also include pressures from bureaucrats such as the "most ardent and disinterested advocate of the ideal of greater city government", C. E. Chuter, Assistant Under-Secretary of the Queensland Home Office. Chuter assiduously amassed data to persuade decision-makers and prepared the ground for political action.[17] As there was on-going debate about final size of the new city (whether to have a five-mile or ten-mile limit from the city centre) and of the pace at which the expansion and unification should occur, "the officials of the Home Secretary's Department, who had given this matter much thought, strongly recommended the ten-mile radius, which was ultimately adopted."[18] Chuter was also responsible for the legislation giving to the new enlarged local authority a 'general competence' power, or general power to govern.[19] In fact the legislation was sometimes referred to as "Mr Chuter's Bill".[20]

Municipal consolidation

There had been discussions amongst the various Brisbane metropolitan local authorities about better coordination of their activities, including joint and *ad hoc* authorities, since the 1890s, including a submission by the Local Government Commission in 1896.[21] A meeting of metropolitan municipalities was organized by the Mayor of Brisbane in 1900 but further meetings were gradually more poorly attended until one proposed in 1902 was abandoned because of the poor numbers.[22] At the same time, Booroodabin, a small local council abutting Brisbane City agreed after a referendum of its rate-payers, to amalgamate with Brisbane. This was formalized by the State's *City of Brisbane Enlargement Act 1902*.[23] The new legislation made further expansions of Brisbane City through amalgamations possible, but the action exposed the major fault line amongst those supporting the larger municipal administration. The division was between those who supported the immediate expansion of Brisbane to a ten-mile limit from the city centre, usually also connected to related State government reforms proposed by the Labor Party (then in Opposition) such as amending the franchise, and those who supported amalgamations to increase municipal efficiencies but supported a cautious, steady expansion and generally saw this is something removed from other State government reforms. Two Brisbane newspapers of the time illustrated the two views. On the one hand, "There is no reason why a central council, endowed with such control, should not strike out immediately on bold lines and lift the city to the forefront in municipal equipment…"[24] But on the other hand, "If we are to have a greater Brisbane, we shall find that we can get that greater Brisbane only by moving slowly and surely … An effort to capture all suburban divisional boards and shires at once is sure to fail. It is like trying to capture all the fish in the river in one night…"[25]

A common feeling, though, was that the growing inefficiencies of the overlapping responsibilities of the many authorities in metropolitan Brisbane could be resolved through amalgamation with Brisbane City, thus leading to fewer Councillors, the potential for greater "fluidity" of money (enabling "finance to be conducted on wholesale rather than retail principles"), introducing "uniformity and simplicity in administration" and banishing "the curse of huckstering parochialism."[26] The features that made up this "curse" included the reluctance of existing Aldermen to negotiate themselves out of

office, the reluctance of the richer parts of the metropolitan area to share their revenues with more needy parts of the city and the unwillingness of suburban local authorities to bury their separate identities in a larger metropolitan authority.[27] In the 1924 Parliamentary debate over the legislation the successful examples of Greater Glasgow, Greater Birmingham and Greater London were cited as exemplars of greaterization to show both that it could be done and that it could be done successfully.[28]

Although it is conceptually possible to separate State and municipal approaches, in practice the two are interconnected. One commentator of the period noted that "the main reason which prevented the consummation of proposals to create Greater Cities of Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide were political, caused by the fact that in each case the number of [State] electors in each Metropolitan area was much greater than the numbers in the rest of each of those States."[29]

Business Values

The debates about the changes to the local government franchise associated with the debates about amalgamation illustrate the polarization of views about the role of business values and business expertise in local government. The right to vote in municipal elections and the right to stand for council before 1915 were available only to those who owned property. The proposal to remove this qualification to achieve a universal franchise was criticized by some in the community: "to have secured property or money by thrift or honest industry is the one thing not to be rewarded" by such a change.[30] One local newspaper saw the problem as the separation of representation from taxation, giving the example of a lodger who has no private property in land but who would be given a voting power equal to that of the largest property owner.[31] Ownership of property was a sign of standing in the community and was connected with values of thrift and industry. And there was a strong feeling amongst many in the community that these values should be connected to the way that local authorities were run. The conservative argument was to question how those who had not thus far exhibited sufficient thrift or industry to gather personal wealth in property could be trusted to bring such necessary qualities to metropolitan administration.[32]

For some considerable time, however, there had been concern about the lack of enterprise of the smaller municipal councils and their lack of appreciation of the "vast possibility" of the city, a very civic boosterist view.[33] 'Greater' cities were seen as more efficient and economical, better coordinated, better resourced, better equipped to borrow money, better able to use expert advice, better able to deal with city-wide problems, and better able to attract more capable Aldermen.[34] In essence, these values were those of a well-run business. Some commentators saw the total overlap of administration and business; one claimed that "purely administrative functions – that is to say business functions –outweighed the political functions nine to one".[35] If the modern 'city efficient' was to be modelled along the lines of a "great business corporation"[36], then it would seem only natural that civic leaders be drawn from amongst the ranks of the businessmen who had experience in such matters.

The wider ideology of the 'city functional' or 'city efficient' was common at the time.[37] A major plank of the idea was that of the efficiency that comes with better coordination of activities. Public administration of the time was, in general, obsessed with these ideas of coordination, integration and efficiency. This emphasis existed in Queensland as elsewhere. These ideas were driven, in many cases, by business-based ideas developed by writers such as F. W. Taylor, although they were focused on the efficiency of provision of public services and the implementation of government policies rather than greater profits. In Queensland the ideas continued to influence public sector thinking throughout the 1920s and 1930s leading to the creation of offices such as the Queensland Co-ordinator General of Public Works in 1938.[38] Thus, it could be argued that there were elements of business ideals, such as good coordination of the internal workings of business institutions leading to greater efficiency, that paralleled concerns within the public sector about coordination leading to greater efficiency and better governance.

The town planning movement

The role of town planners and town planning in the greater Brisbane amalgamation is equivocal. The Town Planning Association of Queensland, initiated in 1914 after a lecture tour by C. C. Reade and W. R. Davidge of the U.K. Garden Cities and Town Planning Association but which had declined in influence and membership, was revived with the help of the pioneer planner R. A. McInnes in 1922 and this association was seen by some as "an important pressure group in agitating for a Greater Brisbane City Council".[39] McInnes was a land surveyor and urban planner who saw town planning as seeking the coordinated control of development so as to achieve the best life for the residents but who favoured down-to-earth schemes rather than grandiose designs. He was very concerned about the financial implications of planning programs, feeling that town planners killed off their schemes because they "ignored economic realities, allowing their aesthetic aspirations to lead them to absurdities that could never be financed by the community they planned for."[40] These sympathies meshed very well with the wider pragmatic, efficiency driven concerns for amalgamation of the diverse local governments and authorities in metropolitan Brisbane. The Town Planning Association of Queensland passed a motion approving the wider, ten-mile radius area fixed by the 1923 Bill for town planning purposes, although a number of local authority people in the Association opposed the resolution.[41]

It should be noted that C. E. Chuter, in 1922 made the Assistant Under Secretary of the Queensland Home Secretary's Department, was prominent in both the Town Planning Association, the two national Town Planning and Housing Conferences held in Adelaide in 1917 and Brisbane in 1918, and the lobbying for a greater Brisbane.[42] The fact that an influential senior State government bureaucrat was also part of the town planning movement that was lobbying for 'greaterization' may lead to a misinterpretation of the degree of influence of that movement. The Parliamentary Debate on the 1923 Bill drew attention to Chuter's considerable and continuing contribution to its creation, and some commentators go as far as suggesting that greater city movements in other capital cities of Australia came to nothing at least partially because "none of those cities had a

Charles Chuter available to cherish the ideal despite setbacks, and eventually, bring it into existence."[43]

But for some commentators on Queensland history, town planning was invisible in the political debates (and some even ignore the formation of Greater Brisbane itself).[44]

Many did make the connection between town planning and the governance of the metropolitan region. William Jolly, the first Mayor of the unified local authority, said that the creation of Greater Brisbane made possible "for the first time", the "application of scientific town planning principles, long recognized as indispensable to control and direct the development of the City of Brisbane along balanced and progressive lines"[45] He also lamented that in the previous chaotic conditions the science of town planning had received little attention so intelligent and far-sighted planning for the city's future was not realized.[46] It was also fortuitous for the nascent town planning movement that the interventionist possibilities of institutionalized town planning were well matched with the reforming nature of the Labor State government[47]. If town planning constitutes a form of public control over private interests[48], then the Ryan and Theodore Labor governments were politically amenable to the newly created Greater Brisbane Council exercising this control.

Greater Brisbane in its context

There were suggestions at the time that the kind of amalgamation suggested for Greater Brisbane – one that involved the dissolution of all the local governments involved, including the Council at the heart of the metropolitan area, and the creation of a new metropolitan authority – was too radical. Some of the proponents of a more modest and on-going consolidation were convinced this should rather be done "under one municipal authority of a suitable area centreing about the City of Brisbane."[49] This is suggesting the kind of expansion through annexation that was more common in the United States. [50] On the other hand, commentators noted that although Greater Brisbane was the first of its kind to be adopted in Australia, "Chicago and Glasgow stood as overseas precedents exemplifying the advantages proponents of Greater Brisbane envisaged for their city."[51] It is important to note that Brisbane has never occupied the commanding commercial position in Australia that, say, New York or Chicago have in the United States. There are critical differences as well between the role of local government in Queensland and that in other contexts. Hammack's detailed analysis of Greater New York at the turn of the twentieth century[52] clearly describes a different situation to that in Brisbane. For example, Australian local governments do not have the responsibility for police services or education; these are State government responsibilities. And the political context is different. Hammack describes a clear struggle between a well-established Republican Party machine and that of the Democratic Party in the political life of New York in the 1890s. In Brisbane a well-established but far from efficiently organised Australian Labor Party was opposed by a number of anti-Labor parties that were not combined into an effective Liberal Party until the 1940s. This is not to downplay the importance of the political context in Brisbane. The Ryan-Theodore Labor Party of 1915-25 was set on reforming the political

landscape of Queensland and Brisbane and it was opposed by the non-Labor forces. Many of these opposed Greater Brisbane, as they opposed a non-property franchise, but there were some conservative politicians who supported "greaterization" whilst they opposed the expansion of the franchise.

The new Greater Brisbane City Council of 1925 was quite different to the previous Brisbane, however, and not just in terms of size. Its authority was extended by State government through a range of both general and express powers.[53] "Greaterization" had been accompanied by an expansion of the definition of local government powers, most of which were also extended to all Queensland local governments with the consolidation of the *Local Government Act 1936* from several related pieces of legislation. Brisbane did retain some differences even after 1936, however; it still had its own *City of Brisbane Act,* it had powers (such as that of providing bus and ferry public transport) that other Queensland local governments have never enjoyed. In effect Brisbane has continued to enjoy a measure of 'Home Rule', although this has gradually been whittled away by successive State governments during the remainder of the twentieth and into the twenty-first centuries.

Conclusions

There are a number of lessons that can be learned from the example of the unification and 'greaterization' of Brisbane and the interplay of public and private forces in the way that unification was achieved. The debates were shaped through the interplay of similar public and private ideals relating to public service and public efficiency that shaped the debates in Britain and the United States at the time: support for the 'city efficient', the need for city administration to be more 'business-like', and the need to attract better qualified city councillors (where 'better' was to many commentators those with substantial business experience), the need to overcome parochial interests for the greater good of the wider metropolitan community, and the possibility of both acquiring greater resources and being able to spend them more effectively. But the events in Brisbane occurred in a different political and social context. In Brisbane the 'city efficient' ideology was hitched to political reformists' zeal to achieve a number of social goals, including expanding the electoral franchise. Town planning ideals formed a part of the mix of ideas leading to the change, although at the time it was a town planning movement made up of a range of professionals, public servants and laypeople. The forces that led to the unification in Brisbane also illustrate the way that achieving the greater public good and achieving the goals of business advocates and interests can coincide.

There is also a fascinating direct link to urban planning issues that face metropolitan governments today. In his review of the work of the unified Council in 1929, four years after its formation, the first Mayor, W.A. Jolly[54] noted that "the advent of the motor car in such large numbers has created a national problem … we are called upon to build good roads at the cost of many millions to meet the new form of transport". He further noted that "the responsibilities of local government bodies in Queensland have also been considerably increased during recent years". Jolly also showed that urban sprawl is

nothing new in noting that "Brisbane is spread out over a much wider area than other cities with the same population, each home having a fair-sized plot of land around it" which while making for "ideal living conditions … at the same time adds to the cost not only in the maintenance of extra mileage of streets but in the providing of the various services such as water, sewerage, electricity and transport."[55]

There are many lessons to learn from the creation of Greater Brisbane in 1924, not least of which is that we have still to work out how to deal with the problems of administering and managing growing metropolitan areas. These problems remain today. The creation of Greater Brisbane was justified on the public grounds of better governance and on the private grounds of business-like efficiency and business expertise, but neither has been sufficient to overcome the wider contextual problems facing Brisbane as they face other growing metropolitan areas.

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[1] *Telegraph*, 5 December, 1902, citied in Greenwood and Laverty (1959) p. 451

[2] Brewer, F. J. and Dunn, R. (1925) *Sixty-six Years of Municipal Government; Historical Sketch of Brisbane,* Standard Press, Brisbane, p. 3.

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[4] Barry (1925), p. 6

[5] Minnery, J. (2004) The wonderful possibilities of the future: Political and administrative influences on urban planning in Greater Brisbane, *IPHS Conference*, July, Barcelona

[6] The city of Greater City of Newcastle in New South Wales was created in 1938 from eleven pre-existing local government areas (email correspondence with N. Cushing, University of Newcastle, 7 Aug.ust 2003). The State capital city of Perth in Western Australia expanded in the 1920s by "taking in" five local authorities in a form of annexation but more recently the State government rejected this Greater Perth by splitting it up into three local authorities (email correspondence with L. Summers, Edith Cowan University, 12 August, 2003).

[7] Davies, A. F. (1955) Local government in Melbourne, *Public Administration, Sydney*, New Series, Vol. XIV, No. 2, June, pp. 65-84. See p. 68.

[8] Bromley, R. (email correspondence 11 August 2003) referencing Baines, J. A. (1903) A census of the Empire, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Vol. 66, No. 1, pp. 31-70

[9] Brewer and Dunn (1925, p. 47) list these local authorities as Rockhampton, Townsville, Ipswich, Bundaberg, and Toowoomba. Tucker (1981, p. 87) adds to these Charters Towers and Maryborough (see Tucker J. D. *et al.* (1981). *Local Government in Queensland, Volume 1*, AIUS Publication No. 94, Australian Institute of Urban Studies, Canberra. Tucker also notes that the 'greaterization' was on the basis of State government fiat rather than local government consultation (p. 87).

[10] Brewer and Dunn (1925) p. 47

[11] Cole, J. (1984) *Shaping a City: Greater Brisbane 1925-1985*, William Brooks, Brisbane

[12] Barry (1925); Greenwood G. and Laverty, J. (1959) *Brisbane 1859-1959: A History of Local Government*, Oswald L. Ziegler, Brisbane, pp. 291-2

[13] *Daily Standard*, 5 August 1915, cited in Greenwood and Laverty (1959) p. 454

[14] *Brisbane Courier*, 23 March, 1915, cited in Greenwood and Laverty (1959) p. 453

[15] Queensland is still unicameral in 2008. The process was the appointment of a sympathetic Acting Lieutenant-Governor while the incumbent was on retirement leave in the UK in 1920 who then appointed a "suicide squad" of sufficient supporters to provide a majority in the Legislative Council. The Legislative Council then passed some of the Labor government's reforms, such as the direct election of Mayors. Then in 1922 the Legislative Council voted itself out of existence. See Tucker (1988), and Fitzgerald (1994) *'Red Ted': The life of E. G. Theodore*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane.

[16] Jolly, W.A. (1929) *Greater Brisbane 1929*, Watson, Ferguson and Co., Brisbane, p. 2

[17] Brewer and Dunn (1925) p. 48

[18] Jolly (1929) p. 2

[19] Tucker D. (1988) Charles Edward Chuter: An architect of local government in the twentieth century, *Queensland Geographical Journal (4th Series),* Vol. 3, June p. 67

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[21] Greenwood and Laverty (1959)

[22] Greenwood and Laverty (1959) p. 450; *Brisbane Courier* 10 January, 1902.

[23] Greenwood and Laverty (1959) p. 451

[24] *Brisbane Courier*, 22 November, 1902, cited in Greenwood and Laverty (1959) p. 451

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[43] Tucker (1988) p. 67

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From city to region in planning Latin America's capital cities, 1920-1950

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Local and foreign experts

By the late 1920s, industrial growth, demographic mobility and urban sprawl evinced the necessity of Latin America's major capitals to adopt plans, which were undertaken by local governments relying on both foreign experts and new generations of native professionals. Confirming the specialization of the discourse and the discipline that had accompanied the emergence of urbanism in industrialized countries, the urban agenda had gained room in technical journals and magazines that were published during the first decades of the twentieth century.[1] Besides the Inter-American Conferences and Pan-American Congresses of Architects that took place since the 1920s, technical innovations in urbanism were exchanged at international events that, from the following decade, were focused on diverse components of the emerging field.[2]

Confirming the importance that administrative changes had for the consolidation of planning – as had happened in industrial countries before 1914 – Latin America's planning machinery did not take shape until the second half of the 1920s, when urban problems became issues of administrative regulation. Most of the national or municipal offices of urban planning in Santiago, Montevideo, Buenos Aires, Mexico City, Havana, Rio, São Paulo, Lima, Bogotá and Caracas were a joint effort among local and national governments, new professional associations, and urban research centres. Some of them acting at the same time as administrative heads, urban designers and promoters, an indigenous generation of de facto *urbanistas* would emerge from these offices in charge of elaborating the inaugural plans for the teeming metropolises. There were included Carlos Contreras in Mexico City, Mauricio Cravotto in Montevideo, Carlos della Paolera in Buenos Aires, Francisco Prestes Maia and Anhaia Mello in São Paulo, Pedro Martínez Inclán in Havana, and Leopoldo Martínez Olavarría and Carlos Raúl Villanueva in Caracas.

As a belated remnant of the inter-war colonialism in Latin America, that was still seduced by the Old World's cultural and academic prestige, the new offices of urbanism, though boasting teams that already were professionally mature, hired famous experts from Europe, either as advisers or coordinators of the plans to be produced. The new instruments seemed to reach the value of manifestoes or birth certificates of the emerging discipline, unlike European countries where the first planning laws had more epistemological significance. Having addressed in other texts the foreign experts' contributions from the 1900s (Almandoz, 2002; 2006; 2007), this paper aims at emphasizing the process of institutional and professional consolidation of some local milieus from the 1920s, while providing clues about the local and foreign experts' change in terms of conceptual approaches and spatial scope of their proposals up to the 1950s.

Institutional and professional consolidation between the wars

In the midst of the administrative and technical changes that accompanied the first offices and plans of urbanism, the institutional consolidation through university courses, professional associations and exchanges in events were mechanisms for broadening the theoretical and territorial scope of the discipline. Without pretending to thoroughly register the consolidation in each Latin American country – what would be impossible not only because of the extension limits of this paper but also due to a bibliography for case studies that is barely beginning to appear – let us just identify milestones that signaled the maturity of some national milieus from the 1920s onwards.

One of the first courses of *urbanismo* was introduced in 1928 at the School of Architecture of the University of Chile's Faculty of Economic Sciences and Mathematics, by Alberto Schade Pohlenz, author of a 1923 plan for Santiago; strongly influenced by Sitte's aesthetics, his syllabus inspired a similar program at the Catholic University in 1929 (Hofer, 2003: 74-75). With the foundation of the Institute of Urbanism and the issue of a *Ley General de Construcciones y Urbanizaciones* (General Law of Buildings and Urban Developments) in 1931, followed by the celebration of the first congress of Architecture and Urbanism in 1934, the country, convulsed by then with Arturo Alessandri's reforms, stood out, though, as one of the most articulate platforms of Latin America's urbanism. After the departure of Brunner, who developed urban plans, law proposals and university courses, his chair would be taken over until 1946 by his disciple, Rodulfo Armando Oyarzun Philippi, while other fronts of his activity were continued by junior members of the first generation of Chilean *urbanistas* (Pavez, 1992: 2-3).

Post-revolutionary Mexico was another milieu that matured early, boosted by the technocratic reforms launched during the presidencies of Álvaro Obregón (1920-24) and Plutarco E. Calles (1924-28). Promoted by the architect Manuel Ortiz Monasterio, the course "City Planning and Civic Art" was inaugurated in 1926 at the National School of Fine Arts. José Luis Cuevas Pietrasanta was in charge of it until 1929, when it was taken over by Carlos Contreras, founder of the *Planificación* journal, while Cuevas introduced a similar program at the Autonomous University. Led by the Asociación Nacional para la Planificación de la República Mexicana (ANPRM, National Association for the Planning of the Mexican Republic), the celebration of the first national conference on this subject in 1930, as well as the passing of a general law on planning in the same year, confirm Mexico's pioneering development of a professional and legal groundwork. Having promoted a regional plan for the capital as early as 1928, Contreras endeavored to create a faculty of planning that would certify students in three years; even though this initiative was not carried out, a graduate program on Urbanism and Planning was created in 1939 at the National Polytechnic Institute's High School of Engineering, probably the first in Latin America (Sánchez Ruiz, 2002).

Though some changes were undermined by political instability and the later consolidation of Getúlio Vargas's "Estado Novo" (New State, 1937-1945), whose authoritarian centralism did not seem to encourage local but national reforms, also Brazil showed advanced signs of administrative, professional and academic institutionalization of urbanism. After the creation of the short-lived National Association of Urbanism in 1927, another step towards its institutionalization as a national matter was marked by the 1932 Department of Municipal Administration, aimed at providing assistance to local governments. Confirming that the prefects of Brazilian cities have often been renown experts in addition to public servants, Luiz de Anhaia Mello – author of *Problemas de urbanismo* (1929) – organized in São Paulo a Congress of Housing, followed by a Week of Urbanism in Salvador de Bahia in 1935. The carioca academia witnessed Lúcio Costa's 1931 reform of the Escola Nacional de Belas Artes (ENBA, National School of Fine Arts), including courses of urbanism and landscape within a curricular framework intended to make the teaching of architecture independent from plastic arts. Later on, the prefect Pedro Ernesto would achieve the creation of the University of the Federal District (UDF), where a first graduate program on *urbanismo* was imparted until the university was closed by Vargas's regime in 1939 (Pereira, 2003: 79-80).

In the case of Argentina, after the creation of the Comisión de Estética Edilicia (CEE, Building Aesthetic Commission) in 1925, the architects' interest for urbanism was evinced in invitations to Le Corbusier and Werner Hegemann; the latter's proposals were promoted from the Office of the Plan created in 1932. The maturity of the professional milieu made possible the celebration of the first Congress of Urbanism in 1935 under the guidance of Carlos della Paolera, who had pioneered a course on *urbanismo* at Rosario's Universidad del Litoral in 1929, and took on a similar course at the University of Buenos Aires (UBA) in 1933 (Randle, 1977: 12). Developed between 1922 and 1928 as his doctoral thesis at the Institut d'Urbanisme, University of Paris, della Paolera's "Plan Regulador para la Aglomeración Boaerense" (Master Plan for the Buenos Aires Agglomeration) not only included the historic core but also the regional conurbation, according to the then resounding approach by Patrick Geddes. Also the city's historical and territorial relationship with the countryside, in the sense developed by Marcel Poëte in *L'évolution des villes,* was incorporated by della Paolera in his early regional plan, in which the identity of neighboring towns was subordinated to the Buenos Aires metropolis (Caride, 2002-2004: 215-216).

Among the foreign and local maestros of this generation, it was Brunner who not only consolidated the professional and institutional platforms of Chile and Colombia, but also managed to produce a textbook where clues about changing approaches of urban planning can be recognized. Published in Bogotá in two volumes, Brunner's *Manual de urbanismo* (1939-40) provided a review of the solutions that the emerging discipline gave to the functional problems of world metropolises, with many examples drawn from Latin America's fast-growing cities. Based on the author's 1924 course at Vienna's National Faculty of Architecture, recommended in turn as model at Heidelberg's 1928 Congress of Urbanism, the manual aimed at comprehending the "scientific system" of

the discipline, comprising political-sociological, technical and artistic components (Brunner, 1939, I: 19, 24).

Although Brunner's manual did not emphasize the region as a territorial ambit, it recognized "regional planning" as a new technique whose antecedents dated back to Schmidt's planning of the Ruhr basin and Geddes's civic studies for Edinburgh; but contemporary breakthroughs mainly referred to experiences of the Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA) in New York and California (Brunner, 1939-1940, II: 189-190). It was not the *urbanista* but the planner the professional that ought to be in charge of the economic goals of the regional technique, though part of its instruments, such as satellite towns and green belts, could be worked together with traditional urban planning (Brunner, 1939-1940, II: 138-177).

Modernism, *urbanismo* and *planificación*

While development remained elusive for the countries in economic and social terms, from the 1940s some of Latin America's metropolises strived to exhibit a modernist image that, in view of the imbalance between industrialization and urbanization, also resulted incomplete and distorted. But it must be recognized that architectural modernism was a showcase for displaying the rapid modernization pursued by economic developmentalism, whose nationalist ingredients colored vernacular and genuine *modernismos* in some of Latin America's developing countries (Almandoz, 2006: 95-96). The peculiarity of "alternative modernism" reached its peak where the "alliance between modernizing governments and modernist architects" took place, as in the cases of Mexico, Brazil and Venezuela, whose university cities, housing projects and administrative buildings were ranked among the world's best exponents of the modern movement (Fraser, 2000: 15-18).[3]

In the domain of urban planning, major foreign influences in post-war Latin America also shifted from academicism to functionalist modernism, which was put, like developmentalism and industrialization, at the service of the progressive goals of democracies and dictatorships alike. Before the eclipse of academic urbanism, Hannes Meyer's left-wing rationalism was introduced in Mexico during the 1939-49 stay of the former Bauhaus director, who came from another prolonged experience at Stalin's centralized USSR. The social housing and public institutions projects in which Meyer participated boosted a more vernacular and regionalist architecture favored during Lázaro Cardenas's tenure (1934-40), after the modernizing agenda initiated by Calles's *maximato*, which included sanitary and educational projects by Juan O´Gorman, Juan Legarreta and Villagrán García (Gorelik, 2005: 102-119).

Initially invited to the already-mentioned congress on Planning and Housing held at the Aztec capital in 1938, Meyer's arrival was aimed at backing the initiative of Cuevas and Enrique Yánez for creating a School of Urban Planning within the Instituto de Planificación Nacional (IPN, Institute of National Planning) launched a year before; Meyer's Soviet experience was supposed to help in bringing to Mexico's *urbanismo* the emerging categories of region and planning (Gorelik, 2005: 121-122). It was to some

extent a belated response to Contreras's advocacy for regional planning since the late 1920s, both in his professional practice and articles in the *Planificación* journal (Contreras, 2003).

The modern legacy in other Latin American capitals was enriched during the 1940s, especially through the visits of CIAM luminaries as advisers of the new planning institutions, some of which reached national jurisdiction. Le Corbusier learnt the lesson about the necessity of contextualizing and respecting the local milieu:[4] in his second proposal for Buenos Aires, prepared with Argentine architects Kurchan and Ferrari and published in 1947, the analysis of the "cardiac system" of the inner city, including the integration of traditional avenues and new "motorways", was complemented in the suburbs with the regional proposals of radiant cities, satellite towns and a green belt (Caride, 2002-204: 218). While Le Corbusier's other trips to Bogotá were to crystallize in a 1950 plan, CIAM's theoretical presence would be consolidated with the Spanish edition of the 1941 *Charte d'Athènes*, published in Argentina in 1954 and completed with its Cuban adaptation in Martínez Inclán's *Código de Urbanismo*, presented at Cuba's First National Conference of Architecture in 1948. A campaigner for the Patronato Pro-Urbanismo (Planning Trust) since 1942, Martínez Inclán led Cuba's shift from academicism to modernism, from his urban planning chair at Havana University. After visits to this capital of modernist maestros such as Richard Neutra (1945), Walter Gropius (1945) and Joseph Albers (1952), CIAM's leadership among new generations of Cuban architects was took on by José Luis Sert, adviser to the new Junta Nacional de Planificación (JNP, National Board of Planning) created in 1955 by Batista's second dictatorship (1952-59).

Having arrived from the late 1940s in Venezuela, but especially during Pérez Jiménez's dictatorship (1952-58), planning was advocated by Sert himself, Robert Moses, Francis Violich and Rotival again, all of them advisers of the Comisión Nacional de Urbanismo (CNU, National Commission of Planning) (Almandoz, 2006a: 341-350). Established by then at the United States, the French visitor left testimonies of the rise of the new planning technique in the post-war years. Hired for second time by the Venezuelan government,[5] Rotival did not wish to be considered any longer as *urbaniste*, but as representative of the more-comprehensive professional that the *planificateur* was supposed to be, according to a differentiation that he would theorize about some years later (Rotival, 1964). In the case of Violich, his *Cities of Latin America* (1944) had offered one of the first comparative perspectives of the Europeanized and academic backgrounds in several professional milieus he was in contact with throughout his journey. But it must be pointed out that in that early book the Californian planner had noticed that "younger practising architects and planners" started to "look towards the United States rather than to Europe" (Violich, 1944: 158, 169, 173). Violich later summarized, in relation to the Venezuelan experience, the disciplinary shift that had taken place in those decades, what can be generalized to most of the continent: "A latter-day Beaux Arts movement inspired the late 1930s, and a social orientation, the mid-1940s, only to give way in the early 1950s to a functional approach drawing on North American techniques" (Violich, 1975: 285).

In the case of Brazil, after the Russian Gregori Warchavchik's introduction of international modernism to São Paulo since 1923, the presence of CIAM representatives and Le Corbusier's proposals for Rio fuelled the functionalist momentum that would reach its peak in Costa's and Niemeyer's Brasilia. Undertaken by the progressive government of Juscelino Kubitschek (1956-61), the project for the new capital was carried out by a team of local experts and institutions, what proved that Brazil's *planejamento* was able to reach international resonance without the involvement of foreign experts. In the administrative level, following the boosting of local governments by the new 1946 constitution, the recently-created Brazilian Association of Municipalities celebrated its first congress in 1950 (Pereira, 2003: 81). The transition from *urbanismo* to *planejamento* was sped up by father Joseph Lebret's visits to São Paulo and other Brazilian cities, where he advocated the principles and variables of regional and economic planning as a new technique to deal with the sprawl of metropolitan areas (Lamparelli, 1995; Leme, 1999: 26). The awareness of new approaches to regional planning in the professional milieu was also evinced in the criticisms against the Brasilia plan, for not having incorporated more economists, ecologists, and planners, as it was spelt out by the historian Gilberto Freyre, a leading voice of Brazil's emerging social sciences. Costa's reply was not only clever but also indicative of a turning point of the discipline: the new capital city was not supposed to be "the outcome but the cause of a regional plan" (Fraser, 2000: 230).

Epilogue

It is not a coincidence that the use of the term *urbanismo* during the first decades of the twentieth century in Latin America was replaced after the Second World War by *planificación* or *planeamiento* in Spanish, and by *planejamento* in Portuguese. Since they often appear intermingled as mere synonyms, the seeming duplicity can be attributed to a vocabulary that, in this case, is richer in Spanish and Portuguese than in English. In the latter, urbanism did not use to have a disciplinary connotation alternative to British town planning or American urban planning - a situation that would only change in the post-modern era, especially with the resonance reached by the New Urbanism. But there actually are conceptual and historical nuances associated to each term: as it has been outlined for industrialized countries, unlike French *urbanisme*, Italian *urbanistica* and German *Städtebau*, Anglo-Saxon town planning stressed systemic, procedural and/or political values, relying for that purpose on social sciences and its technical apparatus instead of design, just to thus sum up the most widespread orientation that planning had by the mid-twentieth century (Piccinato, 1987; Taylor, 1998; Hebbert, 2004).

While involving some meanings of that construct, Latin America's transition from *urbanismo* into *planificación* coincided, as this paper has tried to show, with the takeover of the poles from which technical modernity was imported, as well as with the enlargement of the planning ambit from city to region. As it had happened in the domains of medicine and engineering, among others disciplines, the academic urbanism that had mainly arrived from Europe until the late 1930s, was to give way to a package of master plans, zoning ordinances and planning-related instruments and

institutions copied from the USA (Almandoz, 2002: 31-39). Mainly transferred to Latin America by the European maestros exiled in Harvard and MIT, Yale and Berkeley, but also supported by local experts, CIAM's functionalism became the mainstream where diverse methodological influences of planning were incorporated to. Ranging from economic and social variables to regional and systemic approaches, all of those ingredients were added in heterodox combinations to Latin America's national platforms of functionalist *planificación* and *planejamento*. If there had been some Taylorist functionalism as underlying rationality at the crystallization of *urbanismo* from the 1930s in countries like Argentina and Brazil (Outtes, 1997: 18), it was during the post-war search for development when a more procedural and technocratic functionalism fuelled the transition to regional planning and the definitive adoption of zoning, which spread throughout most the continent by the 1960s, in consonance with more technocratic orientation of the discipline.

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[1] Among them stood out *La Ciudad* (1929) in Buenos Aires; *Planificación* (1927) and *Casas* (1935) in Mexico; *Ciudad y Campo* in Lima; *Zig-zag* and *Urbanismo y Arquitectura* (1939) in Chile; *El Cojo Ilustrado*, *Revista Técnica del Ministerio de Obras Públicas* and *Revista Municipal del Distrito Federal* (1939) in Caracas.

[2] Chile held a national congress on architecture and urbanism in 1934, and the first international Congreso de Urbanismo (Congress of Urbanism) was held in Buenos Aires in 1935; later on, the first Congreso Interamericano de Municipalidades (Inter-American Congress of Municipalities) took place in Havana in 1938, and the second in Santiago in 1941. In relation to housing, the first Congreso Panamericano de Vivienda Popular (Pan-American Congress of Low-cost Housing) also took place in

Buenos Aires in 1939, and the Sixteenth International Congress on Planning and Housing was held in Mexico City in 1938. Celebrated in Washington the following year, the Fifteenth International Congress of Architects also represented a distinct opportunity for Latin American professionals to update and exchange their experiences.

[3] Foreign and especially US interest for reporting and explaining Latin America's modernism was early manifested. Regional maestros such as Mexico's Juan O´Gorman, Brazil's Lúcio Costa and Oscar Niemeyer, followed by Venezuela's Carlos Raúl Villanueva, were catalogued in the exhibitions "Brazil Builds" (Goodwin, 1943) and "Modern Architecture in Latin America since 1945", organized by New York's Metropolitan Museum of Modern Art, the latter with the famous critic Henry-Russel Hitchcock as curator (Hitchcock, 1955).

[4] Let us remember that Le Corbusier had been invited to visit Buenos Aires, Montevideo, São Paulo and Rio – a tour undertaken in 1929, while the second Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) took place in Frankfurt.

[5] Let us remember that Rotival's previous stay had been during the late 1930s, for the first plan of Caracas.

Public-private partnership in the central area of Belo Horizonte (Minas Gerais, Brazil): reflections upon the historic process of urban deliberations and interventions

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1 – The foundation of the capital, its consolidation and development

Belo Horizonte is the third biggest metropolis in Brazil, the heart of a metropolitan region formed by thirty-four cities, located in the southeast part of the country, next to Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. It has 2.399.920 inhabitants living in a 331km² area[1]. The city was planned to become the new capital of Minas Gerais State in 1897, as the baroque urban tissue of Ouro Preto, the former capital, could no longer hold the growth of the newborn republican society.

The study of the urban center becomes interesting when we analyze the dynamics of the metropolitan area. Such developments are verifiable in Belo Horizonte but more effectively in advanced centers. Soja (1998:154) considers that these places *(…) are not, in these days, so decidedly monocentral, so determined by a model singularly polarized by centrifugal and centripetal forces, by a urban growth pattern that spins around the definitive city center. The new metropolis grows "decentralized" resembling more like a mosaic of an uneven geographic development, superposed to slow concentricities and sectorial wedges of the classical capitalist city".*

The conception of a city, inspired in the models of the pre-urbanism and in the industrialized European spaces, meant, to the diligent as to the ascendant bourgeoisie, that it was time for modernizing the nation. The planification of the capital corresponded to the attempt of reaching a model that could meet the expectations related to territory occupation, economic changes and politic and administrative management (SANTOS, 1988).

In search of a perfect design efficacy, with technical studies turned to the drawings and location of activities, the Constructing Commission planned a functional and aesthetic organization strategically distributed in the area. Following the order and the rationalism of the occupational conception, the engineer Aarão Reis, and later his successor, the engineer Francisco Bicalho, acted as territorial intervenors, as real social hygienists. Initially, the design proposed the creation of three zones hierarchically organized as Urban Zone, Suburban Zone and Agricultural Zone.

The first zone, which corresponds to the current Central Area, was the most detailed of the plan, being composed by an orthogonal grid, formed by the streets, and by a diagonal mesh, formed by avenues. Inserted in the models of the modern pre-urbanism, its classicism is defined mainly by the monumental axes hierarchized, but also by the

singular and regular scales of the proposed architecture. Historically, the classicism of the Aarão Reis's plan passes by three moments of the XVII, XVIII and XIX centuries, having, as references, the illuminists' conceptions, mainly the French ones. The L'Enfant's Washington plan and the Parisian reform proposed by Haussmann and Napoleon III, assemble characteristics found in the Belo Horizonte's urban design.

Since the specifications of the plan weren't immediately effective, a major demand for the Urban Area occurred, and, if on one side it presented better infrastructure conditions, on the other hand, due to the concentration of items and people, it attracted all social groups. Not everyone could "consume" this space orderly, which resulted in aleatory occupations. The existing "voids", next to the highly profitable land, propitiated temporary implantations and sublease of constructed spaces and backyards of lots. The McKenzie's studies (1974) on the decadence of the centers of some great American cities, verified between the end of the XIX century and the beginning of the XX, contribute to the analysis of the conduct of the local authorities. To the author, the 'invasions" of the areas furnished with greater public investments articulated with an expressive concentration of activities, were common in the metropolitanization process of some cities. Besides the attracting factors, the existence of available or irregularly occupied areas favored the peripheries-center migration (LEMOS, 2003).

In the fiftieth anniversary of Belo Horizonte, its commercial center was marked by a series of changes related to an industrial impulse, and to the following remodelation of its spaces, as well as by the diversification of the tertiary sector. The impulse based on the industry of consumer goods grows with the creation of the Industrial City in 1941, in the western vector of the Capital. This entire development propitiated a larger urban concentration, being the Center the primordial space of this new assemblage.

In the context of the capitalism dynamic, the cities needed a more dense and complex diversity of uses, since they sustain and support themselves, economically and socially (JACOBS, 1961). Various services and activities were distributed mainly in the Commercial Center and in the Urban Zone, specially those related to financial, educational, entertainment, housing and commercial areas. The activities were implemented in new buildings, specially built to receive them, meaning that the construction and the destruction of buildings occurred in a large number, simultaneously and in a concentrated area. In this same process, the public authorities begin to plan in a more rational way, aiming at the encouragement and control of the density in the Urban Zone, also known as Central Area. The municipality, testifying the great number of demolitions concentrated in the center, considered the occupation of this area as scattered and disconnected, creating a difficult paradox. It was then established a new zoning law, guaranteeing an altimetric control, expecting to plan and announce a high-rise city and the densification of the place (PLAMBEL, 1986).

These determinations, in addition to the differentiation of services and to the architecture renewal, reveal a new land valorization in the Center and adjacencies. The beginning of the increasing of activities concentration, marked by the private appropriation of the collective and individual consumption means, creates a real estate

submarket that brings us to a second picture of central space segregation. According to Lojkine (1981), the land value game plays a determinant role in the real estate value in the metropolis centers, granting an economical segregation, almost automatic, of functions and social classes that can be established there. The distinction between the land value in the center and in other areas and the "revenues according to localization" becomes preponderant, in central spaces as well as in their surrounding areas.

From the first half of the 20th century, the Center blocks and the adjacent areas can be conceived by a double value, that distinguish them from the blocks and areas in others zones. On one side, there is the land revenue value due to the ensemble of actors participating in its production. From this picture, and also due to this conjuncture, one aggregates the value of the order of spaces of representation elucidated according to the symbolic imagination. The possible experiences, the use and appropriation of spatialities in the Center extrapolate the simple functionality, reaching the sociability.

Furthermore, the symbolic value, associated with the monetary value, is inserted in the localization factor, which can materialize in the punctual or sectorial placing of establishments and activities. In this picture, one observes the convergence of the triad that characterizes space identification - experience, perception and imagination – very common in central passages (HARVEY, 1989). The more certain services establishments or spatialities are looked for or imagined, the more legitimated they become. Often, these spaces, when considered consecrated, present a preferential index so high that they are submitted to a constant process of renovation. The city develops itself in urban terms, and the consolidated Center also amplifies its agglomerative socioeconomic potential, pointing to its inaugural metropolitan condition (PLAMBEL, 1986). The territorial extensive urbanization and the conformation of microregional poles, non autosufficient, becomes evident, stipulating the socioeconomic practices of the industrial urban.

Although some problems may endure, like the fragile urban infrastructure and the lack of a consistent planning, the public service aims at, in a paradox, a requalification of the Commercial Center. The legislation, not yet fully detailed, gives the region new land use coefficient rates, Posture and Building Codes, besides a new plan for public transportation. As an immediate consequence, one verifies a planned stimulation to high-rise buildings and, naturally, a second renovation of local landscape.

In the beginning of the 1970s, the Metropolitan Region was consolidated as the leading dynamic core of the State, and the Center becomes a synonym for an articulator pole and attractor of sociocultural and economic practices. According to CASTELLS (1989), in the process of a complex territorial development, the report between centralization and decentralization is crucial. It is of most importance defining what is centralized and what is decentralized, and it is most relevant to determine the predominant characteristics of these spaces - and their interrelationships, the communication flow.

Having as reference the service sector, the author points out that the associations of the intra-organizational economic chain correspond to the association of the new spatial logic: "The flow space – situated between the organization units and the internal

organizational differences – represents the most significant space for the function, the performance and finally the existence of any given organization" (CASTELLS, 1989:169). The tendencies announced are the ones responsible for the production of the contemporary space.

The activities are located in space and their components depend on the space. This condition is added to a spaceless organizational logic which relies on the flow space characterizing the information chains. The processes of centralization and decentralization have as basic premise the existing tension between the spaces and flows. This tension could inspire in the gradual transformation of "power flows", within the "power of flows" (CASTELLS, 1989:170).

The phenomenon of diversity and generality in the service sector show the various degrees of organization, having as a parameter the rarity condition. The economical conquers of the Center are connected with the loss of its ludic and spontaneous condition. According to Lefèbvre (1974), the city builds, liberates and brings the essences of social relations. These are always deteriorated because of the distance that, in space and time, separates the institutions and groups. Soja (1999), defends that the city has a third space, whose complexity is linked to the extensivity of itself, being affiliated with the lefèbvrian condition that institutes the centrality as dependent on math and drama.

When the center lost significantly its singular symbolic condition, new and fragmented centralities began to multiply themselves in the urban tissue. At the same time, a polycentrism was predominant. To Carlos (1998:194), the Brazilian metropolis, whose analyses has common aspects with the most developed ones, is polinucleous, involving new areas and fragmented extensions, "since the access to urban land happens through the measured market."

Inserted in the Central Area, ancient Urban Zone of Aarão Reis' plan, the Funcionários neighborhood, so called Savassi, is constituted by a different centrality in the last decades of the 20th century. Boasted by the permissive legislation and by good location and accessibility conditions, the real estate investments have transformed the region in a short space-time.

Over the last decades of the 20th century, the diversity, modernization and opacity constitute the main characteristics of the Center as a place for services and consumption. The intense form indicates a dense and saturated place, a "expanded center". A big volume of people and things converge to its space, marked by the multifuncionality. The center unites the most various types and social categories due to the plurality of actors, an example of the heterogeneous services. Modulated by virtualities, the social types circulate by different places in different times, defining original forms of use and appropriation of the space (LEMOS, 2003).

Despite the loss in life quality and cultural patrimony, the Central Area presents the higher average revenues, as well as the best indexes in life quality among the regions of the agglomerate. Among the activities offered, the rare and semi rare services stand

out, such as financial centers, information activities, entertainment services, general commerce, higher quality commerce, malls, hotels, auditoriums, convention centers and museums. All these activities are in downtown, and when registered and grouped, they define the highest index in urban life quality of the city (PREFEITURA, 2000).

The productivity represents a key for understanding the role of services in the economy, where the demand for goods is defined as search for services. In the author's view, the production and expansion of this economy has spatial contradictory consequences (CASTELLS, 1989). The activities tend, at the same time, to centralization and decentralization, depending on the functioning logic of each organization and their respective positioning. The dependency in the hierarchical relation of inserted activities is verified in the context of different functions. This process is conditioned by new technologies, which affect location, diversification and innovation in service sector. The city of Belo Horizonte and its Metropolitan Region – the third socioeconomic region in Brazil – gather characteristics of the castellian analysis.

The presence of malls represents a dominant tendency in location of retail services and consumption in the capital. Initially, the consumption patterns reflect and economic and social composition of the regions and the city. They vary according to the wealth condition or the economic and cultural capital of the population and its forms of spatiality. The tenure revenue, the location factors, the urban infrastructure conditions, the socioeconomic profile and the symbolic representations participate in the urban service expansion logic (MARSHALL & WOOD, 1995).

A signal of the positive impacts of the regionalized localization of new consumer services is the change in the pattern of employs in the area and in the city. The localized creation of jobs redesign the picture of offer and demand of employment, occurring a predominance of specialized labour. The sub-regions contiguous of the consumer centers tend to receive new populations of middle and low revenues, which compose the employment infrastructure of these sectors, redefining the local life and demography, creating a picture of conurbation, gentrification and revision of local urban revenue. In general, the public power role doesn't surpass that of urban infrastructure provider. Forced to authorize these implantations, once resultant of the well known "urban negotiations", the transportation, routes and infrastructure investments are always insufficient to the final of implantation and work impacts. The attraction of the traditional shopping spaces tends to diminish, according to the verification that the outside centers offer a variety of commercial spots concentrated and endowed by good environmental conditions (PREFEITURA, 2000). One analyze the centralities and their fragments, found in the consumer culture seen in shopping malls, in the informal commerce and in the sophisticated commercial regions now emerging in Central Area.

The informal commerce, while also privileged space of exchange, redefined the central lifestyle, in the condition of excellency of public space, dialoguing with traditional consumer experiences. The informal sector, which occupied central streets since 1940, there remains until the beginning of the third millennium. This occupation, seasoned and full of mobility, could be categorized as archaic, residual and, in some cases, emergent.

In the hypercenter, or Ancient Center, the formal commerce, besides its decreasing process in the past years, could not be considered as in extinction. What really occurred was a significant loss of its centenary hegemony, being overcame by other urban segments potentially endowed to the development of retail. The main cause of this picture is associated to the *phenomenon* of Shopping Malls and to the inclusion of the department stores and supermarkets in these spaces, and in addition of the growth of urban violence in the past decades. Were also visible, in central areas, alarming deterioration conditions of cultural and urban patrimonies, and this fact was announcing the risk of loss in its primacy in the service sector. Finally, clearly present in the socioeconomic scenario of central areas, the informal commerce consolidated itself, revealing a vertiginous growth.

The improvement strategies proposed by the public sector praised the development of regional planning, the investment in professionalizing education, improvements in transportation planning, improvements in the pedestrian sidewalks and the removal of the street vendors, with their relocation to proper spaces. Innumerous impasses were detected in public and private politics in relation to the Central Area. The development of the Shopping Mall industry, the absence of conviviality spots, the deterioration of the cultural landscape and the growth of urban violence were the main agents of this conjuncture. It becomes vital to detail some aspects of the social and commercial practices of the sector that, despite informal, has inserted itself in a relevant way in the formal economy (LEMOS, 2003).

2 – The search for new management and urban intervention forms and their presence in Urban Negotiations

The great challenge being faced by the city is the recuperation of its downtown in a sustainable way, with traffic minimization, stimulating residential reoccupation and eradicating crime and urban violence. According to Desse (2001), the recuperation of the commercial activity in central places becomes urgent, and the last great instrument against the desertification of the ancient centers and against the extinction of the social universe that constitute our tertiary cities. Decentralization becomes not only desirable, but also vital to city survival. Only with a more sustainable development of the metropolitan area, with the creation of new centralities able to offer recreation, culture and consumption, we will see the rise of condign spaces for the whole population, central or peripheral.

In the 1990's, local government started to develop a serious work concerning downtown recuperation and decentralizing initiatives trough creation of new legislations, defining how the city should grow in the years to come. Within these laws some new ways of arrangements were created, making possible partnerships between public and private actors, a joint attempt for urban development. The Master Plan presented as one of its main goals the establishment of guidelines and policies to guarantee economical and social development in the city, in a greater public intervention in the urban structure.

As Rolnik analyses, on the São Paulo municipality case, the participative management guided by the Workers' Party (*Partido dos Trabalhadores – PT*) in the end of the 20th century propitiated a political rupture in the definition of priorities in investments and also in the way and methods for governing. This management "has opened space for political communication and negotiation in decision making processes, organizing councils and forums in which entities and individuals involved with a sector or territory shared their decisions with the government" (ROLNIK, 1997).

In the 90s, there were relevant initiatives linked with participative management in the municipal government of Belo Horizonte, also guided by the same party. Among the various initiatives, the elaboration of the Master Plan and a series of legislation such as zoning and parceling laws made evident the need for modernization in many aspects. In the *paulista* case, these initiatives flourished among other aspects "*the access to employment opportunities, consumption and real estate investments to the greater number possible, deconcentrating the city and its markets*" (ROLNIK, 1997:210). Conscious of the great urban expansion facilitated by the low value and by the availability of land in the periphery, the parameters created by the Master Plan had the objective of a fair distribution of development, capable of creating an equal offer of employment and revenue. The main strategy used was to guarantee the decentralization and dissemination of activities with a more liberal Use and Land Occupation Law, a review in the road system hierarchy, stimulating the competition between secondary centers (ARAÚJO, 2005).

In the name of a city less segregated and endowed with a real socioeconomical development, the local government sought, through regulations and negotiations, the implementation of partnerships between public and private capital. These strategies consider the urban transformations that guarantee the recovery and improvement of the quality of public spaces. Therefore, they could guarantee the enlargement of the responsibility of the citizen with the city management (ROLNIK, 1997).

Among the initiatives created in the new legislation to favour the recovery of central areas, the development of the Transference of Construction Rights and the legal acknowledgement of the public-private partnerships, the so-called Urban Operations (PREFEITURA, 1994). According to Compans (2005), the public-private partnerships were common practices in the United States before the end of the 60s being linked to great public projects for housing construction and social services. These initiatives were recovered in the end of the 70s and, like the Brazilian case, acquired intensity and visibility (COMPANS, 2005; HARVEY, 1996). In Europe, in a wider plan, the processes were closer to the former case and prioritized the productive restructuralization, financial penury of local governments and neoliberal hegemony. They collected the inaugural reasons for the implementation of this undertaking. One must add to these initiatives "*the administrative decentralization, the stronger interurban competition as well as a mentality change in the business sector related to its participation in public businesses, both decisive to boost the dissemination of partnerships verified during the 90s in the continent*" (COMPANS, 2005:114-115).

The big difference between the former initiatives and the most recent ones is based on the characteristics of purposes and motivations. They are no longer turned to meet the needs for collective equipments or improvements in housing conditions in certain regions. The partnerships seek the promotion of local development with the intention to reinforce the economical attraction (HEINZ, 1994). "*The expression "public-private partnership" has been used to designate coalitions between governmental institutions and companies in the consecution of common and specific objectives – such as the economical promotion in the city, big cultural or sports events, water management, etc. – involving a certain level of operational and/or financial engagement and a shared expectancy of benefit partition*" (COMPANS, 2005:115).

The Brazilian and the *belo-horizontino* cases correspond to these goals described above and were regulated by the Federal Law n. 11,079 in 2004, in the management of President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. It institutes norms for bidding and hiring public-private partnerships by public administration (FERREIRA, 2006). According to Bittencourt (2007:17) "*the scarcity of necessary resources for the efficient development of services to be offered to the community and the constant emergence of procedure and technology innovations made the State develop mechanisms to reduce its monopolist action, which determined a greater proximity with the private sector*".

Over the last years in Brazil, before a wide fiscal deficit, a fundamental transition to territory development was initiated. Through various ways of partnerships with private institutions, the State-businessmen became the State-regulator. The process appeared preliminarily with the approval of Federal Law n. 8.985 in 1995 denominated "General Law for Concession of Public Services", which establishes norms for grants and prorogation of concessions and permits of public services. This law was followed by delimitations of regulatory marks, when the Regulatory Agencies were necessary considering the privatization process developed widely in the country (BITTENCOURT, 2007). Therefore, in that time, the public authority adopted as a goal the reduction of its own dimensions. The rediscovery of the concessions occurred in Brazil in the 19th century was linked to the "financial and fiscal crisis". These contributed very little to the improvement of services and to the state reform when one considers the search for a restructuralization of the government making possible the creation of innovative institutional forms (COUTINHO, 2002). In this context, the definitive step to answer the necessities and interests of the Public Power was consolidated in the beginning of the new millennium, culminating under the juridical regimen of the Law n. 11,079/04. In summary, the public-private partnership, according to this legislation: "*is an administrative contract of concession having as a scope (a) the execution of a public service, preceded or not by public works, paid according to the tariff paid by the user and pecuniary installment of public partner or (b) the service that the Public Administration is direct or indirect user, with or without execution of works and implementation of goods against installment of public partner*" (DI PIETRO, 2006:161).

According to the legislation, the long-term contract is signed in risk sharing regimen and the remuneration starts when the offer or service developed by the private partner is concluded. The private partner is the one responsible for the investment, construction,

operation and maintenance of the facility or service rendered. The counterpart is assured by the public authority, along with the revenue guarantees and economical exploration (SUNDFELD, 2005).

The urban policy instruments, inserted in the Master Plan of the city, Law n. 7.165 of 1996, have as objectives the implementation of integrated policies that seek the arrangement of expansion and urban development in the city (PREFEITURA..., 1996). Besides, the goal of these instruments is the realization of concrete actions that prioritize collective interest and the dynamic of the city without forgetting the valorization of life quality and preservation of the environment. In this context, the instruments had the intention to innovate in institutional and administrative forms, considering the interests of public and private sectors. These were called "Urban Negotiations" and meant that the bureaucratic and legalist State aimed at alliances to promote urban dynamism through socioeconomic sustainability.

Among the juridical instruments, the one closer to the Public-Private Partnership is the Urban Operation. As it occurred in the *paulista* case, they can be formulated to the Executive power by any citizen or institution and it involves an integrated group of interventions with fixed time. They are coordinated by the government and processed with the participation of private management to make possible special urban projects in previously delimitated areas, inserted in a planning that aims at the urban dynamic (PREFEITURA..., 1996). The Urban Operation gathers initiatives, such as: urban treatment of public areas; opening of streets or improvements in the road system; implementation of social housing programs; implementation of public facilities; recovery of cultural patrimony; environmental protection; reurbanization; regularization of buildings located in areas not officially parceled (PREFEITURA..., 1996:32).

An example of these partnerships was the creation of *Shopping Oiapoque*, established in an abandoned historical building that sheltered the *Antártica Beerhouse*, an ancient beverage factory in downtown. In 2008, a local entrepreneur, Mr. Mário Valadares, bought this old building without a specific idea of what use it would serve. Aware of the historical value of the building, he turned to the City Hall and presented some proposals, one of them being the implementation of a popular mall. At that time, the city had been dealing with the conflict between formal and informal sectors of commerce, since the street vendors – *camelôs* – occupied the main streets in downtown due to the unemployment crises affecting an enormous contingent of population in the Metropolitan Region.   This commercial occupation, although highly dynamic and accepted by local society, caused many problems to the city because it made pedestrian and vehicle circulation difficult, it favored the dissemination of criminal activity and it blocked sight of local commercial windows, harming them when an uneven concurrence was established due to unfair prices offered by *camelôs*.

The new "Postures Code" instituted by Municipal Law n. 8,616 in 2003 determines a maximum deadline for removing the *camelôs* from the streets until the end of 2004, but the government had no idea of what to do with those vendors, and how to prevent them from coming back to the streets. Mr. Valadares, intending to destine the building to

commercial activities, proposed to make an useful and original mall to shelter the *camelôs* in a way to benefit the city, the vendors and the consumers that supported that kind of commerce. Since this activity only works with a constant flow of people passing by it, Mr. Valadares asked the City Hall for engaging a construction of a major bus station in front of the ancient factory (ARAÚJO, 2005).

The construction of such bus station on the street where the cultural patrimony was located was appropriate and operative to the city, since the local government had already the intention to deviate part of the bus stops to a farther region. However, the financial resources destined to the implementation of such facility could only be viable through the cooperation of the private initiative. It was then suggested to the entrepreneur that he use the instruments of the Urban Operation, meaning that he would pay for the installation of the station, guaranteeing a constant traffic of people in front of his establishment. The Municipality would manage the bus station, in exchange. Since he hadn't had the capital to do such building before the opening of the mall, the Municipality presented another option to finance the construction, adding another partner and undertaking to be soon implemented in the city.

The Savassi, suffering from a certain commercial decadence since the 90s, was about to receive the construction of a very sophisticated mall called *Pátio Savassi*, whose marketing campaign was entirely devoted to assure a commercial and cultural *renaissance* to the area, once inaugurated. Its architecture was configured as a *lifestyle center*, a kind of commercial space already well employed at other city centers in the United States of America and in some European countries over the last years. All internal space should receive natural illumination, plenty of green spaces and all kinds of masonry that could create a feeling of being in a city street rather than in a shopping center. However, the undertaking needed a greater construction potential then the one permitted by the new legislation and needed permission of the City Hall to find a solution to its case (ARAÚJO, 2005).

According to the new zoning law, the entrepreneur that bought the ancient *Antártica* factory had the right to raise more buildings in the same terrain, but the Municipality was very interested in preserving the historical building as the only one in that site, to maintain its original characteristics and to create an integrated space in an area so delicate as downtown. So, the City Hall proposed to Mr. Valadares selling his construction rights to Pátio Savassi, raising money to build the so longed bus station. The instrument of Transference of Construction Rights could provide the undertaking with the necessary area, generating simultaneously capital for the bus station and recovery of the building, according to the norms suggested by the Historical Patrimony Deparment (COMPUR, 2003).

Arrangements made, coordinated by the Muncipal Urban Policy Council (COMPUR), the building of the old *Antártica Beerhouse* and transformed into the *Shopping Popular Oiapoque.* It is, nowadays, a dynamic commercial success, and it has inspired the opening of other commercial spaces for the street vendors in the hypercentral and other regions of the capital, contributing to the eradication of the occupation of streets by

camelôs. Although it was destined to consumers with low purchasing power, it has been attracting all kind of consumer classes and it has already become a tourist point in town. The mall offers to merchants some advantages such as storage places, security and toilets.

For the city, this implementation was positive since it managed to stimulate in a few months the revitalization of the area, valuing the adjacent spaces and generating and enormous consumers flow daily. Although many critics comment on the illegality of the products sold and the impacts on the valorization of the space, which banned the first merchants installed there, the Shopping Oiapoque can still be considered a successful urban operation, which favored the capital as a whole.

The Pátio Savassi is also experiencing a commercial success, attracting the medium and upper classes, and stimulating a commercial renewal in the surrounding areas. Although it has received many favorable criticisms, the undertaking has also generated undesired consequences to the region, such as the increase in traffic, difficult access to pedestrians and banishment of ancient merchants due to valorization of the buildings. One must observe that, like in the international cases mentioned, in the contracts for interinstitutional cooperation, the contents are negotiated differently from privatization or concession of public service. They are "clearly defined roles and competencies for each participant, constituting the most common form of public-private partnership [...]" (COMPANS, 2005:117). These aspects come close to the juridical mechanisms of Urban Operation in Belo Horizonte which resulted in the PPP legislation in the current federal management. Besides, it represents the beginning of new initiatives of the Municipal Government turned to the implementation of specific projects of urbanization, urban recovery with the objective of amplifying the construction and management of infrastructure and collective facilities.

Another relevant aspect of the Urban Operation in the Central Area of Belo Horizonte is the introduction of the city marketing as a motivating element for partnerships. An integrated group of policies destined to guarantee and stimulate economical development considering the social environment in question (BORJA & FORN, 1996; COMPANS, 2005). This qualification of the partnership was unfolded in Belo Horizonte with the creation of bus and subway terminals. The partnerships established have a counterpart for the private institution: the creation of small malls located in the upper plan of the construction of the stations, distributed in various regions of the urban agglomerate.[2]

As a final analysis, we reach the conclusion that recent legislations have been already showing positive impacts in the urban tissue, but it is urgent to reconsider part of the impact of the public-private partnerships already made. Other pertinent considerations are related to the elaboration of complementary Master Plans, such as a Metropolitan Comprehensive Plan and Regional Master Plans that should help the decentralization process and definite recovery of central spaces, reaching the initial objective of developing the metropolis in a sustainable way, avoiding the same degradation signs from past decades.

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Notes

[1] IBGE 2000 Census (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistic)

[2] According to Municipal Law n. 7.928 from 1999, the bus integration stations of the Restructure Plan for the Collective Transportation System in Belo Horizonte – BHBUS can be built in partnerships with the private sector by means of Urban Operation. The objective of the Urban Operation is the implementation of integration stations, as well as the operation and management of them, guaranteeing to the entrepreneur in counterpart the right to design, build and explore the business structure, having freedom of decision, according to pertinent legislation (PREFEITURA..., 1999).

From public to private – the trajectory of Caraíba city, designed by Joaquim Guedes

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Introduction

The article seeks to examine the trajectory of Caraíba, a city located in the semi-arid 'sertão' region of the state of Bahia in Brazil. Caraíba was purpose-built by the Brazilian national government between 1976 and 1982 to support the extraction of copper ore. During this period other cities were constructed throughout the country with the same purpose of allowing the exploitation of existing energy and mineral resources. The article examines the characteristics of Caraíba's design, within a geographical, historical and cultural context . The objectives of the article are twofold: firstly, it seeks to analyse the city during two periods (the mid-60s and the present-day), looking for motives to explain how the project carried out by the architect, Joaquim Guedes and his team, was conserved and transformed Secondly, the article seeks to evaluate the impact of this project through its transition from public to private intervention.

Background

The project for the city of Caraíba (1) was closely connected to the political, economic and social situation in Brazil during the mid 60s and 70s. At that time, Brazil was experiencing a military dictatorship noted for centralizing power providing some measured economic growth but also for increasing social inequality. This was the background to the Brazilian government's exploration of the country's natural wealth and many facilities were put in place to extract mineral and hydroelectric resources. In the 1950s, the architect Oswaldo Bratke conceptualized Vila Amazonas and Vila Serra do Navio, in Amapá, to enable the extraction of manganese. In the 70s, the architect Joaquim Guedes conceptualized several mining towns. In the state of Pará, the towns of Carajás, New Marabá, and New Barcarena were designed and in the state of Bahia the same architect was assigned to design a project in Caraíba to facilitate the exploitation of copper.

It had been known for a long time that copper was available in the rural semi-arid region, the so-called "sertão"(2), but even though the first initiatives for its exploitation took place in the 50s, effective extraction only began during the 1970s. At that time the Brazilian government was represented by a public company called *Caraíba Metais* SA, which was located on a former farm of the same name in a very arid and unoccupied region. The government considered it appropriate to design a city that would give support to the community devoted to mining activities and to facilitate this *Caraíba Metais* hired the architect Joaquim Guedes and his team (3).

The Caraíba project was undertaken between 1976 and 1982. In 1978, when the copper mine began functioning, the city became populated by people from neighboring

areas and other parts of the state of Bahia. At the beginning of the exploitation period, the general understanding was that the mine would not last for long. In fact it was first predicted that the extraction of ore would only last until 1998. In that year, the opencast mine effectively exhausted its reserves but exploitation continued in the underground mine and this was not expected to become exhausted until 2007. However, even today the mine is still in existence and the next forecast for exhaustion is 2011.

It should be noted that the military dictatorship in Brazil came to an end in the mid-80s. After that the country moved toward a period of democracy in which its economy was liberalized and globalized, even though social inequalities persisted. As a result of these changes, the Caraíba mine was privatized in 1994 and this profoundly affected the characteristics of the city.

Design and implementation

Joaquim Guedes produced many documents in which he described and analysed his architectural design process. These deliberations enable us to understand the creative process of the architect associated with the Caraíba project (4). However, his words alone are not enough to fully comprehend the work which should be addressed on its own merits.

There is no straightforward procedure that drives the work of the architect/urbanist. In reality it is an exhaustive process, punctuated by thoughts and actions. But that does not mean that there is no method. The methodology consists of rationalization and systematization of existing thoughts and actions in the design process (5).

The consideration stage seeks to set up plans for the project and instigate general conditions. However, there are no pre-defined conditions, rather a plan that evolves through a dynamic process of contact with the specifics of each project. The plan presupposes an understanding of real circumstances.

For a plan to take place, it is necessary to establish its basic parameters. It is important to formulate a series of questions, the answers of which will vary depending on the situation of each project. In the case of Caraíba, the essential questions were: For who is the project intended? What are the historical and economic contexts? What other circumstances could interfere?

All this information has to be processed and organized to enable the project to happen. However, the processing of background information is not a linear process, rather a circular one, where action and reflection occur simultaneously.

Guedes expresses the need to design for real human beings, with their specific needs and desires. In this way his principles are similar to those disseminated by the Modern Movement in respect of social responsibility and architecture. However, if the principles are similar, the methods are different, as Guedes is opposed to the concept of a "generic modern man". Rather, it is the "specific man" that architecture and urbanism

should serve. Guedes calls attention to the profound lack of interest of most modern architects to the common man in his specific context and is sharply critical of Brazilian Modern Architecture which was created and supported by a dictatorship. He also decries the creation of Brasilia and its authoritarian architecture that benefits bureaucrats to the detriment of its anonymous citizens. However, it is worth noting that several projects designed by Guedes (including, Caraíba) were also completed under the auspices of a dictatorship that came into being with the military coup of 1964. (GUEDES, 1982: 86-91)

But what do all these procedures and circumstances have to do with the design of Caraíba?

Preliminary field assessments for the project were extensive. Guedes and his team considered that information provided by *Caraíba Metais* was insufficient to initiate the project design which should have included, from the outset, all its buildings including hospitals, schools, clubs, houses etc. All the company provided for the implementation of the urban centre was the following: a plan of the site, information on the points of extraction of the ore, the characteristics of the project and the total number of industrial jobs with their functional categories and salary. In order to build an action plan, Guedes considered it necessary to recognize the specifics of the place. To enable this, a multidisciplinary team conducted various assessments to examine the area's physical, human and cultural characteristics. These conditions affect not only the city's future but also its urban facility projects.

Guedes believed that the city and the constructions within it also effect the existential dynamics of its users and the context in which they exist."'Sertanejos' (inhabitants of the sertão) love "caatinga" (6), which is harmonious, luminous, majestic and beautiful. But the city, perhaps the city within the caatinga, imposes its own rules ... "(GUEDES, 1981: 114)

However, the establishment of such rules in that city in the caatinga would also be linked to the appropriation of the urban scheme by the owners and workers of the mine. Guedes challenges the traditional solutions applied to the urban design of other mining cities that end up separated into sectors intended for different categories of workers, causing social segregation. Although the architect considered that, in a mining town, social stratification is inevitable, he points out that it is possible to conceive of a proposal that would not intensify it. The city should not, therefore, be divided into sectors for the exclusive use of certain strata of workers within the mine, but should be accessible to everybody. A city dominated by a government company, situated in a remote region could readily adopt the concept of a 'closed city''', completely controlled. However Guedes and his team considered that, due to local conditions, it would be impossible to conceive of a city completely open, preferring to create a mixed city, controlled by the company, but with the ability to be adapted by its residents. This was seen to be the most appropriate solution, as the prediction was for the mine to soon be exhausted and the company to then abandon the city. Given this, the city should possess some physical structures both fixed and flexible, so that the residents would be

able to adapt more easily to this inevitable change. Guedes maintained that there should be an "invariable system", relating to roads and the general infrastructure, and a "variable system", relating to the architecture and the latter should be appropriated and transformed by the residents.

In respect of the 'invariable system', the architect conformed to an urban framework taking into account not only existing topographical, climatic and cultural conditions, but also his considerations of social relationships as they existed in the city. In this way he defined streets in straight and orthodox lines, running East-West and North-South, thus benefiting from the orientation of the sun and the winds. Various plazas were created throughout the city: six in the suburbs and six in the city centre. Guedes believed that such plazas, in addition to being urban fixtures that already exist in the region, are fundamental for the social interaction of the city's inhabitants. He also conceived of a central square, to become the principal point for social interaction.

Near the central square, there was an area reserved for trade, various services and for some residential housing, though the majority of houses were situated a long way from this central point. To locate them the architect created 36 rectangular blocks within 'lots' of variable dimensions leaving some empty lots to be occupied in the future.. The boundaries of these residential lots are not aligned with each other, but protract and recede in relation to the contours of the streets. In this way, the created sidewalks are of varying size providing a feeling of movement to those walking on them. This type of habitation does not adhere to a conventional structure. It appears to come not from a contextual point of reality, but rather a search for the composition of the urban framework.

The architect paid particular attention to the invariable or 'flexible' system. He believed that he should provide the city with areas that would promote public life, integrating its entire population. He believed that the health, education and recreation facilities would be important to assist with the adjustment of those arriving to work in the city. In one of his statements he stated that "we must see not only a generous design, but also a strategic vision superior to the interests of a modern company, that is not separate from the interests of its employees." (GUEDES, 1981B: 8) And so a hospital, schools, clubs and other facilities were built in the city. Guedes pointed out that the design of these buildings took into consideration the climate and the needs of the company and of the residents. Regarding the latter, it was essential to guarantee that the buildings could be modified in keeping with the needs of the users.

The households were also part of the 'flexible system' indicated by Guedes: "the inevitable impositions of organization and structure by the city challenge the freedom of the users. For this reason, we looked to protect the freedom and participation of each one in defining their internal and external spaces. In this way, houses originally designed to look identical were allowed extensions and individual decorative features. It was expected that users would extend, paint and complete their own houses, build gates, decorate them in any way they wanted - as was customary in the region." (GUEDES, 1981B: 7).

Let us consider the location of the homes of the mine's employees. The intention of the architect was not to separate the houses of semi-skilled and higher-skilled operators and technicians into different sectors in the city, but to integrate them with all sectors of the urban nucleus. Guedes proposed various types of residential homes (including houses and apartments) that were spread across practically the whole city. However, there was a clear priority to place smaller houses and lots (of a lower standard, for families on low income) in the city centre, close to most public services, whilst placing the bigger houses and lots (of a higher standard for higher-income families) in the suburbs.

In nearby towns many houses were semi-detached, but there were also buildings positioned in the centre of the lots. The architect opted to design semi-detached houses aiming to decrease the extent to which the buildings would be directly exposed to dry wind and sun, both of which are particularly intense in this region. For this reason semi-detached building designs were effectively adopted for the design of all residential housing.

The number of windows and doors of the house depended on its size and status. The houses of unskilled and semi-skilled workers would have a combination of one, two or four windows arranged in the main facades. The houses of the higher-skilled workers would not have windows at the front, just two access doors for residents and employees. The windows of those houses were to open to internal courtyards. Guedes justifies this isolating of the more expensive houses by saying that "the higher income minority require exclusivity even above the standards they enjoy in their cities of origin. They want separate homes with large gardens, distant from other workers and without any contact with the blue collar neighborhood" (GUEDES, 1981:135)

It was suggested that the appearance of the facades should also relate to local architectural conditions. Indeed, solutions proposed for low and medium income housing corresponded to certain features found in the region, such as the presence of small openings and borders that take the place of eaves in the roofs. (CAVALCANTI-BRENDLE; VIEIRA, 2004: 321-323) However, we should take note of the abstract nature of these facades: their surfaces seem to be separate from the bulk of the house due to the positioning of the black guttering that surrounds them. Another element that exemplifies this abstract characteristic nature is the presence of small door and window frames. With the higher-income housing, the facades differed from the local parameters by having smooth surfaces and enclosed prismatic volumes the whiteness of which accentuated their abstract nature. This was not entirely obvious because of the narrow elegant structure of the garage made in wood with a clay tile roof. In this way, defining the facades juxtaposed the complex relationship between an architectural language with local characteristics and another language with more "universal" characteristics, which serves to rehabilitate the abstract nature of modern architecture.

Another characteristic element of the facades was the use of colors. A limited amount of combinations of colors was to be used for the walls and windows, and these were to be applied to every house.

The city was expected to have a great number of cars but the architect decided to create parking spaces on the streets, so limiting the amount of parking places for each private residence. This criterion, however, applied only to households on low or medium incomes (with one exception), as the higher income homes were indeed projected to have garages.

The residential design project corresponded to the thoughts and actions implemented over the creative process. After an exhaustive review of data relating to the company requirements and taking into consideration the physical, human and cultural context, a figure of nine emerges as the number of types of architectural solutions for homes, of which 1294 were built. These nine types served a population whose specific duties, as well as wages, within the company varied greatly.

Use

Since its foundation the city has retained many of its original features and has modified others. Which are the features that remain and which are those that have been modified due to the transition from a public to a private domain? The comments below come from an examination of the current situation of the city, its facilities and houses, as well as from interviews with some of its residents (7).

It is important to point out that following Guedes' ideas the so called 'fixed structures' of the city are being preserved and the 'flexible' ones are being changed. The urban layout remains the same, as does the position of the plazas in the city. However, the central square looks quite different with new paving, some gateways and public facilities that provide it with a contemporary touch.

In respect of the lots there have been some important findings. For many years the city's lots retained their original characteristics. However, the present situation is a different story: the central lots, part commercial and part residential, are growing in size with unplanned and often illegal constructions, that take over public space and create a good deal of confusion. The suburban residential lots are also being expanded and modified, further changing the characteristics of the original project. Although the original solution stated that the boundaries of the lots were not to align with the contours of the streets, the trend has been for the front ends to align to match the size of the sidewalks. So, wherever they are able (physically or economically), users occupy the remaining sidewalks, and extend the area of their houses, building verandas or, more often, garages. Although there are residents who use the wide sidewalks for public use, many prefer to appropriate them for private use. To give this some context, this type of occupation by lots, as proposed by Guedes, is not commonplace in the "sertão", or even in Brazil as a whole. It was therefore to be expected that the inhabitants of Caraíba would not properly assimilate to a proposal which was alien to their life experience.

The various public facilities in the city have not changed in respect of the original project. As Guedes envisaged, these facilities effectively have changed and expanded

to meet new demands although the principal characteristics are still preserved. However, it should be stated that several buildings are currently extremely degraded and some just under-utilized, as is the case with the hospital which had been an important landmark in the region.

Another relevant factor is the utilization of these public facilities. Guedes' intention was to make them accessible to the whole population without discrimination but this did not transpire. At the time of the inauguration of the city the hospital and the schools were shared by all the city's inhabitants, although that was not the case for social clubs, for example. Ever since the city's inception two clubs have been used by different groups of mine employees. This situation of social segregation remains prevalent and has extended to the privatized schools which are now divided to receive students from different social backgrounds. The hospital is still public but it will undoubtedly be privatized soon.

It is possible to observe that houses go through an intense process of transformation. With the privatization of the mine in 1994, the houses that used to belong to the company were sold to those that inhabited them as well as for other people. This transition deeply affected their characteristics. Before 1994, local government used to monitor modifications which were progressively being carried out on the houses and there were virtually no significant changes. After 1994 the situation was reversed. Since there was no effective control to maintain the original characteristics of the houses the new owners felt free to modify their exterior façades and structures however they wanted.

There are a number of reasons for these modifications. One of the most controversial was the amount of openings (windows and doors) of the housings. Many residents made an immediate connection between the number of windows in each home and the social position of its occupants. It was therefore clear that those with one or two windows had a lower income, those with three had an average one and those with no windows at the front had a higher income. Consequently, in spite of the fact that houses of differing income levels were scattered throughout the city, theoretically mixing social classes, in actual fact social segregation manifested itself through the appearance of the house, specifically by the number of windows it possessed.

Recently, the residents of Caraíba are moving away from this kind of standardization. The renovated houses have more doors and windows opening onto the streets and incorporate verandas or garages at the front of the lots. The paradox is that today the economic level of a household depends mainly on whether it has gone through changes and especially whether the front of the house has been extended.

There have also been significant changes concerning the façades of the houses. The original houses were inspired by local architecture, enhanced by an abstract touch. The use of color was varied but in the original project they adhered to a standard that formed a coherent whole. This homogeneous characterization was indeed prevalent while the city was still controlled by the mining company, but since privatization it has been

modified. It is important to remember that the architect himself encouraged the residents to modify their houses and this is exactly what has happened. Each user has modified his residence as he thought fit, extending the property towards the front or the rear. So far the users have not altered the officially prescribed height of the buildings. It should be stated that there has been no consistency in these interventions which have been made without any control. This means that the city will gradually lose its original character and acquire other features with little or no "architectural quality". The question is whether the Guedes' encouragement of the principal of modification by residents allowed for such radical changes, which could ultimately lead to the complete adulteration of his work.

The materials with which the houses were made have also been modified. Those originally proposed for all the houses had quite an austere character and, although today many homes still preserve these original materials, others have adopted materials considered more "noble", both internally and externally.

Final considerations

The transition from public to private intervention has influenced the city of Caraíba in a complex way. Many of the city's characteristics have been greatly transformed while others have been conserved. Why is that?

The method adopted by Guedes for the design of Caraíba sought to rationalize and systematize the intrinsic characteristics of the region. He wanted to recognize the "other" from the perspective of the differences. He therefore established an active relationship between plan and project that attempted to capture the "otherness" and to make it manifest. However, although he tried hard to follow a rational and systematic approach, it seemed impossible to totally capture the "other" and completing this turned out not to be viable. The "other" proved to be extremely complex and dynamic, and the methodology that used was not capable of recognizing it completely.

This search for communicating with the "other", however, assumes that both parties are interested. It is therefore possible to see, in the design and in the construction of Caraíba, features relating to the local conditions, but also the presence of other, unrelated elements, closer to modern architectural language and which relate to the formal education of the architect. It is not uncommon for residents of Caraíba to be unaware of this "modern" language used by Guedes.

If the regional situation affected the project the same could be said of the national situation. It should be remembered that Caraíba was designed under the auspices of an "other" that was both absent and present and this "other" was installed in Brasília, heading a military dictatorship and promoting a capitalist economy. Guedes expressed his intention to reduce the interference of these circumstances in his project, but he was only partially successful. The architect stated that he aimed to minimize the differences in the social and economic classes in the mining company yet his performance was limited to two measures. The first relates to the proposed use of urban areas by the

entire population and the second concerns the distribution of houses of different standards throughout virtually the whole city. However, certain project decisions made by the architect are a manifestation of a hierarchy and social segregation that already existed in Caraíba. By defining the appearance of the houses the architect showed very clearly those who have power in the city, those who determine and control the social, political and economic situation of its inhabitants. This power was manifested as much in the size of the houses as in the differences in their façades, and also whether neighborhoods were integrated or separated.

It is likely that at the time of its completion the city and its architecture had largely assimilated with its residents. In the 70s, the "sertão" was still remote, and the points of reference for most residents of Caraíba were local ones. It could also be true that at that time people did not accurately understand (or were afraid to understand ...) the precise nature of social hierarchy and social segregation on an urban level. The people of Caraíba did not fully grasp the extent of public control on the urbanization process. However, these days such issues have other implications.

Several factors have influenced the current assimilation of the city by its users. The first one refers to the threat of extinction of Caraíba. For 30 years the people of the city have lived with this eventuality. They reacted by seeming unwilling to maintain and establish strong ties with the city, which could be taken from them at any time. In this way, despite the architecture seeking to establish a connection with the contextual reality, the users have not taken this on board, preferring to change its character.

The second factor that may explain the difficulties of the residents to assimilate and maintain the city and their houses is the influence of external circumstances. At the time of its conception, the city of Caraíba had a centralized public power (represented by the State or by the mining company), to determine the main characteristics of the project and establish ways to move it forward. In recent times, Caraíba has functioned under weaker governmental control and corrupt private interests that do not exercise control of the city, its urban facilities, its housing or its inhabitants. These "private powers", typical of the globalized era, have invaded the "sertão" and set up in Caraíba.

Under the impact of globalization the "sertão" has lost its unique features which have been replaced by features more characteristic of richer and more influential areas of the country and the world. "Globalization" can also be understood in the sense of the influence of the eponymous "Rede Globo" - the most influential television network in Brazil - which has contributed to the promotion of certain consumer values and a standard of living that pervades local communities, influencing and changing their cultural parameters.

And so the city of Caraíba, which was under public control, is now in private hands and as a result of this transition, the remote "sertão" is becoming increasingly globalized. The project envisaged by Guedes is at risk under these circumstances as it simultaneously seeks to understand, manifest and modify itself. At times the residents

of Caraíba assimilate the risks, but at other times transform them as if they no longer respect such risks or want to overcome them.

Today the remote city and the globalized city live together ... In the streets of Caraíba, people still walk between goats and sheep, they are still surrounded by cacti, but their houses now have satellite dishes ... (8).

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Notes

1. Caraíba is now called "Núcleo do Pilar"; it is part of the district of Jaguarari in Bahia.
2. The "sertão" is a dry and harsh region located in the interior of the northeastern region in Brazil.
3. See: Mineração Caraíba S/A – uma empresa cidadã
4. To learn more about Caraíba: (GUEDES, 1981)
5. To learn more about the creative process of Guedes: (AMARAL Jr, 2003) and (CAMARGO, 2001)
6. The "caatinga" is a type of vegetation able to survive in the dry areas of the Brazilian northeastern region:
7. I would like to acknowledge the collaboration of Claudete, Eliete, Lucia, Cristina, Fátima and Valério, residents of Caraíba (Pilar). I also thank the attention of architects Joaquim Guedes and Marcos Acayaba.
8. This work was honored by the special participation of Neusa Lima, Ana Luiza Bierrenbach and also by the support of Edson Carvalho. The use of the images was authorized by the architect Joaquim Guedes.

'The Kaleidoscope of Town Planning': the Town and Country Planning Association and Planning Advocacy in Post-war South Australia

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South Australia is well known as a planned nineteenth-century settlement and its capital city, Adelaide, is a highly regarded example of colonial city planning. The state's subsequent planning history reveals a modest but significant lineage of planned environments that emulate international ideas transposed and adapted to suit the local context. Given this history, it is perhaps not surprising that at various periods since its foundation in 1836 South Australia has spawned a variety of citizens' groups that have worked to promote, protect, reinforce and enhance not only the qualities and elements of the capital city's plan but also of the suburban and rural places that followed. This paper focuses on the evolution and contribution of one such organisation, the Town and Country Planning Association (T&CPA). The T&CPA formed in Adelaide in 1964 following more than a decade of post-war civilian and professional advocacy to revive popular interest in, and government action in relation to, town planning. It was one of several civilian-based environmental pressure groups nationally.

Before the T&CPA: antecedent advocates and activities

The T&CPA was not the state's first citizen-based planning advocacy group – a predecessor, the South Australian Town Planning and Housing Association (SATPHA), had formed in 1914 primarily to support the endeavours of South Australia's (and Australia's) inaugural Government Town Planner, New Zealand born journalist turned town planner Charles Reade, and the passage of town planning legislation. After a hard-fought battle, led by Reade, the Town Planning and Development Bill passed through Parliament in 1920. However, this fight, and continuing professional disparagement of their aims, exhausted SATPHA members and the organisation faded in 1924.

Persistent criticism of the town planning legislation won out and the Act was repealed in 1929. Its replacement, the Town Planning Act, negated most of the efforts of the preceding 15 years. It dealt only, and in an elementary way, with the control of subdivision of land. Thus, from the beginning of the 1930s, South Australia had neither effective legislation nor a vigilant group of involved citizens to monitor development.[1]

Individuals, though, and the Adelaide City Council (ACC), did remain concerned. William C.D. Veale, who was appointed assistant city engineer and surveyor with the ACC in 1923, had a deep interest in town planning,[2] and as Town Clerk for 19 years from 1947, he oversaw much of Adelaide's post-war development. In 1947 the Royal Australian Institute of Architects charged two local architects, Dean W. Berry and John (Jack) Cheesman, with the responsibility of forming a professional town planning body

eventually known as the Town Planning Institute of South Australia (TPISA).[3] Veale's credentials and interest in town planning made him the logical choice to assist them;[4] when the TPISA was inaugurated in April 1948 he was its first President.

In its first year the TPISA collaborated with the Commonwealth and State governments and the British Council in organising the visit of Sir Patrick Abercrombie, Professor of Town Planning at London University and principal author of a replanning scheme for London known as the County of London Plan (1943).[5] Abercrombie's itinerary was covered by the local press and his observations on mistakes that Adelaide had made in town planning were keenly reported. The exhibition, 'Re-planning Britain' which was held in conjunction with the Abercrombie tour, also focused Adelaideans' attention on town planning matters.

Two years later, in 1950, members of the TPISA persuaded the daily newspaper, the *Advertiser*, to bring to Adelaide Professor Denis Winston, Professor of Town and Country Planning at the University of Sydney. Winston's public lectures did much to reinforce Abercrombie's comments and to publicise the need for effective town planning measures locally. As F.W. Symons, Town Clerk of St Peters and a part-time lecturer in town planning at the School of Mines, explained:

> Unless the work of local governing authorities and Government and State bodies responsible for housing, transport and essential services is properly co-ordinated and related to a master plan, the haphazard development of Adelaide will continue as it has in Sydney and Melbourne.[6]

The TPISA's main focus was the implementation of effective town planning legislation but its efforts through 1948 were unsuccessful.[7] Spurred on by the positive response to Winston's lectures, it tried again and in August 1950 organised a deputation to Premier Tom Playford to put its case for the implementation of effective legislation. Members sought the establishment of an honorary committee to investigate and report on a new Town Planning Act and on the development and co-ordinated planning of new areas.[8] The parsimonious Playford agreed to the suggestion, which was subsequently approved by Cabinet. The 10-member committee included Veale and Harold Chalkan Day, draughtsman in the state's first Town Planning Department and Government Town Planner since 1929. Before long this committee recommended the establishment of a planning body and a qualified planner to lead it.[9]

Meanwhile other concerned individuals were promoting and educating the public about town planning. During 1948, Andrew Benko, an architect, and Rex Lloyd, an engineer, presented 24 lectures on the history of, and contemporary issues in, town planning at the University of Adelaide. These were subsequently compiled and published as a widely available monograph.[10] Throughout the first half of the 1950s there were frequent calls in the city's newspapers for a master plan for Adelaide to provide a vision for future development and to avoid the perils of urban sprawl and traffic congestion.[11] Local commentators considered that Adelaide had rested too long on its laurels as a planned capital, as did visiting British town planner Clough Williams-Ellis who found it 'the "most

moribund" of all the Australian capitals', and accused South Australians of 'living on Light's vision for more than a century without doing anything to extend it.'[12]

Perhaps the persistence and nature of media comment as well as the honorary committee's efforts had an influence on Playford, who had long opposed a town plan. He held that 'Adelaide had been planned as a city many years ago and all that could be done now was street widening and other alterations, except with recreation reserves and other safeguards to ensure that the city's growth was not haphazard.'[13] Although he told the 1954 Town Planning Institute Congress in Adelaide that he would not consider town planning until his program for industrialisation was complete,[14] he later changed his mind and spoke in support of a master plan. Significantly, he introduced a bill to amend the Town Planning Act.[15]

After much acrimony and 'heated scenes in parliament', the bill passed in November 1955.[16] '[U]nique for its brevity and simplicity',[17] it was completely inadequate. Like the 1929 Act, it dealt primarily with the control of land subdivision, and did not regulate land use or control growth.[18] It focused only on the metropolitan area, ignoring country regions completely. Despite its shortcomings, one positive was the provision for a Town Planning Committee to prepare a plan to develop the Adelaide metropolitan area. Day was the inaugural Committee chair but he was replaced in 1957 by new Government Town Planner, Stuart Hart. Hart, a qualified planner and engineer and a member of the Royal Town Planning Institute, was recruited from Scotland.[19]

The Town Planning Committee's comprehensive 'Report on the Metropolitan Area of Adelaide' was tabled in Parliament on 24 October 1962. For almost a year its proposals were neither implemented nor safeguarded: 'It may be months or years before the administration of town planning is properly organised and functioning', lamented a 1963 *Advertiser* editorial.[20]

A formal citizens' organisation emerges

During this period of advocacy and action towards raising the profile of town planning there had been a 'quiet revolution' and a 'gradual conversion' of a large number of South Australia's community leaders to town planning's ideals. From 1962 the Australian Planning Institute (API), the National Fitness Council, Junior Chambers of Commerce (groups of local businessmen who aimed to protect and advance the professional, manufacturing and commercial interests of their district), National Council of Women,[21] and many other voluntary groups debated the subject in countless meetings and discussion groups.[22] The time was ripe for the formation of an organisation of concerned individuals who would promote the development of a legislatively backed master plan for Adelaide's metropolitan and rural areas, as well as the reservation of open spaces throughout the state.

Prompted by the release of the Town Planning Committee's Report, talks by Albert Simpson, Director of the National Fitness Association, and a subsequent town planning study on the provision of a children's playground in its area, the Henley and Grange

chamber of the South Australian Junior Chambers of Commerce began to agitate for solutions to the lack of provision for reserves in it district.[23] Don P. March, its President and the coordinator of its Open Spaces Project, led the charge and headed a deputation to the Premier asking that the State Government acquire more open space.[24] He then chaired the steering committee that, after months of research, developed the framework for what became the Town and Country Planning Association (T&CPA). The Association's name reflected the committee's admiration for its well-established British counterpart.[25]

In addition 'to bring[ing] together the sociologist, planner, architect and layman to assist the education of the public in matters of planning', the Association had civic improvement in mind since it aimed to 'help in the sensible development of our communities in order that the future habitations will be congenial to overall living.'[26] It also intended to be a vehicle for citizens to have their say on town planning matters,[27] and to 'help those who plan the development of our community to avoid follies which may be thoughtlessly committed in honest pursuit of progress'.[28]

The T&CPA was inaugurated on 26 August 1964, a date chosen to coincide with the API National Congress in Adelaide. The Association attracted 200 members in its first year. They were a broad church that embraced architects, engineers, sociologists, lawyers, clerics, economists, laymen and planners.

The formal objectives of the Association were as broad as its membership:

- To promote civic planning and design.
- To secure adequate open spaces to meet present and future needs.
- To conserve areas and features of unique beauty and interest.
- To use planning as a means towards creating the most desirable living conditions for all.
- To secure legislation that will facilitate sound and progressive development.
- To work in association with groups of similar interest.[29]

Inaugural business

The T&CPA's initial achievement was an abridged version of the Town Planning Committee's 1962 Report. The 3000 copies were donated to libraries, local government officers and key citizens and sold to the public.[30]

During an extremely busy first year the Association held public meetings on planning issues; arranged guest speakers; organized a members' discussion group; led a deputation to the newly elected Attorney-General Don Dunstan to learn his views on town planning procedures; attended joint meetings with the Architectural Research Group at the University of Adelaide; and approached the Adult Education section of the South Australian Education Department and the Workers' Education Association (WEA) requesting them to arrange courses on town planning and Adelaide's Town Plan.[31]

However not all of the Association's early ventures were successful. Out of 2000 invitees to a three-session symposium on 'Maintaining Human Values in a Motorised Community', with guest speaker Paul Ritter, Perth City Planner, a mere 100 attended and the venture lost money. Lunch-hour meetings for members were discontinued in 1965 because of poor attendance.[32]

The Association took on the role of public advocacy in a major way. Even before its official inauguration, Don March wrote a letter objecting to the *Advertiser*'s assertion that the inadequacies in planning legislation were 'due to the apathy of the people and their so-called disinterest in the aesthetics of their environment', and promising that the T&CPA was prepared to help 'those people with a sense of responsibility towards Adelaide's future and assist them to take a deep and active interest.'[33] Other letters supported the proposed town planning legislation put forward by Attorney-General Dunstan.[34]

The T&CPA made one of the very few submissions on the 1962 Plan and its accompanying Report.[35] Association members protested against or commented upon such matters as the construction of steel pylons to carry electricity wires in the Little Para River valley to Adelaide's north,[36] the siting of Adelaide's proposed Festival Theatre, the incorporation of the Adelaide City Council area into the control of the Town Planning Act, city parking stations, removal of coastal sand dunes, and housing development and quarrying on the Adelaide Hills' face, the capital's scenic backdrop.[37]

But the Association's foremost concern was the passage of planning and development legislation to replace the existing Act and to establish a State Planning Authority. When the Town Planning and Development Bill was eventually introduced in early 1966 the T&CPA described it as potentially 'the beginning of a new era for the state' and the moment when 'the kaleidoscope of town planning ... [was] well and truly shaken.'[38]

The T&CPA stressed the need for a State Planning Authority particularly to regulate agencies like the Highways Department and the Electricity Trust as well as legislation such as the Building Act.[39] Not surprisingly then, it objected strongly to proposed Legislative Council amendments to include on the Authority representatives of various groups such as the Real Estate Institute, which it deemed would hinder the Authority's work.[40] Demonstrating the strength of its concern, with the University of Adelaide's Department of Adult Education and the WEA, the T&CPA organised a public meeting to highlight and debate the Legislative Council amendments.[41] Success followed when the Planning and Development Bill was passed on 13 April 1967 – despite 'opposition, misrepresentation, exaggeration and chicanery, the ability to guide the future development of South Australia, to remedy the errors of the past and to ameliorate the shortcomings of the present'[42] was incorporated into legislation. As a consequence, the South Australian State Planning Authority was born. The T&CPA had lent significant support to the achievement of this long-sought legislation.

Other activities

The T&CPA organised guest speakers from a variety of backgrounds to address its meetings through the 1960s. Politicians, architects, planners and civil servants lectured on a broad spectrum of topics, from the proposed planning legislation to planning overseas and recreation and leisure spaces. Soon after the passage of the new planning Act, the Association helped the Jaycees in Whyalla, a regional town on Spencer Gulf in country South Australia, to organise the seminar, 'Planning South Australia under the new Planning & Development Act'.[43] Also in 1967 it participated in the symposium 'Outrage', organised by the South Australian Chapter of the Royal Australian Institute of Architects (RAIA) and held in conjunction with a photographic exhibition entitled 'Australian Outrage' that documented the results of 'unchecked despoliation of Australian cities'. A direct outcome of the symposium was moves towards the formation of the Civic Trust of South Australia (established 1969),[44] a process assisted by several T&CPA members.

In recognition of its educative role, the Association was allotted space in the exhibition 'Towards a Better Environment', associated with the Jubilee Conference of the Australian Planning Institute held in Adelaide in 1967.[45] The other principal organisations involved in introducing or furthering town planning principles – the Municipal and Local Government Organisation, Jaycees of SA (Junior Chambers of Commerce), Mount Lofty Ranges Association, the National Trust, the National Fitness Council and the Australian Conservation Council – also participated.

A new agenda takes hold

In parallel with organising talks, symposia and exhibitions, members maintained their advocacy and lobbying roles, writing to newspapers about, or meeting with the appropriate Ministers in relation to, matters including Hills' face quarrying, sand dune mining, natural scrub conservation, nature reserves and land subdivision.[46] These topics are indicative of the T&CPA's gradual shift in focus from the built to the natural environment. Such a trend reflected the wider societal emphasis in the late 1960s and 1970s on nature conservation when those 'who were increasingly concerned about the loss of habitat ... and the loss of spaciousness and solitude' joined 'the plan using public.'[47]

The Association's main motivation at its inauguration had been to secure effective town planning legislation and an overarching body to control indiscriminate development. But it had also shown concern for the natural environment. In fact in its second newsletter it held that 'Natural scenery is a heritage which must be preserved as a tranquiliser against our garish 20th Century environment.'[48]

After the passage of the 1967 Act, the TCPA formed an 'active and enthusiastic' Natural Environment Subcommittee. Constituted in 1968 it took on an increasingly dominant role.[49] Its secretary, D.G. Strahle, distributed the first South Australian Conservation Newsletter to conservation-oriented societies throughout the State. This covered

various reserves and parks, protection of flora, water catchment in the Mount Lofty Ranges, and conservation strategy. With the Department of Adult Education and the Mount Lofty Ranges Association, the T&CPA organised a seminar on the Adelaide Hills.[50] In 1969 the Subcommittee opened a Conservation Fighting Fund and in 1970 strengthened its support for the preservation of the Hills' face.[51]

Talks at the 1970s meetings became more concerned with the natural environment. For example, Labor member of Federal Parliament Chris Hurford, a former T&CPA President, spoke on 'The Scope for Federal Action in Environmental Planning'.[52] The Association promoted the work of local conservation organisations which included the Nature Conservation Society of South Australia (established 1963) and the Australian Conservation Foundation.[53] In August 1970 a local Member of Parliament, Geoff Virgo, spoke on 'Planning and Conservation'.[54] The T&CPA was among the 13 'arbitrarily-selected nucleus of conservation bodies' that launched the Conservation Council of South Australia in February 1971.[55]

Population growth was a particular focus for a time. The July 1970 meeting listened to a taped lecture by Dr Paul Ehrlich, Professor of Biology, Stanford University, on 'The Population Crisis – Where we Stand'.[56] The guest speaker at the 1971 AGM was the vice president of Zero Population Growth (ZPG) who spoke on 'Famine, Pestilence, War or What'. The T&CPA held a joint meeting with ZPG in 1972 in which two parliamentarians conducted 'A Debate on Important Conservation Issues', and in 1973 the Association made a submission to the National Population Inquiry.[57]

But despite sharpening its conservation focus the T&CPA's original objectives were not abandoned. From 1968 it focused on the Metropolitan Adelaide Transportation Study (MATS) plan, unsuccessfully applying to give evidence to the Metropolitan Transportation Committee on the plan's inadequacies to cope with noise and air pollution and to suggest alternative land-use patterns: it was refused permission to appear before the Committee because none of its concerns was considered relevant. It did, though, submit a lengthy critique, one of 966 received.[58] It criticised the timidity of modifications to the Planning and Development Act because they did not go far enough.[59] In 1972 it organised a seminar, 'The Future of the City of Adelaide', and participated in another on the inner suburbs.[60]

The focus of the monthly newsletter, *Plan SA*, (later *Planning S.A.*,) definitely altered in the late 1960s as articles on subjects such as the Normanville sand dunes and mining in the Flinders Ranges came to dominate. The change intensified from June 1970 when Ron Caldicott became editor. Caldicott, a scientist and active Association member, was appointed T&CPA Director of Research in mid-1970, and was the first full-time paid employee in any conservation group in Australia.[61] The position was funded by a benefactor's donation. [62]

Caldicott's first editorial coincided with the T&CPA newsletter absorbing the South Australian Conservation Bulletin. He focused on the problems of industrial waste pollution at Lake Bonney, in the state's south-east, and on national parks and wildlife.

The issue promoted a forum organised by the South Australian Mountain Activities Federation on 'South Australia, Chaos or Conservation?'. T&CPA member D.G. Strahle was one of the speakers. Under Caldicott the newsletter adopted a more strident and activist tone, with editorials such as 'The Great God GNP' decrying the effects of 'cancerous economic growth. Its greedy suckers have fastened onto the fabric of our society drawing the life-blood from our communities, creating crime, poverty, anonymity and destroying our precious natural environment.'[63]

Prior to assuming his paid role with the T&CPA, Caldicott, and President David Higbed and Natural Environment Subcommittee Chair Strahle, had written a number of provocative – in title and content – letters to the editor in the local press. Some of their shots were directed at the work and composition of the State Planning Authority.[64] These were silenced when Caldicott accepted an appointment to the Authority from 1 July 1971 (until 1979). He was categorised as a member with 'knowledge of conservation or aesthetics'[65] and was active on a number of its Advisory Committees.

While retaining some content relating to traditional town planning concerns such as the Adelaide parklands, planning within the City of Adelaide, local government boundaries, the evolution of recent planning legislation, through the 1970s the newsletter devoted more and more space to environmental matters. The perceived threat of overpopulation, alternative means of transport and, increasingly, the perils of nuclear energy were regular topics. Finally, one member had had enough.

> The reason why I joined this association was that I was interested in town planning; yet, when I have a query or problem in this field I do not seem to be able to enlist the aid of the T&CPA. It seems to me that the T&CPA has become just another conservation organization. If this is the case, it should amalgamate with some other established conservation body. If not, please could this magazine be more orientated to practical planning matters?[66]

The editor, now Higbed, responded and in a nutshell encapsulated the history of the T&CPA's focus and the rationale for its new course:

> … when the Town and Country Planning Association was first formed, the issues confronting us were, if not uncomplicated, at least plainly seen. They related solely to the urban environment, the planning of the metropolitan area, and the building of a legislative base that would eventually, enable the principles of enlightened planning to be applied to the whole of the State. But today the 'bricks and bitumen' part, important though it still is, is merely a fraction of the task that faces the concerned and thinking person. Beyond this are vastly greater issues that affect not the comfort, convenience and appearance of our immediate surroundings, but the whole social and economic fabric of our life ... .[67]

For a while the Association's newsletter did make some effort to focus on traditional town planning matters while not eschewing its environmental leanings. But by the beginning of 1980 the editor could be reached at the Conservation Centre and John

Sibly, Vice-President of the Nature Conservation Society, President of the Conservation Council and Caldicott's replacement on the State Planning Authority, was guest writer for an entire issue devoted to environmental matters.[68]

In the last numbers of *Planning S.A.* the T&CPA's founding focus regained prominence, perhaps because Albert Simpson, one of the Association's instigators and still Director of the National Fitness Council, became president. The Association proposed a permanent exhibition on town planning to be set up as a South Australian Jubilee 150 project and organised a public meeting on 'Planning in the 80's – a new perspective'.[69] In 1984, it divided its attention between town planning and conservation, organising seminars on 'The Control of Vegetation Clearance' (with the Environmental Law Association), 'Recreation and Planning in the '80s' and 'Parklands under Siege?' (with the WEA).[70]

But members' interest was clearly waning. Because of a lack of volunteer assistance, *Planning S.A.* was in abeyance for several months. Its final issue was November 1985, when it included details of the T&CPA's AGM and called for volunteers to stand for the committee.[71] The absence of any indication that volunteers were forthcoming or indeed of any further records of the Association's activities suggests to us that this was its last gasp.

T&CPA achievements: reflections and observations

The 1960s in South Australia have been described as a decade 'when citizens found a voice ... more than usual wrote to papers, while others looked for ways of joining forces with like-minded people by forming committees and societies. There was no end to new movements [which included] nature conservation, residents' and planning associations.'[72] The T&CPA fits squarely into this story. But what did it contribute and why did it fade?

Early success and constraints

The Association was most active and perhaps most focused in its first years when it collaborated closely with Attorney-General Dunstan to ensure passage of the Planning and Development Bill through both Houses of Parliament. The legislation was 'handicapped by its strong representation of vested interests'[73] from both the private and the public sector. Consequently the T&CPA maintained a watching brief, criticising inadequacies of the Town Planning Act and perceived shortcomings in the State Planning Authority. Some of its initial fire was dimmed when its first President, the energetic Don March, resigned from the committee in mid-1967. Then its outspoken approach in the early 1970s diminished once it had a voice on the State Planning Authority.

As March knew from personal experience, from the start, the T&CPA was plagued with the not unusual problems of citizen action groups – too few members and a lack of support from those who did join. He found it 'impossible to delegate' his workload, 'due to most members of Council not taking an interest in subcommittee work.'[74]

Other options and opportunities

A subsequent deterrent to T&CPA participation was the rise of groups with overlapping or competing interests. Many of the architects who had been involved with the T&CPA redirected their effort to the Civic Trust which formed in 1969. The Trust's objects were 'to encourage the creation of buildings, precincts, comprehensive developments and landscapes which our descendants could be proud of.'[75] It hoped to attract 'designers, planners, non-specialists, and institutional members like local councils which administer planning laws and regulations',[76] the very same groups that had joined the T&CPA. Jim Warburton, Head of the Department of Continuing Education (previously Adult Education) of the University of Adelaide, was also a committed Civic Trust member. Consequently Warburton's Department, a frequent co-convenor with the T&CPA, now arranged seminars on the built environment with the Trust, although it continued to cooperate with the T&CPA on the natural environment. Town planning topics coordinated by the Department and the Trust included residential design standards, the planning of tourist resorts, housing in South Australia, the built environment, street trees, protection of the parklands, and outdoor advertising,[77] all original concerns of the T&CPA.

At the same time, other actual and potential T&CPA members, including those who perhaps shared the view of the newsletter correspondent who expressed frustration at the Association's conservation focus, began to see more advantage in forming or belonging to organisations that were concerned directly with their own residential areas. Such residents' associations had been suggested by Professor Winston during his 1950 visit to Adelaide so that the city could 'protect its special character'.[78] Residents were slow to act on his suggestion, but in 1968, in response to the poor quality of local roads and problems with sewage, the Morialta Residents' Association formed.[79] A spate of such groups then emerged for broadly similar reasons: zoning,[80] general concern about planning,[81] and the MATS Plan that proposed freeways through some Adelaide suburbs.[82]

Changes in planning administration and legislation

The T&CPA emerged at a time when South Australia was on the cusp of new planning legislation and a new administrative approach to planning. The Association survived the lifetime of each and responded to the opportunities and challenges extended by both. Planning administration changes afoot federally and locally from 1976 affected and ultimately spelt the end of the State Planning Authority. As a consequence 'the planning system as expressed by the *Planning and Development Act*[83] had to be rebuilt. Hart, who had stepped aside as State Planner in 1977, drafted new legislation that came into being in 1982 as the Planning Act. There was considerable stability in the state's planning administration for about eight years after the 1967 Act was introduced but thereafter the climate was one of change and uncertainty. Given this milieu and likely loss of incentive it is not surprising that the T&CPA's focus and members strayed.

Conclusion

While all seemed in order in its early years when the T&CPA was being publicly commended and the Association itself expressed 'satisfaction at having achieved much',[84] its later contributions are less easy to define. It was certainly a mouthpiece for a seemingly small cohort and it assisted in bringing built and natural environment issues of contemporary relevance into the public eye. But in the upshot, apart from its objectives to secure town planning legislation and to cooperate with similarly aligned groups, its broader goals appear to have been adopted and achieved, at least in part, by others. The history of the South Australian Town and Country Planning Association can be viewed, like 'the kaleidoscope of town planning', as a pattern of rapidly shifting foci and varied, sometimes complex, interests that occasionally settled but were invariably shaken by external forces and so took up new forms.

Acknowledgements

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[6] *Advertiser*, July 1950.

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Planning and transforming: Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna and the City of Santiago 1872-75.

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Histories of planning usually underline the significant transformations that cities like Paris or Vienna suffered during the XIX century, as a starting point of modern planning. Thus, in its modern version, planning seems to be attached to a certain conscience about the real possibilities of changing the physical environment of a given city. Those real possibilities frequently mean cultural, political and economical conditions. In the already mentioned cases of Paris and Vienna, urban changes seem to depend on the action of strong political power. Thus urbanism, both as a discipline and as a technique - as Manuel Solá Morales has once stated - was in its beginnings often dependent on the power and resources of the state. The immense amount of economical resources needed to put forward significant urban plans, meant that only a few cities were able to develop them. However, those ideas expanded towards many places around the world. They not always represented as a real possibility but frequently a social aspiration.

The concentration of power and resources which made possible big plans during the XIX century contrasts in many aspects with the complexities of present day situation, in which they has to respond to conditions and demands coming from many and different actors. Sometimes planners, and even urban historians, turn secretly nostalgic about the old conditions in which the combination of central power and public wealth gave birth to powerful urban schemes.

However, and for various reasons, the evolution of planning offers us alternative examples, even during the XIX century, involving other ways to confront urban planning. In this context it is more than interesting to look, in certain detail, at the urban transformation happened in Latin America in the second half of the XIX century. Although roughly inspired by the transformations of some European capital cities, they hay to deal with relatively modest economic conditions and the complexities of the rather young national states.

That is the case of the transformation promoted by Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna in Santiago de Chile between 1872 and 1875. Both the ideas and the methods he put in place illuminate a very complex process of modernization in which motifs of the most various kinds are interwoven. The idea of *transformation*, the driving force in Vicuña Mackenna's proposals, doesn't exactly correspond to the idea of plan which began to be used during the mid XXth. century. Describing and analyzing those processes will allow a better understanding of the cultural and physical changes happened in Latin American cities during the XIX century, and could be useful to illuminate some of the present day discussion about planning processes.

1 Vicuña Mackenna politician and intellectual

The importance of Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna as an urban reformer has surpassed the Chilean frontiers to reach the Latin American environment. He has been recognized as one of the brightest intellectual and politicians of his time. His role as *intentedente* of Santiago between 1872 and 1875 is mentioned by almost every significant historian – from Encina and Castedo to Armando de Ramón- as a key actor in the development of the city and a major figure in the local history of planning. According to Collier and Sater, no other individual had such and influence upon the capital's urban development.[1]

Born in 1831, Vicuña Mackenna pursued basic and High School education in Santiago. After that he studied law at Universidad de Chile. As a young intellectual he embraced the liberal ideas which had significant influence in the country at that moment and had to leave the country due to his participation in political rebellions.
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As an exiled he traveled extensively through America and Europe absorbing some of the prevailing ideas in politics and urban planning. His first travel was particularly long and due to his youth –he was 21 years old when he left Valparaíso in 1852- significantly influential in the definition of his convictions[2]. Different from what has been frequently thought, Vicuña Mackenna didn't go directly to Europe. His first experience abroad was an American one.

Arrived to San Francisco, California in January 1853, he had the opportunity to visit Mexico including cities as Cuernavaca, Acapulco and Mexico City. After that, he would able to visit the east coast in the United States and even Canada. Between April and June 1853 he would visit New York City, Washington DC, Montreal and Quebec. In October of the same year he left for Liverpool and then moved to Paris where he stayed for several months in a city which began to be transformed by Napoleon III following Baron de Haussmann plans. Vicuña Mackenna saw transformations in many European cities and collect various impressions of them, but the scale of the Parisian transformation remained undoubtedly attached to his memories.

In July 1854 he traveled to Great Britain and Ireland visiting London, Glasgow, Belfast and Berlin. He would remain there for long, attending to the Royal Agricultural College de Cirencester. In the beginnings of 1855 he travels to Italy via Paris, Marseille and Avignon. In Italy he would have the opportunity of visiting Genoa, Turin, Milan, Rome and Venice among many others. From Venice he would depart for Berlin in June 1855 visiting other cities like Dresden, Freiberg, Leipzig and Potsdam. After that, he would continue to northern Germany (Hamburg) and the Netherlands. In July, the same year he had the opportunity to visit the International exhibition in Paris, just before beginning his travel back to Chile.

It was in Southampton on July 8th 1855 that he embarked towards Buenos Aires via Lisbon, Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro and Montevideo. As was usual at the time, he returned to Santiago from Buenos Aires via Mendoza crossing the Andes.

Arrived to Santiago where his political problems had been solved, Vicuña Mackenna was in a privileged position to judge the urban conditions of his rather modest home city against the background of many cities in the world. Even though significant plans like those of Burnham for Chicago or Olmstead for New York hadn't happened when he visited those cities in his first travel, he perceived everywhere attempt to undertake urban renovations. More that references to planners the notes of his diary refer to very concrete aspects of the cities visited by him: pavements, trees and greenery, public spaces. The reason for that was probably that more than as technician Vicuña Mackenna thought of himself as an intellectual and a politician.

During his travels Santiago had been always in his mind. Continuous comparisons with other cities are registered in his diary. He is aware that some of them could be considered exaggerated. Among them, the links between Santigo and particular aspects of Florence and Rome can be mentioned. Nevertheless they express his passion for his home city and an amazing condition to project it from a more than modest condition to a more developed state.

His activities as a journalist allowed him to disseminate some of his ideas on cities even being away from his homeland. Once in the country he managed to combine his exceptional talents as an intellectual and a politician. His contributions to Chilean historiography have been recognized as one of the most important of his century. He was part of the parliament for several periods, named "intendente" - that is representative of the president in a certain region - and became a candidate to the presidency of the Republic, position to which he finally resigned.

His plans to transform the city of Santiago during his period as *intendente,* produced some of the most significant urban pieces of the late XIX century, being the Santa Lucía hill park the most well known among them. Besides those accomplishments, his many unfinished projects were able set the urban agenda for the following decades.

The importance of Vicuña Mackenna within the process of embellishment and introduction of hygienic criteria of the XIX century Latin American city has been frequently underlined. However, little attention has been paid to the novelty of some of his ideas in the field of planning process and the premonitory strategies that he put forward to promote them.

2 Vicuña Mackenna as intendente of Santiago

Vicuña Mackenna assumed as "intendente" of Santiago on April 20, 1872. He was nominated by President Federico Errázuriz Zañartu, who began his period as a president this same year. His nomination was done at the same time that the one of Francisco Echaurren in Valparaíso, who did an outstanding work to improve the urban conditions of the port. Vicuña was by then 41 years old and had returned six months before from a long raid through Europe. He had published by then around ten books on Chilean and Latin American history, including urban histories of Santiago and

Valparaíso[3]. He was publicly known as a passionate politician, journalist and intellectual.

Is a common place in Chilean historiography to maintain that nominating Vicuña Mackenna aimed at distracting him from other political affairs, neutralizing him as a lieder who could provoke political problems to the government[4]. Demonstrating an amazing capacity for the political action, Vicuña Mackenna was able to present, after three months, a plan to transform the city both to the parliament and to the Municipality.

The idea of Vicuña Mackenna was to promote a complete renewal of the city, following the world wave of urban renovations he had had the opportunity to experience. Being completely aware of the difficulties of his task and the shortness of the available time, he tried to do it in the most expedite way.

The ambition of his plan is evident in its content. It includes 20 "works" ("obras") of the most various kinds, going from the canalization of the Mapocho River, the construction of a ring road and the creation of new plazas to the implementation of a new jail or the exotic proposal of 4 houses for "popular entertaining"[5]. In general terms, Vicuña Mackenna's plan involved restructuring the city through the presence of the ring road, which was expected to be able to distinguish what he named as proper city from its surroundings. In addition to that, significant infrastructure, such as the canalization of the river would be provided. Connected to them, the creation of new public spaces was a significant element of the plan. The rest of the proposals consisted mainly in providing various facilities which would allow a better functioning as well as a more hygienic condition to the city.

The project for a new park located in Santa Lucía hill, a rocky promontory which had been partially fortified during colonial times is perhaps the most well known of Vicuña Mackenna's accomplished works. He began to build and plant it just after he presented his plan and was able to finish it, no without enormous efforts, due to economical adverse circumstances, during his period as "intendente".

The oscillating economic and political conditions of the country as well as the ambition of the plan, made it very difficult to complete it during Vicuña Mackenna's three years as "intendente". Nevertheless its long term vision enabled it to set the urban agenda for the following 25 years. To mention only a couple of examples: the canalization of the Mapocho river, the first proposal in Vicuña Mackenna's plan was accomplished more than 10 years later in 1886, while the completion of the urban actions which were meant to accompany it, including a park and an urbanization (today Parque Forestal) happened during the first years of the XXth century.

In all his public life Vicuña Mackenna demonstrated an amazing ability to understand the role of communication both as part of politics and urbanism. That explains the publication, in the form of books, of many plans and reports related to his political performance. The massive use of photography, then a truly innovative technique, in some of those books, speaks us about his modern attitudes and convictions. Among

most well known of those books, there are two referred to Santa Lucía hill[6]. *La transformación de Santiago* must also be considered among one those key efforts both to communicate and to register his political actions.

3 La transformacion de Santiago

Santiago de Chile had been founded by the Spanish conquistador Pedro de Valdivia in 1541. During the Spanish domination it was the capital of the Capitanía General de Chile, a province of the Spanish empire and part of the Peru Viceroyalty. In the early 1870s the city had a population of around 120.000 inhabitants. It was therefore a small city which could be hardly compared with European or North American capitals. The city fabric was mainly composed of adobe constructions. Only a few religious or public buildings were built in stone or brick masonry. Among them the cathedral, the old Casa de Moneda (Coinage House), already used as presidential palace, and the municipal theater[7], can be mentioned. Some private residences had also surpassed the elemental forms and construction methods used during the colonial era. They had been possible mainly thanks to the fortunes produced by the mining business. Some of them became to be popularly designed as palaces[8]. Certainly, squatters and informal settlements could be found in the city. In Spanish they were called "ranchos". According to Vicuña Mackenna's horrified description, their living and hygienic conditions were horribly poor, being mainly located in the southern urban area and in the margins of the Mapocho River.

The absence of a drawing authored by Vicuña Mackenna, makes that the contemporary plan traced by the French engineer Ernest Ansart, the best alternative to understand the state of development of the city at the end of his period as intendente[9]. Ansart taught at Universidad de Chile and provided technical support to some of Vicuña Mackenna's proposals[10]. His very well known plan, is a mixture of technical drawing and a selected of vistas of the city, representing both the actual urban situation and some of the propositions which were promoted in those years.

In what had to do with public spaces, the city showed a serious shortage of them. Except for the Plaza de Armas, during the first three quarters of the XIX century the city had little more than the Paseo de la Alameda, planted according to Bernardo O'Higgins design in 1820, to offer its population. During Vicuña Mackenna's period as intendente, in addition to his own major achievement, the transformation of Santa Lucía hill in a public promenade, the Cousiño Park, replaced an old military camp and was delivered to the city for public use. The park had been planted by Luis Cousiño an extremely wealthy citizen connected to the coal mining business.

Concerning city planning initiatives, a series of efforts towards an urban enhancement of Santiago have been done during the mid XIX. All this happened in spite of many political difficulties after independence and the several wars the country had to face during the century. All of those efforts pointed roughly to the same objectives: development of public services, improvement of public spaces and provision of better hygienic conditions. Of particular importance seems to have been the contribution of

José Miguel de la Barra Intendente of Santiago province during the 1840s. However, none of those efforts had the kind of global vision and synthetic power of Vicuña Mackenna's one. One possible reason is that he was able to articulate a cultural vision with political and technical tools and combine his love for the country and its local conditions with a wider and international idea about the possibilities in the development of cities. Among his writings concerning the topic, perhaps none of them expressed his vision and his way of acting in a better way than *La Transformación de Santiago*.

The origins of *La Transformación de Santiago* can be found in the presentation that the *intendente* had to do both in front of the municipal council and of the parliament to promote and defend his urban proposals. As in similar cases, the publication of *La Transformación* …gave Vicuña Mackenna both the opportunity to promote and register his ideas. The book was published by Imprenta de la Librería del Mercurio de Orestes L. Tornero, who published many others of his books in 1872.

After the acknowledgments (to the parliament, the government, the municipality), an introduction details the meaning of the publication and lists the different works comprised in the transformation plan. The core of the book is the explanation in detail of the 20 projects which the proposal consists of. Each one of them is justified and described. Attached to this general description Vicuña Mackenna introduced letters, regulations, budget calculations and diverse documents concerning the proposed project. The presence of these heterogeneous materials gives the book, and each one of its descriptions, a great vitality, turning it into a very valuable historical source.

After exposing in detail each one of the proposed projects the book includes a recapitulation which makes reference to the need of financial resources for the plan. After that, a series of "memorias" (reports) referring to some of the most significant projects, in particular to the ring road, is included. The book concludes with a series of appendices referring to a proposal for the municipal management system, comprising a budget project for the year 1873.

In the introduction the "intendente" attempts to make dramatically clear the urgent need to implement his plan: "not only to embellish Santiago but to save it"[11]. Alluding to the planning process, he highlights the way -at the same time speedy and conscious- in which the studies have been undertaken. Of particular interest is the innovative way in which different actors have taken part in the design of the plan: "I can assure that the content of the indications contained in this modest notebook, is the fruit of the generous work and luminous dedications of more than 300 citizens…"[12]

Thus and according to what has been previously said, *La Transformación* stands not only as one historical testimony of a significant moment in the urban evolution of Santiago but also as a valuable source about Vicuña Mackenna's ideas about planning.

4 Vicuña Mackenna's idea of planning

An attentive look at the form and content of *La Transformación de Santiago* enables us to a better understanding of Vicuña Mackenna's idea of planning. Frequently this has been judged only from the point of view of a formalistic or purely aesthetic idea of urban embellishment, without paying attention to a much more complex and sophisticated way of understanding urban planning.

Vicuña Mackenna is fully aware about the fact that any planning idea is inseparable from its implementation. Thus, after enouncing a certain proposal, the *intendente* pays immediate attention to the conditions able to makes it feasible. He seems not interested in developing planning ideas up to its formal details before being sure that the idea can be implemented. This implies very often referring to economical resources, in connection to which Vicuña Mackenna doesn't hesitate in including detailed calculations about the possible origin of those resources. This is clearly visible in the plans for building schools or even parks. It was obvious for Vicuña Mackenna that implementing new school buildings or planting a park along the Mapocho river would improve the material, social and aesthetic conditions of the city. However he tries to demonstrate that they will be, at the same time a good business for the city. It the case of the schools he argues that the buildings under used lack the minimal condition to decently serve its purposes, but also that renting buildings is not convenient for the city and the public funds. In the case of the park, which Vicuña Mackenna failed to implement during his period he links it to the canalization of the river. Thus canalizing the river will allow to get rid of the existing "ranchos" and got new urban land for the city. Thus he proposes to dedicate this new land in part to some urban development and in part to a new park. The first would provide the many to invest in the second. Being aware about the scarcity of economic resources, and different to what is frequently said, he almost never recurs to aesthetic reasons in his discourse. He is convinced that the only rhetoric able to convince both politicians and the public is the one which speaks of hygiene and other pragmatic goals.

In addition to that Vicuña Mackenna is perfectly aware that any urban project needs to be supported by public and private actors. This conviction led him not only to present his plan to the various political powers as those represented by the parliament and the municipality. As it has been previously said, he manages to make many of the involved actors participate in the generation of the plan itself. As a result of that, those plans not only would become more precise and concrete, but would gain, from the beginning, public support. Thus, in the case of Vicuña Mackenna, the plan is not conceived purely as a technical instrument but also as a political one. Under such conditions, the plan is both conceived and presented as a collective product.

Last but not least, *La transformación…* makes evident the way in which Vicuña Mackenna conceived his plan as an instrument referring to the most varied scales and problems, comprising both large scale transformations and detailed implementations. Going to a couple of examples, the ring road ("camino de cintura") is obviously perceived as a massive and difficult urban transformation, involving expropriations of

private properties and tracing of new roads. Despite the project is divided in different sections for practical reasons, compared to it others like the repair of slaughter houses and even more the provision of new clothes to the security police seem of a completely different nature. Nevertheless, one can find that behind such apparent heterogeneity the intuition that the kind of transformation proposed for the city ask for that kind of complex and eclectic set of moves.

5 Planning and transforming

La Transformación de Santiago both in its form and contents, illustrates very well some of the ways in which urban action was conceived in Latin American cities during the late XIX century. The idea of urban transformation manifests in itself a new conscience about having both the power and the tools to modify the city to an extent which hadn't been known before. Throughout the book the *intendente* seems definitely determined to convince Santiago's citizens about the effective possibility of changing their urban conditions. That kind of operation, involving a series of improvements and innovations is consistently designated by the word transformation.

The term transformation enjoyed a good health and a certain prestige during the following decades. At least in the Chilean environment, it went on being used in the documents referring to urban reforms during the first third of the XXth century. That is the case of a brief book published by Ismael Valdés Valdés in 1918 named exactly the same that Vicuña Mackenna's one[13] . Still the Austrian planner Karl Brunner, who arrived to the country in 1929 and had a significant influence upon the city during the early thirties, continues making use of it. Brunner's urban ideas for Santiago were published in a book entitled Santiago, its present state and future transformation[14].

The use of the term plan, in its modern meaning, seems to have emerged in Latin America in the decade of 1940. In his PhD dissertation about La Serena plan[15], Horacio Torrent has highlighted the way in which the new idea of plan, manifests a certain connection with a North American way of approaching the planning process and involves the disputing of a disciplinary territory between architects and engineers. In addition to its connection with the regional scale, this new conception shows a more coherent and cohesive view about planning components and is strongly grounded in economic views.

Contrasting to that notion, the idea of transformation behind Vicuña Mackenna's proposal manifests very specific features: on one side, the plan is understood as a complex instrument compound of rather independent pieces or projects. Thus, it exhibits certain flexibility and its implementation has not to rely on its total completion. Partial accomplishments, so frequent in urban planning, are naturally admitted within this scheme.   On the other side, the plan is conceived neither as a purely technical and formal set of instructions, neither as a certain will coming from the authority power. The way in which Vicuña Mackenna promotes the inclusion of social actors, through committees attached to the specific projects, can be seen as an early attempt to promote participation in the realm of urban planning. Similar thing can be said about the

way in which Vicuña Mackenna takes in consideration the problem of economic resources and opportunities related to the plan.

The balance between ideas and implementation, internal flexibility and the involvement of social actors in the planning process, make the idea of urban transformation, as conceived by Vicuña Mackenna, not only a prove of his amazing talent as an acting intellectual, but also an inspiring model for contemporary planning. In this model, the mixture of pragmatism, strategic vision and urban poetics reaches on of its peaks in the history of Latin American planning.
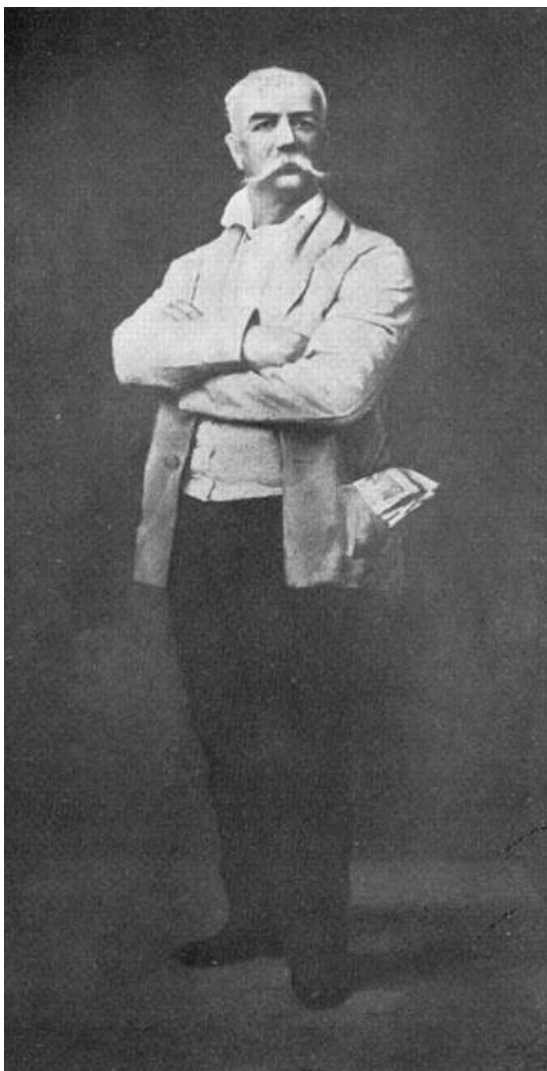
Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna
1831-1886
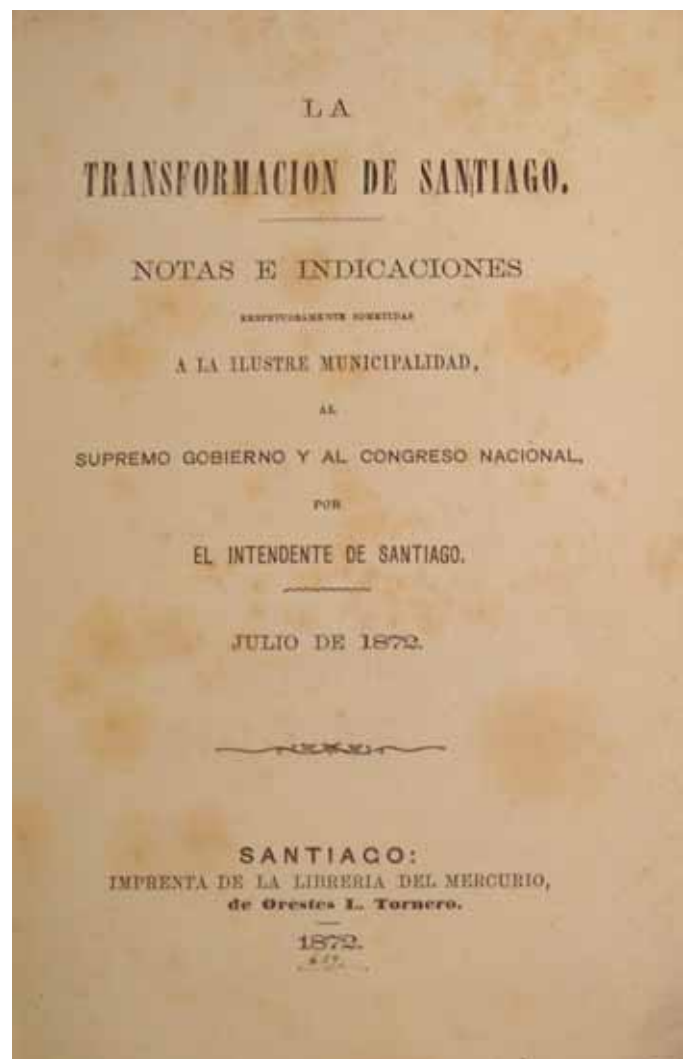
Front page of *La Transformación de Santiago* by B. Vicuña Mackenna.
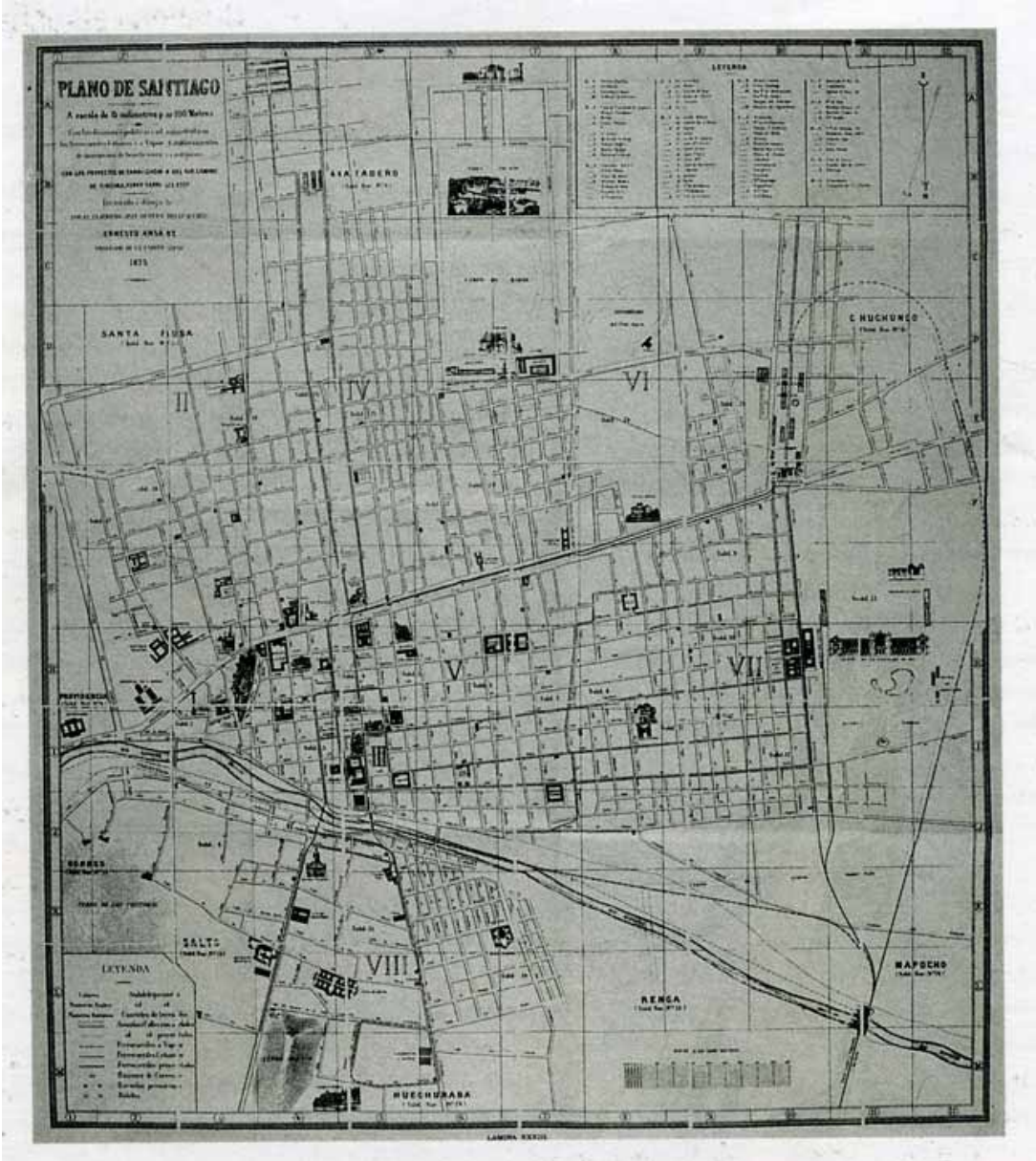
Plan of the city of Santiago drawn by Ernesto Ansart including some of Vicuña Mackenna urban proposals
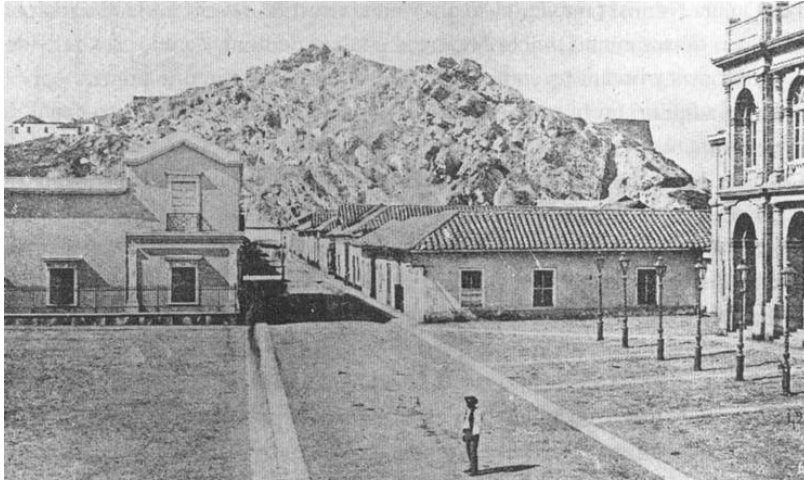
Santiago against the background of Santa Lucía Hill prior to Vicuña Mackenna's transformation. In the foreground, the recently built Municipal Theater.

Santa Lucía Hill seen from Alameda Avenue and against the Andes, c 1874, after its transformation.

Recently transformed Santa Lucía hill seen from Carmen street. Painting by Burke. See the adobe houses.

Inauguration of Santa Lucía Hill after transformation as published in "Album del Santa Lucía" published by Vicuña Mackenna in 1874.

Recently planted Forestal Park, suggested by Vicuña Mackenna in *La Transformación de Santiago,* after being inaugurated three decades later.

Parque Forestal c. 1940. Fine Arts Museum in the background.

[1] Collier, Simon, Sater William F.
Historia de Chile 1808-1994, (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 98 "Sin duda el mayor esfuerzo por mejorar la capital ocurrió a comienzos de la década de 1870, bajo la dinámica dirección de Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna. Ningún individuo tuvo jamás mayor impacto en la capital…"

[2] The importance that Vicuña Mackenna's travel had for himself are evident in publications like Páginas de mi diario durante tres años de viajes. (Santiago: Universidad de Chile 1936).

[3] Vicuña Mackenna, Benjamín,
Historia crítica y social de la ciudad de Santiago: desde su fundación hasta nuestros días (1541-1868), (Valparaíso: Impr. Del Mercurio, 1869).
Vicuña Mackenna, Benjamín,
Historia de Valparaíso: crónica política, comercial i pintoresca de su ciudad i de su puerto desde su descubrimiento hasta nuestros días, 1536-1868, (Valparaíso: Imprenta Albión de Cox i Taylor, 1869-1872).

[4] Encina, Francisco., Castedo, Leopoldo, Resumen de la Historia de Chile, (Santiago, Zigzag, 1954), p. 1323: "Astutamente, Errázuriz urdió distraerlo del teatro político encauzando su pasmoso dinamismo en el desempeño de la Intendencia de Santiago y en la transformación de la ciudad".

[5] Vicuña Mackenna, Benjamín,
La transformación de Santiago (Santiago: Imprenta de la librería del Mercurio, de Orestes Tornero, 1872), p. 10-11. The complete list of works proponed by Vicuña Mackenna in his plan is the following: canalization of the Mapocho river; ring road; transformation of the southern neighborhoods; expansion of the water supply system; creation of new plazas - Santa Lucía promenade; finishing of the market place; creation of new market places; centralization of the construction of schools under a plan; opening of blocked streets; construction of Negrete channel; construction of San Miguel covered canal; construction of a new slaughter house for the northern neighborhood; suppression of the public "chinganas" and construction of four big houses of popular entertainment; construction of a new city hall; transformation of the streets' stone pave; construction of side walks and corners octagon; finishing of Ejército Libertador and cemetery avenues; radical repair of the slaughter house; repair and finishing of the urban jail; provision of new clothes and arms to the security police.

[6] Vicuña Mackenna, Benjamín,
Álbum del Santa Lucía, Colección de las principales vistas monumentos y jardines, estatuas y obras de arte de este paseo, (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta de la librería del Mercurio, 1874).
Vicuña Mackenna, Benjamín,
El Paseo del Santa Lucía lo que es i lo que deberá ser, (Santiago, El Mercurio 1873).

[7] The Italian architect Gioacchino Toesca stayed in the country between 1780 and 1880. He contributed to incorporate forms of classical inspiration to the local architecture. At the same time he was able to introduce new building techniques both in brick and stone. Thanks to them a significantly new scale was introduced in the city fabric.

[8] The most famous of them was the residence built by the French architect Paul Lathoud for the Cousiño family. However a series those luxury residences were built for other families during the second half of the XIX century. Among them Errázuriz, Rivas and Concha Cazotte palaces can be mentioned.

[9] Plano de Santiago a escala de 15 milímetros por 100 metros, con las divisiones políticas i administrativas, los ferrocarriles urbanos i a vapor. Establecimientos de instrucción, de beneficencia i religiosos. Con los proyectos de canalización del río, camino de cintura, etc. Levantado y dibujado por el ingeniero jefe de puentes i calzadas Ernesto Ansart, profesor de la universidad, 1875.

[10] Among other contributions, Ansart did the watering plan for the Santa Lucía hill transformation. He also elaborated some proposals for the canalization of the Mapocho River.

[11] Vicuña Mackenna, 1872, p. 7 "…no sólo para embellecer Santiago sino para salvarlo".

[12] Vicuña Mackenna, 1872, p. 8 "Puedo asegurar que el fondo de las indicaciones contenidas en este modesto cuaderno, es el fruto abnegado i de la dedicación luminosa de más de 300 ciudadanos…"

[13] Valdés V. Ismael,
La Transformación de Santiago, (Santiago: Soc. Imprenta-Litografía "Barcelona", 1917).

[14] Brunner-Lehenstien, Karl Heinrich, Santiago su estado actual y futura transformación, (Santiago: 1932).

[15] Torrent, Horacio Ciudad temática: urbanismo y arquitectura del Plan Serena, Tesis de doctorado (Facultad de Arquitectura, Planeamiento y Diseño, Universidad Nacional de Rosario, República Argentina, 2006).

Public planning vs. public and private intervention in Latin-American border cities. Explorations on theory and practice in the binational agglomeration San Cristóbal (Venezuela) – Cúcuta (Colombia)

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Introduction

The intention of this work was to investigate about the results of urban and regional planning and interventions of private sector in the area shaped by the urban subsystems of San Cristóbal (Venezuela) and Cúcuta (Colombia). The analysis was based on a historical exploration from the performances along the 20th century and their real effects on the process of urban development.

From the methodological point of view, there were three periods identified which, in general, allowed to distinguish three phases of the socio-economic process on the area. The first period, from 1900 to 1930, identified with the agro-exporting Venezuelan and Colombian economy stage. The second one, from 1930 until the middle 80s, identified with the consolidation of the Venezuelan oil economy. And the third one, from the middle 80s up to the present time, coincidental with strong socio-cultural and economic changes in the border area which are supposed to be associated with the economic and cultural changes that globalization carries out.

The study area

Within the extensive Colombian-Venezuelan border line of more than 2200 km, in the territorial area formed by Táchira State (Venezuela) and Norte de Santander Department (Colombia), the Binational conformation San Cristóbal - Cúcuta is located. It is formed by two urban subsystems integrated alongside The Border Highway (that goes from San Cristóbal, passes through Capacho and San Antonio and across Villa del Rosario reaches Cúcuta) /1 and separated by the Táchira River, physical limit between both countries.

San Cristóbal is the capital of Táchira State in Venezuela. It is located in the western part of the country, approximately 820 kilometers to the southwest of Caracas and 45 Km to the east of the border with Colombia. The San Cristóbal's urban subsystem to which we will refer is formed by the territory of what is officially known as San Cristóbal Metropolitan Area (AMSC) /2 with 489.126 inhabitants; with the towns of Rubio (68.869 inhabitants) and Santa Ana (26.475 inhabitants) and by the two Venezuelan towns located in the border limit, San Antonio (48.171 inhabitants) and Ureña (37.392 inhabitants). So, it would be an urban subsystem Venezuelan side of approximately 670.000 inhabitants. /3

Cúcuta is the capital of Norte de Santander Department in Colombia, it is located in the oriental part of the country and in 2003 had approximate 680.000 inhabitants. The Cúcuta's Metropolitan Area, decreed in 1992, is formed by Cúcuta and the towns of Villa del Rosario and Los Patios with a population of 862.000 inhabitants /4. The Venezuelan towns of San Antonio and Ureña are integrated to Cúcuta's Metropolitan Area: the first one linked to Villa del Rosario across the Simón Bolívar International Bridge,   and Ureña, linked to Cúcuta   across the Francisco de Paula Santander International Bridge. Both urban subsystems shelter more than 1.500.000 inhabitants, which represents the South America's biggest binational agglomeration and the third one of the American continent. /5

This metropolitan binational system is characterized for being bi - polar since San Cristóbal and Cúcuta behave as important centers that monopolize the functioning of the regional binational conformation. Both capitals fulfill national and binational activities. /6 In relation to the national ones, every city accomplish its own functions of government and of provision of services directed to the local population. In regarding to the binational activities, they can be transnational and cross-borders. In the first ones, the frontier area acts as a communication bridge between both countries, for what the direct impact in the border cities is small: it is circumscribed to custom processes and their collateral activities. In this level the economic activities are placed derived from the commercial exchange of the Comunidad Andina de Naciones (CAN)/7 and all those exchanges of exports-imports between countries, governments or individuals. The other activities, the cross-borders ones, are those produced in the local scale and imply all the processes, daily or not, that develop between the frontier area and which constituted the most relevant on the socio-economic and spatial functioning of the area.

According to Alberto Urdaneta, in the border area intense flows of people, goods and services are produced, which mean a binational labor market shaped by several thousands of persons, thousands of vehicles and thousands of tons of goods that cross every day the political territorial limit./8 According to written regional news, by the customs of San Antonio and Ureña more than 20.000 vehicles are mobilize every day and among 25.000 to 30.000 persons from the Colombian side pass to work to the Venezuelan border line industries. /9

Analysis of three periods

Period 1900 – 1930

From the last three decades of the 19th century and up to the third of the past century, during the Venezuelan and Colombian agro-exporting phase, the frontier zone was characterized by a vigorous economy, basically coffee farming, which allowed it a preponderant position on the economic context of its respective countries. This circumstance derived that San Cristóbal and Cúcuta had a dynamic and prosperous economic base and that shared a sense of identity because of the intense social, family and economic relations of exchange between them and from them with the world consumption centers (The United States and Europe), through Maracaibo's port of

exportation. The towns' geographical location (distant from the principal urban centers from their own countries) and their precarious road interconnection meant that they had more contacts between them and with the outside world than with the rest of the territories of their own countries. /10

In this period, the interventions propitiated by individuals and by commercial foreign companies defined the economic and social development of the frontier area.   In a first stage, the socio-economic formation was characterized by small and medium coffee farms that from the territorial point of view were articulated to the existing cities, which acted as services and coffee gather centers. The peak of the coffee grow was of a such magnitude that managed to support the urban network in gestation, spite of the 1875 earthquake that practically destroyed the totality of Cucuta's buildings and caused severe damages in San Cristóbal and its near by towns. After the earthquake a rapid reconstruction begins, to the point that up to 1883 scarcely the landscape sequels of the earthquake were noticed. / 11 The good dividends that offered the strengthening and expansion of the coffee production stimulated German companies to take part in the business by means of the growing and the exportation of coffee to Europe and The United States. So, it structured a social class that vigorously participates on the border area's territorial and urban development.   As Muñoz indicates: "… The rich owners of the big farms and the foreign merchants who dominated the import of goods and the exportation of coffee, formed an economic and social elite" ./12   By means of the openings of banks, shops and warehouses and the construction of dwellings for the new businessmen class, the central areas of San Cristóbal and Cúcuta acquired status. Important shops were established with a great variety of imported articles. According to Muñoz: " … a single commercial establishment could offer diversity of imported products, from machetes and shovels up to fine silverwork; ordinary work clothes for the farm workers and at the same time the last of the fashion in Paris and London … Also one can find lamps, frames and bronze beds, typewriters from the United States and a great variety of canned food. The most surprising of all was the variety of alcoholic imported drinks, including Bordeaux's wines, Bavaria's beer and the Brandy Hennessy./13   Later, in a second stage, and in order to make prompter the coffee exportation process, several Colombian and Venezuelan businessmen thought on improving the precarious existing roads to facilitate the transport of coffee to Maracaibo. In 1888 the Colombians from Cúcuta took the initiative and constituted a private company that gave life to Cúcuta's Railroad. Later, in 1896, the construction of the "Great Railroad of Táchira" began, important technical, managerial and civilizing taken forward by visionary *zuliano-tachirenses* businessmen, holders of the engineering knowledge.   In spite of the difficulties that imposed the Andean geography and of the huge economic investments for financing the rail construction, the entrepreneur men overcame all the obstacles and took forward this important work. As Arellano indicates: " It was ... from 1914 when the, already mature, civilizing company did for the region (from the territory up to the towns and their buildings) its domain, imposing on their forms, pace and movements …. It was in this stage where the whole illustrated project materialized which is incubated until 1914, on which the territorial and urban infrastructures … were considered the transformation instruments of the society". /14

Second period: From 1930 to the middle eighties

The coffee crises at the end of the twenties, signed by the product's violent drop in the international market and the development of the Venezuelan oil industry, were facts that affected notably San Cristóbal and Cúcuta's economy. At first, public and private actions began to be outlined directed to transform the economic base of both cities and to adjust them to the productive oil structure that was been established in Venezuela.

The spreading of the increasing fiscal incomes generated by the oil activity allows the modernization of Venezuelan cities, among them San Cristóbal, that is incorporated to the new dynamic in which the public sector assumes a new role on national life. Cúcuta accomplished the re-adjustment to the new economical situation through its transformation as commercial service center for the Venezuelan people, especially the frontier one, for whom it was very profitable to acquire the products for the familiar basic basket, clothes and footwear in the hundreds of tents that for such purposes were established in its traditional downtown. As a technical report indicates: " The Venezuelan oil prosperity and the Cúcuta's strategic frontier location, favored the advance of tertiary activities, specially commercial, transport, finance and tourism types, rising what is qualified as 'economy of border', in detriment to the development of other economic activities". /15

On the forties and fifties the Venezuelan central government initiates an industrialization process. Some Venezuelan cities were favored but San Cristóbal was not. As Negrón point out, there were positive changes seen in certain cities by means of growing national territory integration, both, political and economical. It happened in those cities holder of an "industrial relevant function" such as Valencia, Maracay, Guyana and others that could implant agricultural modern activities like Acarigua-Araure, Barinas, Guanare and Calabozo. /16. Táchira State and San Cristóbal was not incorporated to this process …"first because it was isolated from the principal markets and then, when this no longer was a bounding factor, because it is incorporated as market of the country's industrial activity centers rather than as a new producing zone of manufactured goods". /17 In Cúcuta the situation was similar to San Cristóbal. Its geographical emplacement, distant from the cities that had initiated their industrialization as Medellín and Bogotá and their deficient road connections, were factors that prevented their incorporation to the Colombian industrial dynamic. /18

By the end of the fifties (concretely in 1958) both countries created their central planning offices (Cordiplan in Venezuela and Conpes in Colombia) and they instituted the national plans as carrying instruments of social, economic and spatial public policies. One of their main objectives was to develop the decayed and peripheral areas. So, extensive plans and projects were elaborated for developing San Cristóbal and Cucuta´s territories. Even though, in the case of the first one, were not implemented. And it seems that neither in Cúcuta. A technical Colombian report, referring to the lack of concretion of national plans, synthesizes it in this way: "None were accompanied by force of law, they were not either discussed in wide circles". /19   then, public planning stayed practically on the paper. Very little was done. This insufficiency could be

explain, in a general way, by the traditional dichotomy and distancing between plan and concretion that characterizes planning in Latin-American countries, and concretely, in the study area, for its geographical emplacement, far away from the main industrial dynamic centers.

From the point of view of binational planning, in 1964 the Inter-American Bank of Development (BID) elaborates the report *Possibilities of integration of the Colombo-Venezuelan Frontier Zones,* in which, seen the existing dynamics, recommended an agenda of cross-border and binational development. Nevertheless, the proposals were not beyond good wishes. Before the lack of concretion of public sector policies, the productive private sector, the formal and the informal one, have motorized the economic and social life of the border area.

San Cristóbal and Cúcuta, given their condition of capital cities though their abandonment of the dynamic centers of their respective countries, were turning into regional services centers, which motivated local and regional powers to plan their future growth. Urban and regional plans were formulated, which to the end were not concreted either. Nevertheless, some public punctual interventions were made which modernized and structured both cities. Such was the case occurred in 1961 in San Cristóbal with the works carried out by the national government on occasion of its fourth centennial. Among them, the remodeling of the Cathedral and the Archiepiscopal Palace, the remodeling of Bolivar Square, the construction of the first viaduct which would join the south with the north part of the city and some important local streets. Later, in 1976 the first Urban Plan was formalized in San Cristobal, which in theory had a metropolitan vision but in the practice turned out to be a normative plan to a municipal scale. /20 In 1975 an Urbanism Code was approved for Cúcuta, /21 which as the same as the San Cristóbal's Urban Plan, defined the future urban city development (land uses, road plan, urban and suburban perimeters). The government's plan and construction of some important local roads stimulated private investors to act in the real-estate branch of residential and commercial developments. So by the end of the seventies both cities managed to have a functional road system articulated to wide commercial and residential sectors and to new public buildings, which changed their provincial physiognomy. In the mean time, the economic and social dynamics of the border area was demanding new employees and residential zones for workers since in both cities began to skimp and raise the price of the central land area. In San Cristóbal, the speculative dynamic that simultaneously arose, prevented from making effective the land purchase of areas that the Venezuelan State had previously located as zones for urban expansion in order to channel the population growth of the economically needier classes. Therefore, the State loses the capacity to control the urban growth of San Cristóbal and its territory. From the ends of the seventies and the beginning of the eighties, a process of invasions and unstable and not suitable occupation areas for urban development began, which consolidates little by little the growth of marginal dispersed areas that had appeared shyly since the end of the fifties. A similar situation happened in the neighboring Cúcuta, which becomes obvious, a condition of marginalization of wide urban sectors on the border area. This circumstance was physically evidenced in a metropolitan sprawl that already could not be controlled by the

governments, which begins an intensive process of fragmentation in the cross-border society that will be deepened into the two following decades.

The third period: from the middle eighties to our days

From the middle eighties in the urban binational spatial agglomeration it began to be observed big and deep urban development changes, both urban and socio-spatial, that lead to think that besides the transformations originated by endogenous factors (as it could be the 1983's Venezuelan devaluation currency) /22, , the processes of structuring of the economy, societies, institutions and cultures, which characterize the phenomenon of globalization and which according to several authors is happening in the majority of Latin American cities, also form a part of those changes./23

In this period two aspects are relevant. The first one is the great contrast between the efforts done by both nations to implement the border area shared planning and their lack of concretion. The second one, the intense activities exercised by the private sector, the formal and the informal, which have determined the border area's great economical and social dynamism.

From the sixties both countries' regional development corporations have jointly elaborated several studies and projects /24   which reiteratively have tried to harmonize and to foresee the economic and social development of the frontier area. In 1989, with the *Declaration of Ureña (*a political document of integration and binational development signed by the presidents of both countries) it was proposed a spatial concretion by means of a *binational metropolis* shaped by Cúcuta's Metropolitan Area and the urban Venezuelan axis San Antonio-Ureña. This delimiting originated disconformities on the Venezuelan side, probably because San Cristóbal and its Metropolitan Area as part of the metropolitan binational system were not included, given the degree of attraction and importance that for this system both cities would have: Cúcuta and San Cristóbal. Nevertheless, the Venezuelan technical Commission suggested changing the agglomeration name from *binational metropolis* to   *binational conurbation,* but this semantic proposal did not solve the conceptual problem. Probably the most negative aspect derived from this situation was the loss of interest for shared planning, to the point that in 1992, in a unilateral way, Cúcuta decreed its Metropolitan Area, action that in 1984 San Cristóbal had already taken in advance.

Later, in 2005, the same regional corporations reconsidered the idea of political, economic, territorial, social and cultural integration conformation zone which from two decades ago the Comunidad Andina de Naciones (CAN) had outlined. The idea was presented in the document: *Project of definition and delimiting of the Zone of Frontier Integration (ZIF): Area Norte de Santander (Colombia)-Táchira (Venezuela. /*25 It calls to the attention one more time, that spite they include San Cristóbal as part of tachirenses municipalities, which would form a part of the ZIF, they left out other municipalities that conform the San Cristóbal's Metropolitan Area /26   We consider this circumstance to be a conceptual mistake since the importance the binational system would represent, to have a suitable and balanced system of cities. From a theoretical

point of view, Castells and Borja already warned on it when made recommendations about the new territorial realities. They believe that competitiveness between territories does not already depend on natural or energetic resources, or on industrial traditional base, or on geographical position, but it depends to a great extent, on a suitable functioning of the urban-regional system. With this they were alluding especially to mobility and to basic services, to the definition of a city or region project, and territory governance based on social cohesion and civic participation. /27

San Cristóbal and Cúcuta continued growing according to the private interests of economic and cultural sectors, and surely, in agreement with the processes of reconfiguration that globalization imposes, determining a dual urban agglomeration, both in physical and social terms /28 This meant that some areas grew well structured and articulated whereas others accommodated in marginal zones with huge physical and infrastructural shortages. These areas are determining different ways of life and different ways of using the urban space. In Cúcuta it has meant that the nearby populations of Los Patios and Villa del Rosario are rapidly growing with low income families. Villa del Rosario has passed from being a Cúcuta's medium and high income zone settlers to one of the lowest socio-economic stratum.   In San Cristóbal it is evident the growth of peripheral areas given the need of spaces to lodge the population that works, in their majority, as construction workers and domestic employees. Great part of them are Colombians and constitute an originally floating population, which through time have established in Venezuela by means of the birth of their Venezuelan children. Furthermore, they seek to enjoy the rights and public service's supply that the Venezuelan State should guarantee to its citizens. Such it is the case of San Josecito, a peripheral planned development that at the end of the seventies was supposed to shelter 2500 people of medium and low incomes and through time has developed into a citadel close to 50.000 inhabitants /29, located to scarce 11 km from San Cristóbal.

From the point of view of the cross-border mobility, it has been conformed "a kind of commuting in the borders cities that depends to a great extent on the exchange value of their currency"/ 30. It calls the attention that spite of the constant devaluations and fluctuations of the cross-border economy and both countries' political disagreements, during the last ten years several big commercial establishments (malls and hypermarkets) have been opened in one and another side of the border, which not only are modifying the cities's functionality and morphology, /31 but also the citizen consumption's behaviors. /32

But the cross-border social-commercial dynamic not only is represented on the exchanges of the formal trade. The activities of the informal economy and the persons dedicated to it have grown considerably. The Colombians flows that pass to Venezuela and come to San Cristóbal to act as street sellers and return the same day to its place of origin, has been increased; they represent a floating and very significant population for its social-spatial effects.

In 2006 the unexpected exit of Venezuela from the *Comunidad Andina de Naciones* (CAN) occur, which stopped all the public actions that from several decades ago both

countries were willing to develop. However, the frontier area dynamics has not bunged. We can say that instead, it is continuously increasing.

Some preliminary conclusions

In the first decades of the 20th century, in the Venezuelan and Colombian agro-exporting economy stage, the study area was characterized by the importance of San Cristóbal and Cúcuta as autonomous cities, with deep links originated by the similarity on their economies (coffee agro-exporting to Europe and the Unites States).

This period is characterized by the strong weight of private sector participation, local and foreign economic groups, which had direct incidence on the area's territorial and urban development. In an early stage the private intervention consisted in the formation of coffee farms, which from small units developed on medium and big *haciendas,* all of them articulated to the existing towns. An import-export trade interchange system which contributed to the modernization of the physical and cultural cities contexts was also developed. In a second stage, huge entrepreneurial risks were undertaken, consisted on the construction of two railway networks through the unexplored and woodsy lands: Cúcuta and Táchira´s ones, which facilitated the coffee transportation to Maracaibo, the exportation port.

At the beginning of 1930-1980 periods, and after the world's coffee economic crisis, San Cristóbal and Cúcuta had to re-accommodate their economic base to adapt to the new conditionings of the oil Venezuelan economy. Public and private actions began to be outlined directed to transform the economic base on both cities. San Cristóbal modernizes through the investments of central government on the construction of infrastructure works and public buildings which initiate to modify the city's traditional and limited functional capacity. Cúcuta re-accommodated through the private sector intervention in order to convert it into a dynamic center for commercial services for Venezuelans citizens.

From the fifties onwards, both countries began to plan the developing of their peripheral areas and consequently they start to be taken into account in order to reverse their backward condition. This occurred even in the binational planning sphere. Many plans and projects were elaborated. However they were not effective. The policies and official plans constituted only rhetorical exercises transformed in dozens of documents that rested into the drawers of the public offices which were not able to contribute with the conformation of a functional and social aimed regional agglomeration.   In spite of this situation, both cities were constituted in active regional poles due to the action of private actors, most of them with mercantilists' aims, whom promoted the border socio-economic and urban development dynamic areas.

From the eighties, it was evident the increasing disability of both countries to guide, administer and finance the border area's urbanization intensive processes and socio–spatial changes which derived in a dual agglomeration, in economic and social terms. On the urban development two aspects that are changing the morphology and the

landscape of the frontier area are warned: the great diffusion of the non-controlled urbanization (sprawl) that is expanding over the metropolitan spaces and the construction of big architectural artifacts that are modifying the metropolitan functionality and the citizen's consumptions ways. Surely these forms consubstantially part of the frontier dynamics and of the world effects of the economic and cultural globalization. Finally, the increasing mobility of persons, good and services and the landscape transforming that are evidencing on the border area give into account of the new forms of social performance which need to be taken very much into account on analyzing their urban development dynamics. The strong private, social and economic, interchanges existing on the border area prevail over the recent acute political problems of both countries (originated on March of this year by the military assault of Colombians troops on Ecuadorian land and which unexplained originated distress on Venezuelan government to the point of sending troops to defend its border against the Colombian's one and give a clear account of the irreversibility of the border area vitality.

Notes

1. This route was originally constructed in 1913. It has been improved and extended but in essence it continues being a mountain road without many possibilities of modernization.
2. Originally the AMSC, defined in 1984 by the Plan Rector, included the urban areas of San Cristóbal, Táriba, Palmira and Cordero. Later, with the Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial del Estado Táchira of 2004 the urban areas of Capacho (Libertad and Independencia) and San Josecito were annexed.
3. Instituto Nacional de Estadística-INE Estado Táchira. Censo de Población y Vivienda 2001. (2005)
4. Plan de Ordenación Territorial. Municipio San José de Cúcuta. (Departamento Administrativo de Planeacion Municipal, 2001). p.18.
5. Peña, Sergio. Conference *Metrópolis Binacionales: EU-México*. (Universidad Central de Venezuela. Caracas. 2006). The two binational metropolis Mexico-United States: that of Tijuana-San Diego with 2.540.993 inhabitants (1.274.240 in Tijuana and 1.266.753 in San Diego) and that of Ciudad Juarez– El Paso with 1.883.416 (1.203.794 in Ciudad Juarez and 679.622 in El Paso).
6. Alegría, Tito (1989). "La ciudad y los procesos trasfronterizos entre México y Estados Unidos". (Frontera Norte, Vol. 1, Nº 2-jul-dic 1989). p. 63-65
7. The untimely exit of Venezuelan from the CAN in 2006 has not stopped the increasing commercial exchange between Colombia and Venezuela: in 2005 near 3500 million US $, in 2006 aprox. 4000 millions and 5000 millions in 2007.
8. Urdaneta, Alberto. "La Conurbación entre Táchira y Norte de Santander y el Sistema Metropolitano Binacional". (Centro de Estudios del Desarrollo-CENDES-Universidad Central de Venezuela. 2000).
9. La Nación, 4 de noviembre 2007. "3 millones de jeans al mercado mundial" Frontera-1D.
10. Cunill Grau, Pedro. *Geografía del poblamiento venezolano en el siglo XIX.* (Ediciones de la Presidencia de la Republica. Caracas. Tomo I y Muñoz. 1987 and Muñoz, Arturo Guillermo. El Táchira Fronterizo. 1881-1899. (Biblioteca de Autores y Temas Tachirenses. Tomo 86.1988).
11. Cunill Grau, Pedro. *Geografía del poblamiento venezolano en el siglo XIX.* (Ediciones de la Presidencia de la Republica. Caracas. Tomo I 1987) p. 1071, 1075, 1079.
12. Muñoz, Arturo Guillermo El Táchira Fronterizo. 1881-1899. (Biblioteca de Autores y Temas Tachirenses. Tomo 86. 1988).
13. Muñoz, 1988. p. 39
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21. Zapparoli, Bárbara de. *Aspectos físico espaciales en el área urbana fronteriza San Antonio-Ureña-Aguas Calientes (Venezuela), Cúcuta-Villa del Rosario-Los Patios (Colombia). Consideraciones sobre la metrópoli binacional.* (Tesis de Grado de Maestría. Centro de Estudios Políticos y Sociales de América Latina. Cepsal. Núcleo Universitario del Táchira. Centros de Estudios de Fronteras e Integración. San Cristóbal. Estado Táchira. Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Jurídicas. Universidad de Los Andes. 1991). p.50

22. The 1983's Venezuelan devaluation currency has not stopped, until the point that reverted the conditions: it started to be profitable for the Colombians to go to Venezuela to make purchases or investments.

23. Among them Manuel Castells, Carlos De Mattos, Joan Nogué and Abel Albet.

24. The Corporación Venezolana del Suroeste (CVS) in San Cristóbal and the Corporación del Norte de Santander (Corponor) in Cúcuta, Colombia. They elaborated in the 80-90 period, extensive reports and proposals that planned together the economic, social and urban development of the frontier area.

25. Universidad de los Andes, Centro de Estudios de Fronteras e Integración (CEFI), Corporación Universidad Libre de Colombia, Seccional Cúcuta, Colombia; Universidad Francisco de Paula Santander: Proyecto de definición y delimitacion de la Zona de Integración Fronteriza: Área Norte de Santander (Colombia)-Táchira (Venezuela). Informe Final. Abril 2005. www.saber.ula.ve/db/ssaber/Edocs/centros-investigacion/cefi/publicaciones/proyectos/def-del-zif.pdf. 13/02/2008

26. From 2004, with the reformulation of the Plan de Ordenación Territorial del Estado Táchira, the municipalities that form part of the San Cristóbal's Metropolitan Area are: San Cristóbal, Cárdenas, Andrés Bello, Guásimos, Capacho Viejo (Libertad), Capacho Nuevo (Independencia) and Torbes (San Josecito). Even that we have heard that later other municipalities were annexed to the ZIF'S polygonal (among them the lacking ones of the Metropolitan Area of San Cristóbal), it does not stop worrying the lack of comprehension of the complex urban binational process in frank and absolute development.

27. CASTELLS, Manuel y BORJA, Jordi. *Local y Global. La gestión de las ciudades en la era de la informática.* Santillana, (S. A. Taurus. 1997). p.183

28. Castells, Manuel. *La ciudad informacional. Tecnologías de la información, reestructuración económica y el proceso urbano-regional.* (Alianza Editorial. 1989). P.317-319. According to Castells, the dual city is the urban expression of the increasing process of differentiation of the workforce of both sectors of the economy: the formal economy, based on the information, and the informal economy, based on the non-qualified workforce. Nevertheless, he holds that the latter must not be equaled with the urban poverty, given that it constitutes a highly economic dynamic sector that is differentiated but articulated to the formal economy.

29. In the 2001 Population Census it shows 42.192 inhabitants.

30. Valero, Mario. "Ciudad y Fronteras".*Aldea Mundo*. Año 9.Nº 17. 2004) p. 26.

31. De Mattos, Carlos. "Transformaciones de las ciudades latinoamericanas ¿Impactos de la globalización?". *EURE-Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios Urbanos Regionales*. (Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Instituto de Investigación y Postrado. Volumen: 28. 2002).

32. García Canclini, Néstor. *Consumidores y Ciudadanos. Conflictos multiculturales de la globalización*. (Editorial Grijalbo. Mexico.1995). p.29. The author suggests that many of the citizen's questions can be better answer on the good's private consumption and through the mass media channels than on the abstracts rules of democracy or on the collective participation in public spaces.

Appendix
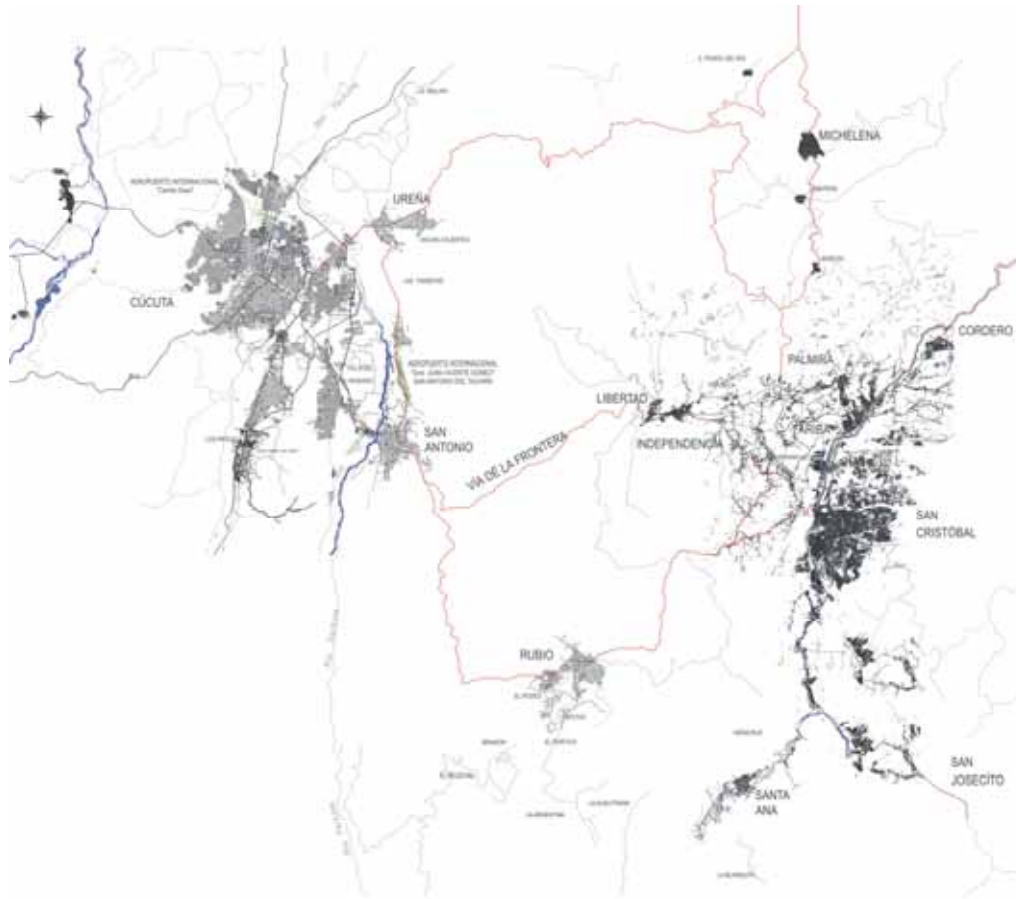
SISTEMA URBANO BINACIONAL SAN CRISTÓBAI - CÚCUTA

Ferrucio Vitale, landscape architect and planner of Chicago's *A Century of Progress Exposition*: the emergence of Modernism in physical planning

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Conceived in the best of times, executed in the worst of times, Chicago's Century of Progress Exposition, 1933-1934, was highly criticized, but none-the-less a phenomenal success. First proposed in 1928 to celebrate Chicago's centennial, the new exposition was meant to return Chicago to fair fame after a succession of dull Beaux Arts expositions in San Francisco, St. Louis, and Philadelphia. (The Philadelphia Sesquicentennial International Exposition was particularly financially disastrous.) The 1933 Chicago exposition was to be financed by the continuation of the 20's boom years of industry and stock market gains, but the national economic crash of 1929 stopped all but the most optimistic contributors in their tracks. That such an event could happen, the fact that even the idea could survive, let alone be planned, financed and built during the Great Depression, countered every national trend.

A part of the fair's success was due to in no small way to the creative physical planning and site design of one of America's forgotten landscape architect, Ferruccio Vitale of New York. This paper continues my research on the man and his oeuvre and follows the publication of my monograph *Ferruccio Vitale, Landscape Architect of the Country Place Era*.[1]

"Modern", "Dazzling" and "Outrageous" were the ways newspapers described the Exposition on its opening day. Conceived from the beginning as a rejection of the Beaux-Arts based City Beautiful Movement - embodied in the memory of the 1893 Chicago World Columbian Exposition and the visionary 1901 plan of Chicago-cum-Paris, the Chicago Century of Progress Exposition was to showcase new theory in physical planning and urban design. "It would be incongruous to house exhibits showing man's progress in the past century in a Greek temple of the age of Pericles, or a Roman villa of the time of Hadrian,"[2] As originally posited by the Board, the fair's architecture was intended to express the most advanced architectural theory of its day, which was at that time the Modernist design idiom.[3] The fair would reject the planning, architecture and site development of the "Great White City" of the 1893 World Columbian Exposition nor would it reflect any particular American architectural lineage such as that of the noted Shingle Style or Prairie School of Chicago architects Louis Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright respectively. Rather it called for a new architecture born out of modern technologies, materials and construction methods. It was to respond to the new lifestyles of the jazzy '20s, while still recovering from a Depression economy. And because of the Depression, there would be little or no state or national participation which drove all past expositions. It would have to be designed to be "lean and mean" due to exigent circumstances.

The planning and design for the exposition did not progress smoothly. The Exposition Board's president Charles G. Dawes, a former U.S. senator and vice president of the United States, chose the architect Daniel H. Burnham, Jr. to direct the 1933 project. Following in his father's footprints as planner of the 1893 fair, Burnham, Jr. chose the Art Deco style as the fair's artistic style. A few years earlier, he had visited the 1925 Paris Exposition International des Arts Decoratifs et Industrial Modernes. There, he had met then director general of the French administration of the Beaux Arts, Paul Leon, and his design team of landscape architects, headed by J.C.N.Forestier who planned the entire exposition. The Paris exposition's regulations stressed the need for the inspiration of the 'Modern'. All forms of past historical styles or eclectic elements were outlawed. Accordingly, the Paris exposition designers promoted the emerging new art movements of the day - Modern, Cubism, and Art Deco. The French essayist on art, Waldemar George wrote "All that clearly distinguished the older ways of life was rigorously excluded from the exposition of 1925,"[4] Nevertheless, whether the exhibits were Classical Moderne, Modernized Traditional or 'Modernistic' in character, they helped establish the themes and formal repertoire of the Art Deco. Burnham, Jr, having visited the 1925 Paris Fair, and newly commissioned to plan the next Chicago fair, returned to see and experience the 1929 Paris International Exposition designed by the noted French landscape architect, Jacque Grebert. The second Art Deco Paris exhibition had an immediate and worldwide impact on the design community. For Chicago, the choice was easy; Burnham chose the Art Deco style as its new international expression, born out of Modernism's technologies employing new materials, manufacturing and construction methods.

For Burnham, art deco architecture meant physical compositions and buildings that were:

- Simple, bold and clean shapes and forms - planarity, symmetry and unvaried repetition of elements
- Emphasized vertical elements through a buildup of repetitive forms
- Decorated with applied ornamentation and surface art
- Patterned in
  - Jazz motifs and jazz-age items
  - Tropical motifs, foliage, animals, sunbursts
  - Primitive art / African-inspired textiles
- Portrayed stylized human figures
- Rendered in the full color spectrum of
  - Bold non-primary hues
  - Contrasting and complex colorations
  - Tonal values
- Utilized fountains and water channels
- Used machine age products and expensive materials
  - Primary use or mixed use of aluminum, chrome, lacquer, inlays, clay/ceramics, exotic woods, glass and fabrics, ferroconcrete and metals
- Introduced neon and new forms of lighting

Initially, Burnham chose as the fair's architects the brightest young architects of the day: from New York the chairman of the architectural team, Harvey Wiley Corbert, with fellow New York architects Raymond Hood and Ralph T. Walker, Paul Phillippe Cret of Philadelphia, Arthur Page Brown, Jr. of San Francisco and Chicago architects, John Augustus Holabird, Edwin H. Bennett and his brother, D. Hurbert Burnham, who acted as chief of construction.

The site, chosen earlier in the process by Burnham, was 424 acres of recent fill stretched in a narrow, three and one-half mile band along Chicago's southern waterfront, Lake Erie. The site was separated from adjacent urban areas by railroad tracks, posing difficulties of access. The partially completed exposition grounds included part of the 1901 Beaux-arts formal downtown shoreline and parts of an offshore parallel island, and the lagoon between them. In the lake-front development at that time, a few elements of the grand 1901 Chicago Plan had been completed and had to be incorporated - they were the centerpiece and central plaza with its Burnham fountain, Soldiers Field football stadium with its classical façade, and jetting out into the Lake, the Chicago Planetarium.

The initial physical planning process of 1929 nearly killed any prospect for a successful fair design. Initial plans called for all major fair structures to line the three and a half mile shoreline landfill leaving the outer island as passive green parkland. The team of seven architects clashed over each one's ego-driven concept of a grand master plan, each with its own monumental structures. To these architects, the Burnham idea of Art Deco/Modernism translated into the American skyscraper; each architect proposed massive buildings with stunted central towers and strung-out low wings - forms totally inappropriate to prototype exhibition buildings. In any case, the 1929 crash killed all appeal to grandiosity and the fair itself practically closed down.

In the midst of the fray, Burnham drew inspiration from Paris again. He followed the Paris design team model and added two new members to the exposition's physical design team to oversee and coordinate a uniform design - a landscape architect to be the master urban designer and planner, and allied artists, typical support to the French design team. For an urban designer/landscape architect, Burnham commissioned to the architectural board the services of Ferruccio Vitale, a New York professional with roots in the Chicago suburban Community of Lake Forest. As his allied artist, Burnham chose the multifaceted architect, the colorist, mise-en-scene/stage designer, dramaturge, and plastician, Joseph Urban. Both Vitale and Urban were immigrants - Vitale from Italy and Urban from Vienna. The two were to collaborate on the fair's final plans, develop the site's public spaces and coordinate the fair's construction. Their work and collaboration profoundly changed the course of the fair's physical planning and design,

The choice of the New Yorker Vitale harbored political considerations – Vitale was virtually unknown nationally. The first and obvious choice would have been Frederick Law "Rick" Olmsted Jr., the principle partner of the nation's leading firm, Olmsted Brothers of Brookline, Massachusetts. But Olmsted was connected with the 1901 Beaux Arts Chicago master plan, and was steeped in both the picturesque landscapes and the

formal Beaux-Arts plans of the past. Choosing Olmsted, Jr. who rejected modern trends in planning and design, would not advance the new Modernist agenda. To the contrary, Vitale was already experimenting with Modernist space and form in his recent gardens.

Landscape Architect Ferruccio Vitale has been America's forgotten immigrant son. Born into a prominent Italian Florentine family, he finished military school there, before coming to America as the military attaché to the Italian Embassy. Through a chance meeting with George F. Pentecost, Jr., the commissioned landscape architect for the Capital Grounds, Vitale decided in 1904 to immigrate to the United States and enter the profession of landscape architecture. After apprenticing in Pentecost's office he established his own office in New York City. Vitale's work was quite contrasted to the dominant romantic landscapes of his day. His landscapes were Jeffersonian-like abstract spaces, some of which contained America's first Modern landscape elements. Borrowing liberally from Montecello, a typical Vitale landscape composition featured a large central green space enclosed by dense green side gardens which were connected at the end to form a loop.

The tall, lanky and affable Vitale began his career with estate commissions of the Country Place Era. Commissioned by the East Coast elite, his work stretched from Massachusetts to Virginia. Mid-career, he became known to the wealthy Chicagoans and gained commissions in the Chicago suburb of Lake Forest, Illinois. His early designs began with a mixture of the French / Italian Beaux-Arts styles, and progressed over the next twenty years to classical Modern, and then to abstract Modernism, and finally to Modernism and Art Deco. He was one of America's few landscape architects to make such a progression in his design theorem and to work within the Art Deco theory. His firm, Vitale and Geiffert, became the second largest professional office in the United States following that of the Olmsted Brothers. Vitale, as lead partner, was known to architects as a strong and knowledgeable collaborator.

Although noted for his private sector estate work, Vitale also received public sector planning and landscape architecture commissions. As a result of his service on the National Fine Arts Commission in Washington D. C., his design and execution of the National Mall remains unchanged. Vitale's work in the nation's capital alone qualified him for further recognition and study. His other commissions there include Meridian Hill Park, the completion a L'Enfant park on axis, north of the White House. Other large scale plans include the master plan for Scarsdale, New York, and the campus of the University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana. The planning and landscape architecture of Chicago's Century of Progress Exhibition though was his largest and his most difficult commission up to that time.

Joseph Urban, Vitale's co-planner, was the "composite conceptor;" typically a member of a French architectural design team. The typical French team would be composed of any of the allied arts - architectural philosopher, a plastician (sculptor), a colorist, a mise-en-scene (stage set designer) and a dramaturge (stage director). Urban was well known for all these skills. He was set designer for operas and plays, an exuberant colorist, and a master at lighting and special effects. Through these skills, Urban had

directed numerous musical and theatrical events, including productions for the Ziegfeld Follies. This led to architectural commissions for theaters and related buildings. His most famous work, The New School in Manhattan was a minimalist expression of the Art Deco style.

Once engaged, Vitale immediately moved to change the concept of the fair's plan. He successfully argued for a new direction:

- *The formation of a central space*:   Vitale argued that the site was non-spatial and that visitors would not walk the entire length of the shoreline only to return the same way. Instead he proposed reshaping the shoreline and the outer island to form a central lagoon, the new centerpiece for the fair. Vitale shaped the lagoon into two sections, violin-like in form. The lagoon provided a viewing space to look back to all buildings of the fair. It functioned as a performance space in its own right. It contained space for the fair's famous night spectacles, the futuristic fountain and the light shows of the Urban and Vitale collaboration.

- *A clear pedestrian structure linking Island and Mainland:*   Street-promenades organized both island and shoreline, cross walks and a central bridge provided access to both sides of the central lagoon and also organized the entrances to the fair from the adjacent urban areas. The streets linking the expositions' sections, between entrances and bridge crossings, were wide promenades that structured the placement of all buildings. Long massive buildings of the major exhibitors were placed on the back outside edge of the walkways. Their mass concealed the noise and unsightliness of the adjacent railroad yards. On the opposite side of the street promenades, the section between the promenades and the lagoon, were separated by landscape garden or park-like spaces, smaller exhibition buildings dotting the lagoon edge. This organization afforded views of the lagoon and the composition of the opposite shoreline.

- *The thematic identification of promenades:*   Each street segment had its unique character. The exposition's most memorable street was the Avenue of Flags, a flag-draped wide promenade that was rapidly constructed at a relatively low cost. An Urban and Vitale collaboration, the street was lined by monumental flagpoles - Art Deco column of triangular plates with internal lighting, - connected by a low wall of linear benches lining the street. From cantilevered arms projecting high atop the metal pylons, the designers hung huge flags that rustled in Chicago's trademark winds. The pylons were chrome piping with black bracing triangular insets, while the flags were maroon in color, edged in electric chrome yellow ribbons. The effect was stunning and closely resembled the modern day sculptor Christo's saffron-colored flag draped Gates in Central Park, New York, executed in 2005. The lighting for the avenue was another Art Deco achievement. The pole mounted fixtures were "maza" lamped, a frosted linear florescent-like tubular bulb, golden in color and concealed within the column's structure. The maza lights gave a soft glow to the animated flags changing their maroon coloration from orange, when illuminated, to dark russet when in shadow. "Indelibly impressed upon the memory of all who attended the Fair is the Avenue of the Flags. Banners, as

high as a five-story building, lined both sides… for nearly a third of a mile. The forty-seven flag poles tilted at an angle of sixty-degrees and supported by a latticed steel columns rose eighty-five feet on the air forming a canopy over the seventy-foot drive. Breathtaking in their beauty, filling the eye, their streaming furls took a commanding place in the decorative features of the Fair," wrote the noted Chicago architectural historian Arthur Miller.[5]

• *The creative division of the site*: Vitale divided the site into three areas based on the lagoon as the fair's centerpiece – the two lagoons sections and the south continuation of the shoreline. He then further divided these sections into six sections, giving each of the six architects their section to plan and build. Within each sector the architect designed the major pavilion(s) and supervised the architecture and placement of the smaller pavilions.

• *Pavilions of major private exhibitors:* The stock market crash of 1929 nearly killed the planned event. In late 1929 and throughout 1930 and 1931, the design team was asked to stop work as there were no available committed governmental funds such as those that had powered previous fairs. But two decisions by the Board saved the event. The first was the pre-selling of fair passes to the public. To the surprise of all, a huge number subscribed. The second was corporate involvement. Burnham, Jr. remembered the 1925 Paris exposition where major French manufacturers of luxury items built and managed their own pavilions. Representative companies were Goeblins, Ruhlmann, Lalique, Erte and Cartier, to name but a few. Burnham reasoned American corporations would be eager to do the same. He would include as exhibitors major corporate exhibitions halls which American corporations would build at their own expense to exhibit their products. Further, each corporation would contribute to the development of the fair's infrastructure. Corporate sponsors included Sears and Roebuck, Ford, Chrysler, A & P, Miller High Life, Firestone, Walgreens, and General Electric, to name but a few. These major pavilions elevated corporate identity. Designed by the fair's leading architects, they represented both good corporate advertisements and good public relations.

In 1932, at President F. D. Roosevelt's direction, the United States built a major pavilion at the fair; the State of Illinois followed suit. These final two pavilions insured the financial success that was required for the planning to resume, this time at panic level speed. Vitale placed major exhibitions at the corners of all entrances, street intersections, and lagoon crossings. These were not only visual focuses but magnets, drawing the visitor through the site. They were massive in foot print and impressive in volume. In all cases these exhibition halls were designed and color coordinated by the Vitale/Urban team.

• *Collaboration on a new architecture:* The new Art Deco architecture of the exposition was a radical departure from all previous fair architecture. As buildings were considered temporary structures, the materials utilized were steel frames with walls or partitions finished in stucco over wire mesh. These structures were designed as windowless shells so as not to interrupt or limit the continuous flow of internal

exhibitions, which were predominately limited to the ground floor. Buildings were articulated boxes, featuring only entrances and exhibits, the rest of the structure comprised of blank walls that required a fresh approach to the building's exterior design. Art Deco decorative pylons, towers, spires and domes were useless features added only to give the pavilions individual identity. The typical building was in the Classical Modern mode; symmetrical and blocky. A few pavilions attempted new, and considered radical, non-symmetrical compositions of widely divergent massing. Those attempts utilized the tower as a vertical anchor to a sprawling building arrangement, somewhat similar to the role played by the campanile in Piazza San Marco, Venice.

Vitale had to rely on the impact of strong architecture that expressed only entrances and exits. The remaining volumes were blank canvases for Urban to paint. In anticipation of the crowds, the Vitale landscape provided large plazas directly adjacent to the street providing entrances and exits to the building. They were the settings for assemblies, visitor services, information booths, toilets, and bus stops for the fair's internal transit system. Vitale encouraged many fair architects to design their pavilions –States, Electric, and the Hall of Science, to name a few – with internal central-focusing spaces. In most cases Vitale designed plazas as Modernist spaces, Chrysler Motors was one of the few that provided an entry space in Art Deco design, with gardens, fountains and pools of that style.

- *Unifying Exposition elements*:   To such architectural innovation, Urban and Vitale took an equally radical approach. From his years of designing theatrical sets, Urban brought his love of full chromatic expression, and proposed its application to all expositions structures. The 1893 exhibition in Chicago had adopted the architectural theme of the "White City," in which the 14 major exhibit halls conformed to a uniformly white appearance. Under the direction of Joseph Urban, the 1933 exhibition contrasted the earlier fair with its "Rainbow City" scheme, suggested by the vibrant colors used to illustrate the fair. Urban employed space defining color theories in the specific selections of colors applied first to each of the fair's six sections, and, secondarily, to the choice of related colors applied to each building composition therein. In his presentations to the fair directors, Urban outlined his criteria:[6]

  - o   "Color to be used in an entirely architectural way
  - o   "Color used to co-ordinate and bring together all these vastly different buildings
  - o   "Color to unify sectors and give vitality
  - o   "Color to give brightness and life to material not beautiful in itself
  - o   "Color to give the spirit of carnival and gaiety, to supply all atmosphere lacking in our daily life
  - o   "Color that should transport you from your everyday life when you enter the fair grounds."   Joseph Urban

Urban created a palette of twenty–four colors, all of the "brightest intensity": one green, two blue–greens, six blues, two yellows, three reds, four oranges, and two each of grays, white, black, silver, and gold. The plan was for approximately twenty percent of

all surfaces to be white, twenty percent blue, twenty percent orange, fifteen percent black, and the remaining twenty-five percent to be spread among the yellows, grays, greens, and silver.[45].

Vitale matched this concept in Modernist streetscape and site development design, for the first time as public open space composed uniformly throughout the exposition grounds. For the site's general landscapes, Vitale placed young tree plantings, individually unimpressive, into massive groupings, spotting the vast area fronting the lagoon. The clusters were achieved in small rectangular clumps, usually of the Lombardy poplar, the then popular vertical tree of the Art Deco expression. They were fast growing, and when seen from a distance, complemented the towers and spires of the Art Deco architecture. Throughout the site, Vitale planted flower beds in the pallet employed by Joseph Urban, planning for a succession of color. Seventy-five thousand square feet of flowering beds were scattered throughout the site. Generally placed in large beds adjacent to building entrances and plazas, each bed was mono-cultured and monochromatic. The typical bed would phase between summer displays of creams and yellows, followed by midsummer's purples and plum which in turn was followed by late-summer's oranges and reds. Night lighting intensified their hues. To achieve the landscape site development, Vitale had to import all plant material from Long Island growers and ship by train directly to the site.

- *Color and light show: the fair's central feature*:   Of all the chromatic impact brought to the Century of Progress Exposition in its architecture, urban space, and landscape architecture, the most dazzling effect was to be found in the night displays created by the Urban and Vitale design team. Throughout the site, but primarily located in the area of the central lagoon, and with central Chicago's skyline as a glittering backdrop, the Century of Progress fountain consumed the entire main section of the lagoon. Rather than one composition of water jets, the fountain, whose performance was called "A Rhapsody in Color," was designed as a series of asymmetric fountains progressing down the length of the lagoon. The water display began with lines of arching water forty-feet high, continuing through a compositions of disk shaped water cones, and terminating in a huge water dome and fog area, two hundred-feet in diameter. Copied from the Trocadero fountains in Paris, huge water cannons shot volumes of water over-arching all the other waterworks. The enormity of it was matched by Urban in the biggest incandescent searchlight ever installed. It produced a silver fan over the lake and fountains.[7] All water jets were illuminated by color "submarine' lights of every hue of the rainbow. Most striking was the Urban favorite of jade green and deep blue-purple; most combinations were in the cold color range of the spectrum. Added to the central water displays, dazzling lighting effects were employed throughout the grounds. Night effects of light beams were integral to almost every building, expanding the startling night illuminations effects beyond the central lagoon area. The fair was a chromatic space throughout, both day and night.

Together Vitale and Urban brought color and light to the nighttime expo experience. The concept was daring as color was amassed as never before. Color was not just applied; it was, in fact, form giving and space defining. Color was the element that revealed the

identity and separation of each corporation's abstract architectural volumes. A strange note in history; All the fair's photographs were taken not in color, but in black and white. As a colorist, Urban was known for his watercolors, and we can be certain that the two know illustrations are accurate portrayals of his compositions. Official guides were illustrated in color, most with a crude hand, but there may be a few Urban illustration in the mix.

The 1933 fair is the only American fair to be designed under Modernist theory. Gone are the organizing central axis and the architecture monument terminus. Gone too are architecture's classical order, symmetrical buildings and decorative vegetation. Instead Vitale created the central lagoon as an inward-looking, non-symmetrical central space of major importance. It unified the individually different expressions of architecture while giving importance to America's corporations. Vitale shaped the architecture's footprint and envelope to form courts and plazas giving form to their entry and exist, their assembly and special events. In collaboration, Vitale and Urban orchestrated and unified the entire site through color and light, redefining the paradigm of expositions from a "White City" to that of "Rainbow City". Vitale died months before the fair opened; Urban, a month after. For Vitale and his survivor firm, Alfred Geiffert, the Chicago exposition led to another major Art Deco development: Rockefeller Center, New York. The esplanade gardens and the central plaza, with its surrounding flags, the new rooftop gardens and connecting footbridges are all Vitale signature pieces and Chicago Century of Progress-inspired.

The 1933 exposition was a huge success and was to continue for another year into 1934. For the first time in American history, an international fair had paid for itself. Its resultant planning and design theorem have all but been forgotten. It is one thing to create such a bright and vibrant color scheme for a world's fair, quite another to transform those ideas into a functioning city. The Fair's Board found "Rainbow City" too radical an idea and while "freshening-up" the buildings in 1934, painted them all white – a return to Exposition tradition. As a further loss - and since all structures were built as temporary- nothing of this great fair remains today.

> "A little while ago this site was placid lake. Now, shimmering beside the water, a dream city is risen. It lights the sky with splendor, yet soon will disappear and be merely memory."[8]

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[1] Schnadelbach, R. Terry; *Ferruccio Vitale: Landscape Architect of the Country Place Era*; (Princeton Architectural Press, New York, 2001)

[2] http://hometown.aol.com/chicfair/

[3] The term Modern refers to the art movement at the turn of the twentieth Century and is distinguished by capitalization from the term modern, meaning current.

[4] George, Waldemar. "L'Exposition des Arts Décoratifs et industriels de 1925 – les tendences Générales," in *L'Amour de l'Art* (Paris, 1925),

[5] Arthur Miller, *Lake Forest Country Places* (Lake Forest, Ill, Lake Forest College, 1996)

[6] *Chicago Fair* [manuscript] Urban Collection, Archives, Avery Library, Columbia University, Box 47

[7] McDowell, Malcolm; 1933 Century of Progress Documents"; http://Chicago.urban-history.org

[8] http://hometown.aol.com/chicfair/

Penedo: a Finnish utopian colony in the Tropics

Sergio Moraes Rego Fagerlande

Introduction

Penedo was created on an ancient coffee plantation, at Rio de Janeiro State, in 1929, as a utopian colony by a young Finnish vegetarian group organized by Toivo Uuskallio[1]. This Finnish garden architect had a "call" to create a new society in the tropics, where people would live in a community close to the nature. Those ideas were the result of some existing movements in Finland, of natural treatments for health, vegetarianism and some Pentecostal religious thoughts, and also Uuskallio's own ideals[2].

Finland was a country of emigrants and there was a traditional migration movement especially to the United States and Canada and another that Peltoniemi[3] called the foundation of Finnish Utopian Colonies. Those experiments begun at the 18th century and during the beginning of 20th century there were some examples, as Sointula in Canada, founded at 1900, Colonia Finlandesa in Argentina, created at 1906 and Penedo in Brazil, founded in 1929[4].

Penedo privileged a communal vegetarian option, with equal work division, building a new society, having a natural life together with religious principles. Respect for nature and freedom were the commandments of the project, which would regulate the colony's life for a while. The installation of the settlement followed Uuskallio's Housing Project[5]. It was the basis for a communal life, organizing space and people's lives. The construction of houses and opening of roads were part of the project. It also regulated the part of the farm that would be occupied, and the forest that should be maintained, and a deep concern with the river and its pollution.

After the initial subsistence horticultural activities, the settlement functioned during the period between 1929-1942 as a utopian colony, when finally it suffered economical difficulties and problems to implant a harmonious community[6].

At the beginning it was a private project, with no state interference, supported by popular campaigns in Finland. It was a private project that after some years was transformed into a public place, being no more a Finnish closed community, but a small village, with people from different places. A project that began as a private communitarian society acquired another status, when its uses became definitively public.

Some points can be questioned, as how a utopian project can be considered private or collective, and how it can be considered public, after its end as a utopian colony. It can be questioned if it is possible to maintain a utopian place, with no State participation, with the community being self-controlled, or it has to depend on an external government to be a well organized place to live. Those points can be discussed, observing the example of Penedo and its history.

The study of the urban formation of the colony was done upon vast iconographic material, and also the personal history of first inhabitants. Studies of authors as Fagerlande and Melkas about the Finnish Colony history were especially important, as Toivo Uuskallio's Housing Project was fundamental to understand how Penedo was impressed by its utopian ideals, possible to be seen in its urban structure nowadays.

Penedo was a rare experience in Brazilian urban history. Differently from United States, Brazil has had a small number of utopian experiments. To study Finnish migration to Penedo, it was important to understand how Finland was at that moment, and its migration history. Some Finnish authors wrote about that subject. After reading Teuvo Peltoniemi's[7] book Kohti parempaa maailmaa (Towards a better world), and his texts about Finnish migration towards Canada and United States of America[8], it was possible to understand that Penedo was not alone as a utopian experiment among Finnish migration. There were some other important colonies based on utopian ideals, and the most important were Sointula, in Canada, founded in 1900 and Colonia Finlandesa, in Argentina, founded in 1906.

Finnish migration to Americas was also studied by Olavi Koivukangas[9], Reino Kero[10], Olavi Lähtenmäki[11] and Eevaleena Melkas[12], and included Penedo, as a part of Finnish rediscovery of its history.

Although Finns preferred North America as a migration place, Koivukangas[13] says that Finnish experiences in Latin America had been special

> The peculiar background of each colonial enterprise makes the Finnish emigration to Latin America unique and interesting. Every enterprise had its own uniting idealistic goals, which placed these colonies apart from the general and spontaneous mass emigration to North America.

Harvey[14] points the importance of discussing the utopian experiments' history, where the dialectic question of authoritarianism and freedom of thinking, present in those real utopias materialized can be clearly seen. Lefébvre[15] says that a u-topia is everywhere, and nowhere, and it is important because represents an element that cannot be forgotten in urbanism.

To study Penedo, beyond those authors concerned about Finnish migration, it was important to understand the concept of urban utopia, as it appears in Choay's[16], thesis about More's concept[17]. Studying the utopian socialists' ideas was also useful to understand those influences on Penedo and its founders. Some utopians, as Owen and Fourier were especially important, and their ideals possibly have influenced Penedo's creators in Finland[18].

Another way to understand Penedo was the study of American utopian colonies, and how they had been implanted. Reps[19] tells how many North American cities were planned with those ideals, seeking some kind of utopia. Places founded by religious groups, based on religious concepts of heaven on earth, and other more rational, with

non religious ideals. Sorkin[20] tells about the importance of those utopian experiments for the development of urbanism, talking about some American examples and its influence to "develop the atmosphere of renovation and changing, with consequences over urbanism".

Some pioneers in Penedo wrote their memories, books and diaries[21], and other Finnish descendants, as Alva Fagerlande[22], had works about its history, but generally about local families' history. As this study is about Penedo's urban history, its Housing Project was the best way to understand the place. Even without a physical map or any kind of designed plan, it was a text with 20 items describing what should be used in the urban structure of the colony, and many ways to develop it. It was important to study those items, showing what became real and also how it intended to be in its formal intentions. That helped to analyze the relation between public and private spaces, during the colony's first years.

Penedo's development was studied not as a simple project that was applied to one place, but how people used the created space, their personal history, and how that new space changed their lives, during those years. Studying a place and its inhabitant's history and memory is a way to rebuild their existence, and how we see them from our actual knowledge[23].

Finnish utopian colonies and the ideological grounds for the creation of Penedo

During the 18th century many Finnish went to the United States among Swedish emigrants, as Finland was part of the Swedish Kingdom[24]. This process continued during Russian domination, in the 19th century. At that moment Finland was a poor country, with hard climatic conditions, not much productive land for agriculture and no mineral resources. That encouraged part of its population to go to other places[25]. There was economical motivation for that process, and the United States and Canada were always receptive. There were many job opportunities, as mining activities, factories, railroad construction and land for agriculture[26].

Only after 1923 the United States began to restrict Finnish emigration, and Canada continued to admit immigrants[27]. Although there was a preference on North American countries, other places had their experiences, as Australia, Cuba, Paraguay, Dominican Republic, Argentina and Brazil.

Finnish migration movement had some particularities. Many of those experiences were created by people that wanted to transform the world, and founded what Peltoniemi called Finnish Utopian Colonies[28].

Those utopian experiences began in the 18th century, in Africa, and then continued in Russia and many American countries. The most important experiments were those of Sointula, in Canada and Colonia Finlandesa, in Argentina, and after that, the Brazilian utopian colony of Penedo[29].

Sointula was founded near Vancouver, Canada, in 1900. Martti Kurikka, the founder, was a socialist journalist, and he wanted the colony to be an experience with influence from socialism and anarchism. He was also a defender of feminism and equality of sexes. The colony wasn't successful, and after some years many of those ideals were abandoned[30].

Another important experience was Colonia Finlandesa, in Argentina. It was created in 1906, as a result of some political problems that occurred in Finland. Russia began a movement called russification in Finland, in the first years of the 19th century, reducing its autonomy. Arthur Thesleff guided many Finnish to Argentina, founding the colony near Brazilian boundary, in Misiones. Although it had a successful beginning, with many immigrants living there, after some years the experience ended[31].

After those experiments, there was during the 1920´s another flow of utopian colonies, called by Peltoniemi as a "tropical fever" in Finland. It was related to a search for tropical places and the application of vegetarian and naturalistic ideals[32]. Penedo in Brazil, Villa Alborado founded in Paraguay in 1920 and Viljavakka, created in Dominican Republic in 1929 were some examples[33].

America had nearly always been the place of European utopian dreams. Probably More's Utopia was related to the discovery of a new world, an open space for new experiments. During the first years of the 20th century there were in Europe many thoughts about the decline of the occidental society, especially caused by the war. Oswald Spengler influenced those ideas in Finland, where pessimism was disseminated after the World War I and 1917-1918 Finnish Civil War. These were a great motivation to abandon Europe and search a new world to live[34].

The ideas for the foundation of Penedo were the result of an existing movement in Finland, based on natural health treatments, vegetarianism, some Pentecostal religious movements and Toivo Uuskallio's own ideals[35]. There was a group interested in naturalistic ideals, grounded on some sanatoriums where those methods were applied, and newspapers and reviews publicizing those ideas. That group was also part of the Christian Socialist movement in Finland, from where Uuskallio departed to Brazil, in 1927, trying to make his ideas come true. The naturalist movement was connected to the Finnish Vegetarian Society (Suomen Vegetarien Yhdistys), with great influence from the German movement, and intended to establish a sanatorium in Penedo, using its methods of natural health, sauna and a radical vegetarian alimentation[36]. Uuskallio also had contact with friends of Matti Kurikka, founder of Sointula, and he also knew about the Argentinean experience of Colonia Finlandesa.

The idea of creation of Penedo was closer to American utopian experiments, described by Reps, than to Howard's Garden City movement. Although a vegetarian community seemed like a garden city, in its formal situation, the original ground is different. Uuskallio and his followers were radically against any cultural situation, and wanted to transform society, returning to a natural world.

Uuskallio thought God had created men to live in warmer places, not in cold places like Finland, and the tropics were the best choice to build a new society, far from wars, with an appropriate alimentation, where men and God would be together, and closer to nature, and Brazil was a good place for this new society.

How they came to Brazil and chose Fazenda Penedo

Brazil was the destination chosen by Uuskallio, and during 1927 the initial pioneer group of five Finns arrived in Rio de Janeiro. Their aim was to find a farm where they could develop their project. They finally found Fazenda Penedo, an ancient coffee plantation, ruined at that moment, near the Itatiaia Mountains, and not so far from Rio de Janeiro. There were some German and Italian colonies on the region, what seemed to have helped the choice. But the presence of mountains, with forests and rivers, and the view of the mountain chain behind the farm was very impressive. The natural conditions and the possibility of access, with a close railway station were the main cause for Uuskallio's choice.

Uuskallio's arrival to Brazil was described in his book, "Matkalla kohti tropiikin taikaa" [37] whose title showed his ideas. The purchase of the farm was done with contribution from a movement called "Friends of Penedo" that organized all proceedings in Finland to help the project. Pastor H.D.Pennanen was the representative of the group, and after coming to visit Penedo, he wrote a book "Suomalainen maanviljestelystila Brasiliassa"[38] as part of advertising campaign to divulge the enterprise. That included a formulary, to be filled by people interested on the community project. Analyzing this document can be seen how people were chosen to go to Brazil, know their financial, spiritual, educational, familiar and ideological situation. That was important because the major support to the project was the group of "Friends of Penedo", with small help from Finnish or Brazilian governments[39].

The development of the colony

The communal experience began when the first group arrived to live together, in the ancient farm main house, the only construction with conditions to house all those people. At the first year, 1929, at least 100 people came to Penedo and many of them soon returned to Finland. The residence was the center of the community, a place where they could sleep, eat together in a big room, and cook in a communal kitchen[40]. Equalitarianism was very important in Penedo, and all decisions were collective, according to the ideals proposed in the Project. There should be no social differences, and everything was equally discussed, work being divided the same way. Nobody could be obliged to do anything, but should work for the community welfare. Side by side with many Finnish traditions, the utopian ideals were part of Penedo daily life.

Everything had to be done in Fazenda Penedo. Opening roads, beginning the agricultural activities and building new houses were the main activities at the first year, to establish the new society in the tropics. Initially agriculture was destined to subsistence, but later orange trees were the main product in Penedo. It was what

supported the colony until war years, when a process of end of production was a great problem for the local economy[41].

Uuskallio's housing project

The planning of the colony was directly linked to Uuskallio's ideals, especially to what was in his Housing Project, written in 1929[42]. This project would be followed as an initial regulation, even if there was no map or physical plan for it, with any kind of designed lots. Reading its items is possible to understand how the colony should be developed, and the urban occupation intentions.

The project proposed the division of the farm in 250 lots, each one with 14 hectares, being 2 hectares of flat land and 12 staying covered by forest, with indicated roads and infrastructure to be built and collectively maintained[43]. Uuskallio thought that was the ideal size for each lot, because by his calculus, this piece of land could produce sufficient food to feed one family[44].

Nature was a major priority to Uuskallio, according not only to his vegetarian aims, but also to his worry about the pollution of the rivers and the preservation of the forest. Another important item related to the urban process was his intention to construct a straight road directly from the old house of the farm, its most important center, towards the Railway Station, close to Paraíba River, the main access to the property. There was an ancient small non paved road, used by carriages and oxcarts during the colonial ages, and very difficult for cars to use, because it was crossing many hills. That new straight road was a mark in Penedo's life, even without being completed and still is the main road of the town, the Avenida das Mangueiras.

The first houses

During the communal period, from 1929 till 1942, there were constructed four houses[45]. They were built also as an image of the colony itself, showing how Penedo was intended to be in the future, according to Uuskallio's plans.

Those houses were planned to be similar one to each other. They seemed to be model houses, a way to show how men in the new society would be equal one to another. Even the occupation of the houses was completely unusual. Many times their first owners traveled, and other people were allowed to live in the new building. This is different from traditional occupation, where one property is individual, and in this case, it was quite collective. In an urban way, the houses weren't close to each other. As a vegetarian community, the original project was to live and work in the same lot, so houses should necessarily be far from each other[46].

The new houses, abandoning the initial model

Building four residences was not enough to house all the people that still lived in the communitarian residence. Everyone wanted a new house, and some people decided to

build their own houses. There was no money to have brick houses for everybody, as it was Uuskallios's plans, so many houses were built in a simpler method, using materials like wood or bamboo, according to some ancient local traditions. That was how Penedo grew, following an informal disposition of many pioneers, and no longer obeying Uuskallio project[47]. This moment showed how the tied plans were obliged to change, as people's needs' forced it. In certain way, the original plan, thought by one person, had to change in favor of all community's needs. Utopia should follow men's lives, and not the opposite. As there was no external government except their own, people had to decide how to live, how to occupy land and how to build their houses. Uuskallio's opinion was very important, but people could find how to occupy the farm, even out of Uuskallios' "official" project. Utopia could restrain occupation, but real life was a major force towards the formation of a real village.

Social and cultural activities: Public and collective spaces

The center of the colony was the old main house. There happened all kind of social meetings, it was where the colony choir rehearsed, there took place many religious happenings and in the eating room people had their meals.

The patio in front of the old house was the place where many other communal events took place. Many photographs show people in wedding parties, departure parties, gymnastics, and there was the first dancing balls, with traditional Finnish music, that was later transferred to the inner room. On that place, used as a communal square, many photos were taken to show how life was in Penedo[48].

The end of the utopian dream: selling the farm

Uuskallio bought the farm and did not divide the lots, legally. He said his intention was to pay fewer taxes, but in a certain way his idea was that land was not to be a property of a man, but God's gift, and men should use it properly.

In 1935, many investors were not satisfied with the colony situation. Some got money from Uuskallio to buy properties near Penedo, and others went to Rio and São Paulo. A group called Kaleva obtained their lots with the interference of the Finnish Legation in Rio de Janeiro, and that was the beginning of the utopian experiment's end. As land was divided, there was possible to sell it, and the collective farm's idea finished soon. Even though, many activities continued to be collective, as the group of chicken producers that was later the origin of the local association, Clube Finlândia, founded in 1943[49].

The colony's economical situation was difficult, and Uuskallio had to sell the property. Finally, in 1942, a Swiss group, Plamed, bought part of the farm, to produce medicinal plants, employing a group of Finnish workers. Some pioneers had to leave their land and houses, but they could get money to rebuild their houses on other lots. Many residences were like small inns, and touristical reception activity could be increased, giving birth to Penedo's new main activity, tourism. That old utopian colony was then an attraction, with Finnish dances in Clube Finlândia, offering their traditional food, handicraft, and nature, especially the mountains and rivers[50].

Although Penedo's housing project was part of a movement organized in Finland, it was almost a man's ideals project, Toivo Uuskallio. Even being a place for communal life, it was directly under his command, even when questions were decided collectively, his influence was evident, and his ideas were generally followed.

Penedo's urban planning cannot be considered public, as there was no governmental interference, but the idea of being private seems something more commercial than collective, and it was not the point. Community had all means to decide how to live and to organize spaces, even if, in practical case, quite everything was decided by Uuskallio. It was a private enterprise, but it was not a commercial one. This position, being at the same time private and collective, without being commercial, was the most important thing in Penedo, and also what caused its major problems. This position, of being at the same time participative and communitarian, was very important for the community. Urban regulation was based on its ideological proposition, as a vegetarian and equalitarian community. The only accepted urban laws were the internal ones. Where to build a house or to open a road, everything was decided internally, by the group, following generally Uuskallios ideas, at first, and later were following their real needs.

At 1942, when the utopian colony ended, part of the farm became a private property, owned by an industry, and others lots were divided for many Finnish families. On this period Penedo was transformed into a traditional village, with public streets and private lots, and lost definitely its main characteristics as a utopian place, becoming part of the common world, ruled by municipal laws, as a common village.

Conclusion

Penedo was the result of a project formulated in a moment of great changes in urbanism, when new models were developed, but this Finnish Colony seemed to go in a different direction, being a space that privileged not industry or cars, but simplicity and natural life.

Although it could be compared to Howard's Garden-City, and its return to nature, Penedo is much more similar to those American utopian experiments, where freedom was apparently the most important point. That was the main concern in Penedo, but freedom not only of religion, but also in their common and daily lives. Being a vegetarian community reflected not only ideals of changing, from an Old Europe to a New World in tropics, but also a millenarian trial to go back to human origins, reaching God trough natural life,

There was in Uuskallio's Project an intention to maintain the natural environment, preserving the rivers, forests and those activities so-called naturalistic, as the health treatments. Uuskallio was also worried about urban density, against big cities and everything related to "civilized" places. For him, men should live and work in its small part of land, not destroying nature and trying to solve his problems together with other

people, in communitarian societies. That seemed to be freedom as it was idealized by Uuskallio and people who followed him to Brazil.

At the beginning, the settlement followed Uuskallio and his project, very detailed concerning social life and how people's behavior should be. It was a private plan, followed by all the community, without any governmental interference. Penedo's urban planning, based on its straight road, a direct line from the ancient residence and the railway station, was an emblematic form to ordeal all the community, and show a direction. Uuskallio probably tried to organize the urban site, following one of the most traditional organizing forms, to form a community where people were equal and organized. Although that, nature was stronger and in some places the river could not be transposed, and the straight line had to turn into a curve, especially where there was a valley, and the road should follow the river.

The Housing Project had the residences within its most important plans. How and where they should be built, following a predetermined model, is another testimony of how people should be treated equally in the colony. As a vegetarian enterprise, people would not have cattle or other animals, so there should not be fences between houses and plantations. That was another symbolic idea to reinforce the sense of communion, without fences dividing people and their lives.

Another influence on the landscape of the vegetarian choice was the growth of many trees, especially fruit trees, which transformed the farm, from a desert land to a green area, full of trees, with the return of birds and other animals. That was fundamental to transform the old colony into a new touristic area, where people could stay on small inns, hosted by Finnish old pioneers, and having many attractions as Finnish balls to go and handicraft to buy.

Penedo should be a private community, without any governmental help, aided only by idealistic vegetarian friends, and also its own production and work. Everything inside the community should be organized and decided by them, including the building of houses or roads. That was important for the community, showing how freedom could be lived, and how they could live without any State interference. Anyway, as economical situation couldn't support the colony's life, it ended, and that collective urban and social experience finished in 1942. Then it was transformed into a part of a traditional town, and nowadays is part of Itatiaia, and is ruled by all urban laws of a traditional village.

For many years the self regulation and government of the colony was successful, to maintain many of its characteristics, especially concerning ecological positions. As it was transformed into a traditional village, all ideological points were abandoned, and commercial interests began to rule the place.

Utopia main idea was to be no place and also the best place, and Penedo was another example of how Utopia should stay on our minds, when thinking about urbanism. Authors as Harvey, Reps and Sorkin wrote that those utopian ideals should be an

alternative way for cities; in a world where people don't care anymore about each other's welfare.

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[1] Uuskallio's occupation in Finnish is called puutarha arkitekti, many times translated as gardener. That occurs in Melkas's book (Melkas, Eevaleena. Kaikkoavat paratiisit: Suomalaisten siirtokuntien aatteellinen tausta ja perustamisvaiheet Brasiliassa ja Dominikaanisessa tasavallassa n. 1925 – 1932. Turku, Finland: Sirtolaisuusinstitutti, 1999; in Lähteenmäki's (Lähteenmäki, Olavi, 1979), and was used by Fagerlande and Valtonen. Apparently it is not the best translation, though Uuskallio was not a simple gardener, but someone occupied in the agricultural planning. Should be garden architect, but not in an aesthetic way, but directly close to agricultural production.

[2] Melkas, 1999, p. 60.

[3] Peltoniemi, Teuvo. Kohti parempaa maailmaa. (Towards a Better World - Em busca de um mundo melhor). Translated by Fagerlande, Alva (s.n.). Original edition: Helsinki, Finland: Otava, 1986.

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[5] This Project, in Finnish called Fazenda Penedon Asuttamissuunnitelma, was published in Melkas, 1999, p. 289. The original is on Turun yliopston yleisen historian siirtolaishistorian tutkimusarkisto, Turku. Alva Fagerlande had an original copy, a little different, without some items.

[6] Fagerlande, Alva. Fazenda Penedo: Uma colônia finlandesa no Brasil (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: s.n., 1998a).

[7] Peltoniemi, 1986, p. 1-20.

[8] Peltoniemi, 1987, p.8-10.

[9] Koivukangas, 2004; Finland**:** a land of emigrants. 2005 (Available in: <http://virtual.finland.fi/netcomm/news/showarticle.asp?intNWSAID=33022> Access in May, 10th, 2006).

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Appendix

01. Fazenda Penedo [1929].
Author's collection

02. Map of Finnish Utopian Colonies in the world. In Peltoniemi, Teuvo, *Kohti parempaa maailmaa: towards a better world*. Exhibition of Finnish Utopian Emigration. Helsinki: T.A. Sahalan Kirjapaino Oy, 1987.

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Author's collection

04. The first emigrant group, in 1927: Uuskkallio, Toivo. Matkalla kohti tropiikin taikaa (Helsinki, Finland: Otava, 1929)

05. Fazenda Penedo [1929].
Author's Collection

06. Group on the upper room of the farm house [1929]. Author's collection

07. Group planting tomatos [193-]. Author's collection

08. Group at the farm house garden [ca. 1930]. Author's collection

09. Suni House [1930]. Author's collection

10. Lehtola House [1929]. Author's collection

11. Tuulentuppa [1936]. Asikainen's first house. Author's collection

12. House Saarela [ca. 1937]. Author's collection

13. First colony's wedding party, October , 26th, 1929. Author's collection

14. Gimnastic group in front of the farm house,1931 Author's collection

"Reurbanizacion de el Silencio" and "Urbanization Altamira": public and private planning, building the city of Caracas"

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> *"… given a clear vision of a "design idea," the multiplicity of wills that constitutes our contemporary democratic process can coalesce into positive, unified action on a scale large enough to change the character of a city."*
> *Edmund N. Bacon (1967)*

In the city of Caracas, there are several iconic examples of Urban Planning developed by the public and private sectors. Among them, two of the most successful are LA REURBANIZACION DE EL SILENCIO and LA URBANIZACION ALTAMIRA. Both are example of completely different urban models, but eventually evolved into areas of large urban vitality, their spatiality and urban image are paradigm of good contemporary city. A product of clear vision of a "design idea" referred by Bacon.

La reurbanizacion de el silencio:

LA REURBANIZACION DE EL SILENCIO or THE REDEVELOPMENT OF EL SILENCIO is a project of urban renewal developed in 1944 by the Banco Obrero[1]. It is located just south of the foundational grid of Caracas[2], eastern of the hill of El Calvario.

The City of Caracas

Caracas was founded in 1567[3] by a group of 136 Spaniards under the command of Diego de Losada. The city was formed by a group of 24 squared blocks[4], grouped around a Plaza Mayor (Main Square), as it can be seen in the "Plan of Caracas" drawn in 1578 by Governor and Captain General of the province of Venezuela, Juan de Pimentel. It was located in the far west of a long and narrow valley, near the route to the Caribbean Sea, as explained by González[5].

Streets forming a squared grid, having all the streets the same width and hierarchy, characterized the urban structure of the foundational site and its surroundings. In terms of building typology, the buildings where generally organized around a courtyard, most of them were only one story tall.

Caracas' urban growth was very slow until the first three decades of the 20th Century, caused mostly by a poor economy, epidemics, earthquakes and war. By 1920 the population was about 100.000 inhabitants as explained by Morales et al[6], and city limits were just blocks around, from the foundational grid.

Rotival's Monumental Plan

LA REURBANIZACION DE EL SILENCIO was the result of a relatively complex

planning process that began in 1938 when the Government of the Federal District of Caracas, created the *Dirección de Urbanismo* (DU, Direction of Town Planning), its mission was to produce with the help of foreign advisors the *Plan Maestro* (Master Plan) for the city. Caracas' Governor Elbano Mibelli, hired Maurice Rotival[7] as one of the advisor for the plan. After several months of work, collaborating with the local counterparts, the so-called Plan Monumental (Monumental Plan) was presented to the Municipal Council in 1939 and approved in 1940. As affirmed by Almandoz[8], the Monumental Plan would not only change the image of the city, and create monumental public spaces, but address fundamental urban problems[9], giving it the potential to play a principal role among the tropical cities. The Plan described this in grandiose terms[10]:

> The great City, with its lovely boulevards, parks, theatres, clubs, etc. The outskirts with the beautiful garden-cities and theirs sports clubs linked to the city through comfortable and beautiful arteries for rapid circulation.

In terms of urban design, the plan had a very detailed proposal focused on giving the city a "monumentality" that was not present in the original colonial and republican city grid, as stated by María Fernanda Jaua[11].

The central "spine" of the spatial proposal was the Monumental Avenue or Central Avenue[12], flanked by two parallel avenues. This avenue begins beside the hill of El Calvario[13] in the Plaza Monumental (Monumental Square)[14] space that serves as an articulator with the Avenida Sucre, which runs to the northwest, and with the Avenida San Martín that runs to the southwest.

The Plan proposed to place in the hill of El Calvario Simon Bolívar's cenotaph[15] , across the square would be the location for the new National Capitol. The Central Avenue extends to the east, three blocks away appears a space named Plaza Comercial (Commercial Square), it is presided by a church. This space articulates with a pedestrian system that runs in the middle of two blocks, heading north to the Plaza Bolívar[16]. The Central or Monumental Avenue continues to the east, defined by low rise "L' or "U" shaped buildings for government use. The avenue would end in the Plaza Elíptica (Elliptical Square), placed diagonally to the "Nuevo Circo" (bullfight venue). From this space in the same fashion as in French "rond-points" diverted two diagonal avenues that were meant to distribute vehicular traffic. The Plan proposed to continue the Monumental Avenue to the East, ending in the Parque Los Caobos[17], located in the border of the city.

Roche's plan

It is very important to state that Rotival's proposal was not an entirely original idea. Various authors refer that in 1936 Luis Roche[18] unveiled a "Plan for the improvement and embellishment of Caracas". As Ciro Caraballo[19] remarks, that plan argumented: *" Caracas is and will be a big town until at least one of its streets is widened, this will let it be called a city."* Roche's plan proposed to create a 26 meters wide[20] and 3750 meters long avenue running from west to east. The plan not only took in consideration solving

the traffic problem and improving the city's image, but addressed the sanitary problems and established the legal procedures for its implementation. Regarding this Plan, Gonzalez[21] says that the 36 meter avenue was inspired by those of the Champs Elysées, and that it would continue on toward the suburbs along the Carretera del Este (East Road), inspired by Broadway. Almandoz[22] refers that Roche's avenue would be named Avenida Simón Bolívar[23] and that it would finish in the west end with a monument dedicated to Bolívar[24].

The competition

In 1939 President Isaías Medina Angarita considered that the economical[25] and political conditions reigning at that time were not adequate for developing a project like the Monumental Square, Bolívar's Cenotaph and the Capitol, and it would be considered unnecessary or sumptuous.

Later en 1942, he considered instead, that would be better to develop in that place a public housing project aimed for the working class. As referred by Ricardo de Sola[26] Medina gave instructions to the Directors of the Banco Obrero to open an architectural competition between the architects Carlos Guinand Sandoz[27] and Carlos Raúl Villanueva[28].

Villanueva, whose proposal took into consideration most of the points included in the program, won the architectural competition for the REURBANIZACION DEL SILENCIO.

By the time the competition took place, the sector called EL SILENCIO (THE SILENCE) was a very poor and unhealthful slum, plagued with bars and brothels. Its origin dates to 1658, and its name was due to an epidemic that hit the city of Caracas, and this sector was one of the most affected. Ricardo[29] quotes the Municipal Council's records: "In the slum located west of the Caroata stream, where the epidemic started, it can only be heard the silence, a deep silence".

Villanueva's winning proposal consisted in seven mixed use (residence and commercial) closed blocks multifamily buildings, using a neo - vernacular style[30], that recovered the taste for local tradition after years of French inspired copies, as its recalled by Almandoz[31]. The ornamentation was in the form of moldings, elaborated frontispieces[32], balconies and columns. The buildings are four stories tall except the "Bloque 1[33]" that has seven stories. The perimeter of the buildings in the ground level is surrounded by a colonnade that protects the commercial shops located inside. In the center of each building block, there is a courtyard (semi-private space) for recreational and ventilation-illumination purposes.

In the middle of the composition formed by the seven blocks is located the Plaza O'Leary (formerly Plaza Urdaneta)[34], emblematic space from the city center[35], home of the political demonstrations of the sixties and seventies. This space serves as a culmination for the Avenida Bolivar[36] and articulates it with the Avenida Sucre and Avenida San Martín.

In the center of the square, there are two symmetrical fountains[37] by the famous sculptor Francisco Narváez[38], named "Las Toninas". Each fountain has an sculptural group formed by four female naked figures. The composition is very fluid and poetic, sensations enhanced by the rhythmic play of the falling water.

From the date of it inauguration on July 5[Th] 1944, LA REURBANIZACION DE EL SILENCIO has received mixed critics and comments. Very particular were Rotival's opinions: In one accasion he praised the proportions, order, and scale of the square. Later in a 1977's interview he said: "unfortunately during war, my friend Villanueva did not wait for me and built the square where the buildings are, I did not agree with that square", both referred by Juan José Martín[39]. Rotival later suggested that the scale of the buildings that would be located in front of EL SILENCIO could be increased, implying that the new buildings would "cover" or "hide" those of EL SILENCIO, in the perspective of the Avenida Bolívar.

Uslar Pietri[40] cited by Ricardo[41] said:

> "…Since the REURBANIZACION DEL SILENCIO there has been a restoration of the forgotten concepts of what architecture should be. Its dues to the people, the climate and the good taste. Villanueva's building blocks relates to the present in what is necessary and alive from the past".

Almandoz[42] refers that EL SILENCIO is not only an important success in Medina's administration, but a milestone towards a new structure and dynamic in metropolitan Caracas, setting an example to other Latin-American cities.

Gasparini and Posani[43] say that EL SILENCIO produces the first important change in the city in terms of urban design, since Guzman Blanco's public works program; and plays a premium role in the city's "drama". They outline also the relevance of the solution: the inner courtyards and their sense of security, the peripheral commercial gallery with its collonade and its hectic dynamics, the fluid motor traffic.

Silvia Hernández de Lasala[44] affirms that EL SILENCIO among other urban interventions executed over the Avenida Bolívar, violates concepts, principles and ideas included in Rotival's Monumental Plan: the scale of the Monumental Square and the buildings around it, the change in the building's program (from government related to residential), the use of a neo-vernacular style. The aspect she criticized most and was labeled as an irreparable lost, was the fact that the building named "Bloque 1" denied the access and visuals to the EL CALVARIO hill, one of the most important landmarks of the city.

EL SILENCIO has been very successful among its dwellers and all Caracas' inhabitants that have had the opportunity to walk through its spaces. It has assumed with integrity all the changes in the urban dynamics of its surroundings. Over the time it has become one of the most important landmarks of the city and place with an urban image and identity praised by everyone. Both the square, and the building blocks around it, had not

suffered major changes over time, keeping its original scale and character, that have developed a very strong sense of place.

Some of the reasons of the success and values of LA REURBANIZACION EL SILENCIO may be a debt to Rotival's Monumental Plan: the understanding of the geographical scale, the spatial layout, the road plan that integrates the city, etc. Undoubtedly the main reason is the mastery in which Villanueva envisioned the complex, using the guidelines established in 1939's plan, the volumetrical, typological and spatial solutions, the rational design of the apartments, the use of an architectural style that relates with Caracas' Spanish heritage.

La urbanizacion Altamira:

The URBANIZACIÓN ALTAMIRA (ALTAMIRA SUBDIVISION) is a private land development, built-up in 1943 by private investors led by Luis Roche, in Eastern Caracas on properties that until that moment were used for agriculture[45].

The urbanization process:

Since the 1910's the presence of the car allowed Caracas' middle and upper class families to have a getaway in a "casa de campo"[46] (country house) located in the nearby eastern towns, while they kept their "town houses" in the city.

Later in the 1920's Venezuela was in one of the most important turning points from its history, shifting from an agriculture based rural society into an oil and industrial based, urban modern society. The growing economy caused the migration from the country to the cities, were oil profits were being invested in the form of hospitals, schools, housing and roads. This phenomenon did not happen in Caracas, since it was not the setting for the political power at that time, because it was moved to Maracay by president Juan Vicente Gómez[47]. Caracas' urban growth continued being slow. In this decade a decree that permitted the urbanization in the lands along the Carretera del Este (Eastern Road) was emitted. This encouraged private developers such as Luis Roche, Santiago Al fonzo Rivas and Juan Bernardo Arismendi to develop "Urbanizaciones" like Maripérez, La Florida, La Campiña, El Recreo, El Country Club, Campo Alegre, Los Palos Grandes, among others.

In the 1930's after Gómez death[48], political power returned to Caracas, and the centralization and the concentration of activities in the capital continued[49]. Urban growth in agricultural lands located East exploded during this years, and by 1936[50] Caracas' eastern valley was a sort of "patchwork" formed by urban developments[51] of different sizes and form[52], and sugarcane or coffee plantations. Here was no connection other than the "Carretera del Este" between these urban developments; there was no commitment to structure the city. This rapid growth made evident the necessity of an urban plan for the modern city that was later developed by Rotival and others.

Inserted in this process, in 1944 La Urbanización Altamira was developed by Luis

Roche in the lands that were before the Hacienda El Paraíso (Paradise Plantation).

Land developing, envisioning the city:

In 1943 Luis Roche bought the lands of Hacienda El Paraíso from Ana Cecilia Branger and Teresa Zaragoza as it is referred by Alvarez[53]. Hacienda El Paraíso had an extension of approximately 110 hectares, and was crossed by four streams that descended from the Cerro El Avila (Avila Mountain) towards El Río Guaire (Guaire River) : Pajaritos, Lambedero, Quebrada Seca y Quintero. Later in 1944 Roche creates a land developing company called "Altamira C.A." This same year he introduces the documents in the municipality in order to get the approval to develop "Urbanización Altamira".

The urban structure proposed was conformed mainly by a central square called Plaza Altamira[54] located over the "Carretera del Este"[55], this was a monumental entrance to the new development. From this elongated square, diverted two straight lined main avenues[56] that connected it with the "Cerro El Avila"[57], the rest of the avenues and streets were curved[58]. Building typology consisted in multi-family housing[59], located around the square and over Avenida Francisco de Miranda and part of the two main avenues; the rest were single-family houses[60]. The infrastructure and urban spaces were built by Roche's land developing company, the buildings were developed later, by various private developers and builders.

The "Plaza Altamira"[61] is undoubtedly in iconic terms the most important element from the development. From its beginnings, it was well decorated and illuminated, with a colorful landscaping dominated by red and yellow flowered "Capachos" [62]. In its center, reinforcing the perpendicular axis to "Carretera del Este" there is a reflecting pool with color changing lights and a superb obelisk[63] that evidences the formal articulation of the square and the two diverging avenues. The square's landscape has the magnificent view of "Cerro El Avila" as a backdrop. The square was used as a mean to promote the selling of the lots, in that direction, the space was used as the scene where musicians and other artists performed[64].

One important aspect related to "Urbanización Altamira" planning, was the idea that Roche unveiled in 1948 along with Antonio Rangel Báez, Alfredo Brandt, Alejandro Horn and Armando Sosa. The proposal was to link his new real estate development with the sea through a tunnel that would cross the El Avila mountain[65]. Preliminary studies were made, specifying technical solutions and costs. The project would be financed by the selling of bonds by Roche's company, and by the future operation of tolls.

Changes in time:

Both "Plaza Altamira" and its surroundings have suffered large changes over time, evolving from an almost suburban settlement into a vigorous urban centrality.

The first major change suffered by "Urbanización Altamira" was due to the construction

of the "Avenida Francisco de Miranda"[66] over the route of the "Carretera del Este". The buildings over this avenue had an absolutely commercial character.

Then important changes occurred over the two main avenues when in the late sixties the "Avenida Cota Mil" or "Avenida Boyaca" was built, running along the city over "Cerro Avila's" base. As these avenues connected metropolitan ways like "Cota Mil" and "Avenida Francisco de Miranda" their suburban character changed, with building typologies changing from single family houses to multi-family buildings.

In the early 1980's a massive transportation system arrived to Altamira's heart "Plaza Altamira", now "Plaza Francia", Caracas' Metro built one station under the square. This changed the sector's urban dynamic completely, giving it a definitely metropolitan character. Later in the decade, a new local administration gave "Altamira" and other sectors in Chacao[67] a new urban image: cleanliness, safe, well maintained, making "Plaza Altamira" one of the most successful urban spaces of contemporary Caracas.

Conclusion:

Both cases analyzed had their origins in very different processes, one of inserted in a complex process of urban planning, the other in an real state development operation.

Although "El Silencio" and "Altamira", have been executed almost simultaneously, they represent totally different urban models, the first a more traditional city model: closed block with courtyard. The second more representative of modernity, inspired by the "Garden City ".

Both examples derived from the understanding of city's region, geography and urban dynamics and urbanization process. Consequently the proposals envisioned Caracas' metropolitan scale and character.

"El Silencio" remained through time almost unchanged and "Altamira" have suffered large variations over time, evolving from an almost suburban settlement into a vigorous urban centrality, but its main structure remained unchanged[68].

Both examples are within their differences and similarities, important elements in the shaping of rich and diverse contemporary Caracas. They embody what Bacon referred to when he said: …*given a clear vision of a "design idea…"*

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[2] González, Lorenzo, Caracas: Territory, Architecture and Urban Space: Planning Latin America's Cities 1850-1959 (London, UK: Routledge, 2002), p. 216.

[3] Six years before the publication of the *Leyes de Indias.*

[4] Measuring approximately 650 by 650 meters.

[5] González, 2002, p. 216

[6] Morales Tuker, Alberto, Valery, Rafael, Vallmitjana, Marta, Estudio de Caracas. Evolución del patron urbano desde la fundación de la ciudad hasta el período petrolero 1567/1936. (Caracas, IU/FAU/UCV, 1990) p. 49.

[7] Maurice Emile Henri Rotival; (1892-1980) French engineer, member of the planning firm Prost, Lambert, Rotival and Wegenstein. Graduated from the École Central in Paris, was Professor in the School of Fine Arts at Yale University. Participated in urban plans for Caracas, New Haven, New Britain, Winter Park, (USA), Reims (France), Algers (Argelia), Baghdad (Irak), among others.

[8] Almandoz M., Arturo, Urbanismo Europeo en Caracas (1870-1940) (Caracas, Equinoccio, 1997). p.296.

[9] There were numerous references to the Haussmann's plan for Paris.

[10] González, 2002, p. 234.

[11] Jaua, María Fernanda, "Lógica y Eclecticismo o los buenos modales de Maurice Rotival in: Caraballo, Ciro / Jaua, Ma. Fernanda / Lasala de, Silvia / Martín, Juan José / Negrón Marco / Pedemonte, Max / Sanoja, Jesús / Vallmitjana, Marta. El Plan Rotival la Caracas que no fue. (Caracas, Ediciones Instituto de Urbanismo/FAU/UCV, 1991).

[12] The creation of this avenue was an intervention of a pure "Haussmannesque" style. It demolished 11 complete blocks in the heart of the city.

[13] In this hill a park was built in 1883 during Antonio Guzamán Blanco's presidency, designed by French landscape architects. This park was one of the first public spaces in Caracas lighted with electricity, as

described by Gasparini and Posani. Gasparini, Graziano/Posani, Juan Pedro, Caracas a través de su arquitectura (Caracas, Fundación Fina Gómez, 1969), p.185.

[14] Is around this space that later on LA REURBANIZACION DEL SILENCIO would be built.

[15] In the western façade of the Monumental Square.

[16] Formerly Plaza Mayor, foundational square of the city.

[17] Formerly La Cuadra de Guzmán, an old coffee and cocoa plantation, that was turned into the place where President Antonio Guzmán Blanco's horses and carriages were kept.

[18] Luis Roche: (1888-1965) Born in Caracas, educated in France and England, Roche was a film director awarded in Cannes' Film Festival, and land developer that participated in the development of the *Urbanizaciones*: San Agustín del Norte, San Agustín del Sur, La Florida, Los Caobos y Altamira in the city of Carcas. The daily practice and his interest for the subject, more than a solid knowledge of urban theories, made Roche one of the most experienced urban manager of the thirties in Caracas. Roche was mainly a passionate lover of his city: Caracas.

[19] Caraballo, Ciro, Los Ultimos días de los techos rojos, o los "planes" antes del "plan", in Caraballo, Ciro / Jaua, Ma. Fernanda / Lasala de, Silvia / Martín, Juan José / Negrón Marco / Pedemonte, Max / Sanoja, Jesús / Vallmitjana, Marta. El Plan Rotival la Caracas que no fue. (Caracas, Ediciones Instituto de Urbanismo/FAU/UCV, 1991). p. 68.

[20] Demolishing a 30 meters wide band acroos the blocks, a rather *Haumannesque* operation, that would be repeated by Rotival.

[21] González, 2002, p. 235.

[22] Almandoz, 1997, p. 262.

[23] The avenue that was built as a result of Rotival's plan was named Avenida Bolívar.

[24] Another "coincidence" with Rotival's plan.

[25] At that time there was an international war, and a construction supply such as steel was being distributed under the system of quotas.

[26] De Sola Ricardo, Ricardo, La reurbanización del Silencio, (Caracas, INAVI, 1988). p. 21.

[27] Carlos Guinand Sandoz: (1889-1963) Born in Caracas, educated in Venezuela and Germany. Graduated from the Technische Hochschule in Munich. Had a very extense private practice and was Professor in the Facultad de Arquitectura de la Universidad Central de Venezuela.

[28] Carlos Raúl Villanueva: (1900-1975) Born in London, educated in Paris' École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts. Villanueva is undoubtedly the most prominent and awarded Venezuelan architect of the 20th. Century.

[29] Ricardo, 1988, p.26.

[30] This reinterpretation of various colonial motifs, was only used on the exterior façades of the buildings, using a more modern and clean style on the façades in front of the courtyards, resembling very much those of Alexander Klein's "Gross-Siedlung" in Berlin (1930). As is pointed out by Gasparini and Posani. Gasparini/Posani, 1969, p.368.

[31] Almandoz, 1997, p.312.

[32] For the design of these pieces, Villanueva researched houses in Caracas and other colonial cities like Coro.

[33] This building presides the square and serves as the backdrop of the prespective ending the Monumental Avenue.

[34] In the same place where Rotival proposed the Monumental Square.

[35] Although much smaller than the one proposed by Rotival.

[36] In the first proposal by Villanueva, the location of the Avenida Bolívar wasn't the same as in the Plan Monumental by Rotival. Later he modified the scheme locating the avenue according to the aforementioned plan, according to a suggestion by the competition's jury.

[37] Reinforcing the symmetrical composition of the scheme.

[38] Francisco Narváez (1905-1982): Born in Porlamar, Isla de Margarita, Venezuela. Educated in Caracas and Paris. Was director of la Escuela de Artes Plásticas y Aplicadas y del Museo de Bellas Artes de Caracas.

[39] Martín, Juan José, Rotival de 1939 a 1959 De la ciudad como negocio a la planificación como pretexto, in Caraballo, Ciro / Jaua, Ma. Fernanda / Lasala de, Silvia / Martín, Juan José / Negrón Marco /

Pedemonte, Max / Sanoja, Jesús / Vallmitjana, Marta. El Plan Rotival la Caracas que no fue. (Caracas, Ediciones Instituto de Urbanismo/FAU/UCV, 1991). p. 98.

[40] Arturo Uslar Pietri (1906-2001): Born and educated in Caracas, political and awarded writer. Was Venezuela's Minister of Education, during his stay in New York he taught at Columbia University, was one of the most recognized intellectuals of Venezuela in de 20th Century.

[41] Ricardo, 1988, p.148.

[42] Almandoz, 1997, p. 312.

[43] Gasparini/Posani, 1969, p.367

[44] Hernández de Lasala, Silvia, Violaciones sucesivas. Notas sobre la arquitectura de la Avenida Bolívar de Caracas, después del Plan Monumental de 1939, in Caraballo, Ciro / Jaua, Ma. Fernanda / Lasala de, Silvia / Martín, Juan José / Negrón Marco / Pedemonte, Max / Sanoja, Jesús / Vallmitjana, Marta. El Plan Rotival la Caracas que no fue. (Caracas, Ediciones Instituto de Urbanismo/FAU/UCV, 1991). p. 158.

[45] Coffee, Cocoa and sugarcane, mainly.

[46] Almandoz, 1997, p. 238.

[47] See Morales Tuker *et al.* 1990, p. 91.

[48] December 17 1935.

[49] See González, 2002, p. 230.

[50] See Morales Tuker *et al.* 1990, p. 51.

[51] Aimed at upper income families.

[52] Most of them influenced by the "Garden Cities" and North American suburbia.

[53] Alvarez López, Humberto, Urbanización Altamira, (Caracas, Alcaldía de Chacao, 2007). P.1.

[54] Renamed later Plaza Francia.

[55] Now Avenida Francisco de Miranda, the avenue that according to Roche, would be Caracas' Broadway.

[56] 24 meters wide. Named actually Avenida San Juan Bosco and Avenida Luis Roche.

[57] This layout confirmed the understanding that Roche had of the relation between urban planning and site's geography.

[58] Reminiscing the "Garden Cities".

[59] Isolated type buildings.

[60] Usually called "quinta" as a reminiscing of the farms later used with recreational purposes as referred by Vegas. Vegas, Federico, *La Ciudad de las pequeñas casas* (Caracas, El Diario de Caracas, 06/05/1994).

[61] Inaugurated August 11 1945, and renamed "Plaza Francia" in 1967.

[62] (Canna edulis) known in other South American countries as "Achira".

[63] On site there was a sign indicating that it was the first one built in Caracas, and that it was taller than the city's cathedral.

[64] Even the "Russian Ballet" with one of the most famous dancer of that time: Stefanova.

[65] As it is referred by Carlos Eduardo Misle (CAREMIS).

[66] One of the actions included in 1950's Road Plan for Caracas, a consequence of Rotival's Plan.

[67] Municipality where "Urbanizacion Altamira" belongs.

[68] In accordance with Aldo Rossi's theories of monuments giving structure to the city and forming the core of what becomes the "collective memory". Rossi, Aldo . The Architecture of the City (Cambridge, The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies and The M.I.T.,1982).p.22.

Appendix
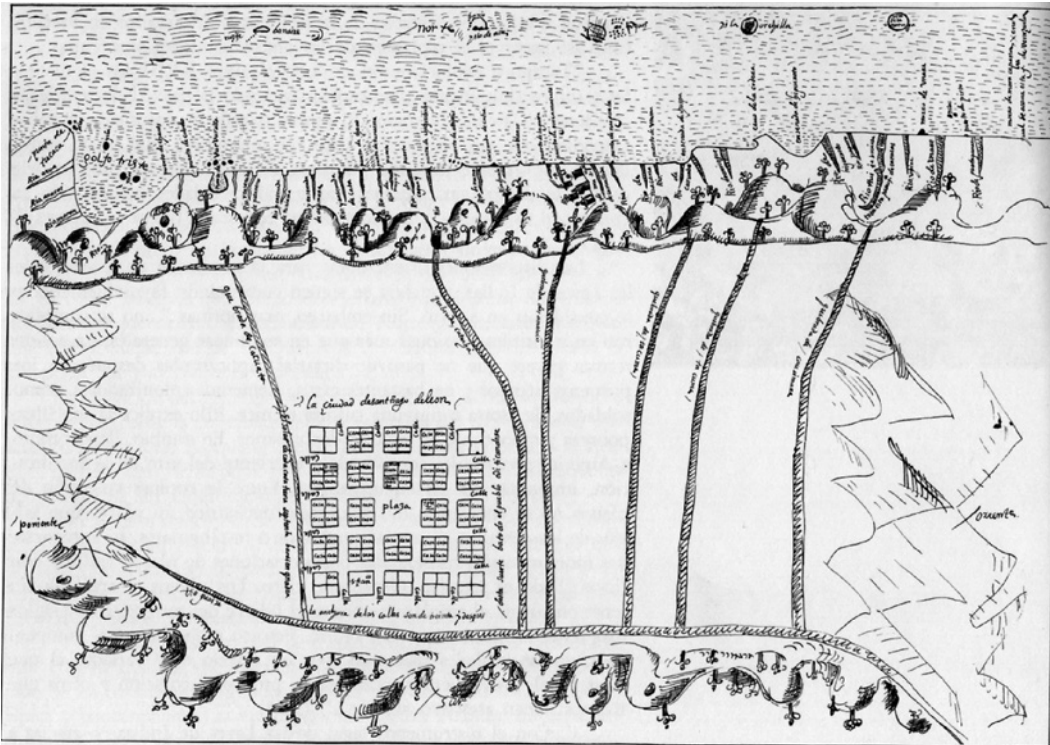
Figure Error! Main Document Only.**.** Plan of Caracas, by Governor Pimentel, 1578. (Source: De Sola Ricardo, Irma. <u>Contribución al estudio de los planos de Caracas</u>. (Caracas, Ediciones del Cuatricentenario de Caracas,1965)

Figure Error! Main Document Only.**.** Caracas and its surroundings, 1945.(EL SILENCIO and ALTAMIRA outlined left and right respectively). (Source: Irma de Sola Ricardo. <u>Contribución al estudio de los planos de Caracas</u>. (Caracas, Ediciones del Cuatricentenario de Caracas,1965)

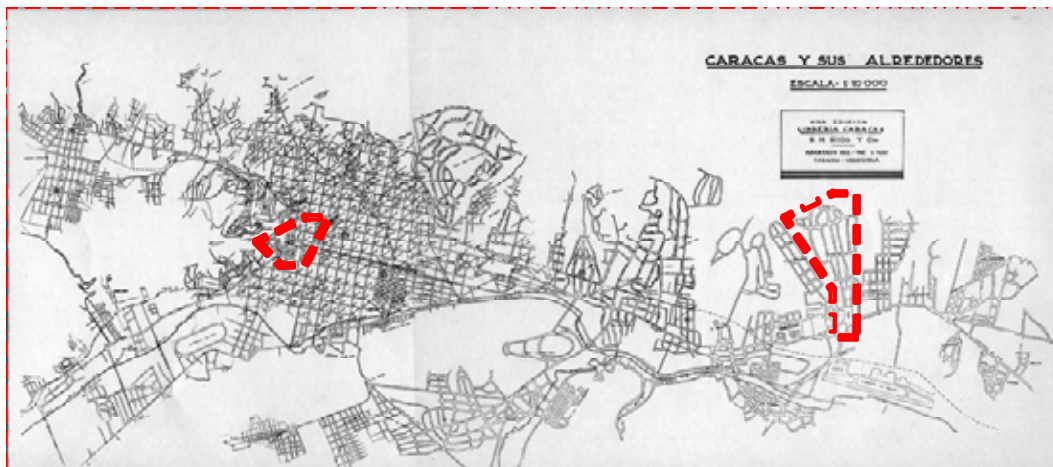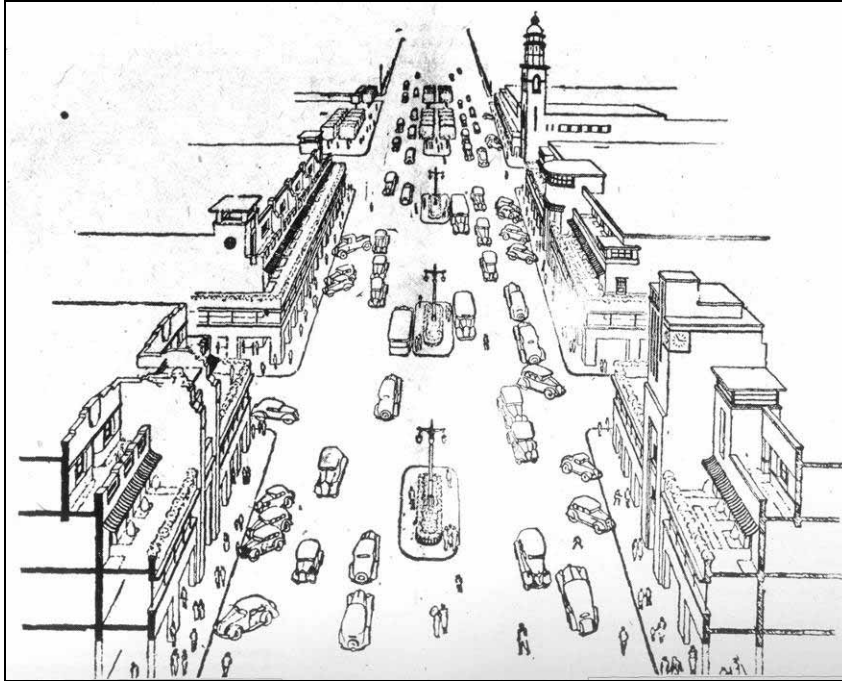**Figure 3.** Roche's Avenida Simón Bolívar proposal 1936, (Source: Caraballo, Ciro / Jaua, Ma. Fernanda / Lasala de, Silvia / Martín, Juan José / Negrón Marco / Pedemonte, Max / Sanoja, Jesús / Vallmitjana, Marta. *El Plan Rotival la Caracas que no fue.* (Caracas, Ediciones Instituto de Urbanismo/FAU/UCV, 1991).
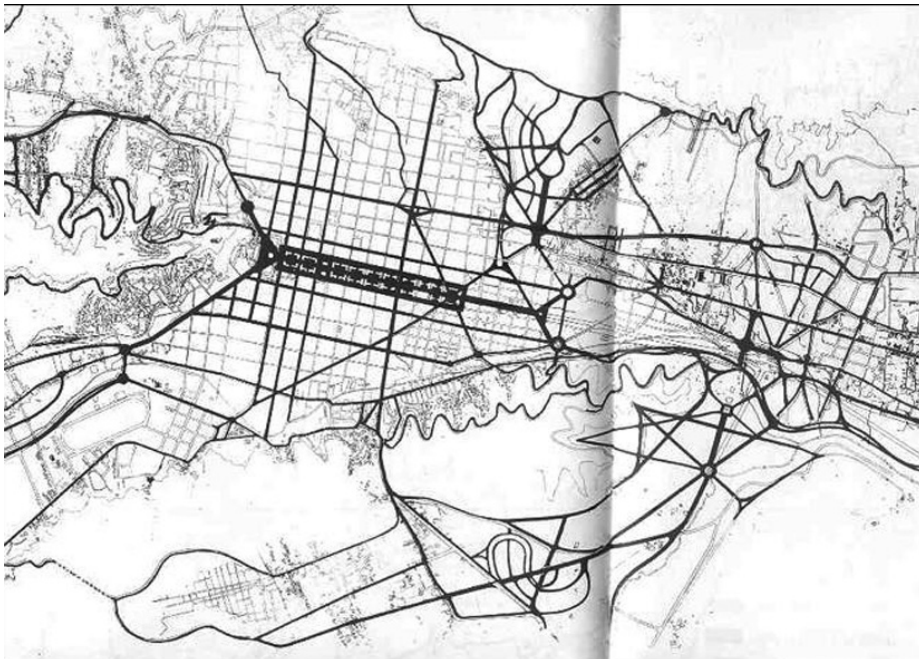
Figure 4. Caracas Monumental Plan, 1939. Vehicular network. (Source: Irma de Sola Ricardo. Contribución al estudio de los planos de Caracas. (Caracas, Ediciones del Cuatricentenario de Caracas,1965)

Figure 5 Monumental Avenue (C.M.P.) aerial view 1939, (Source: De Sola Ricardo, Ricardo, La reurbanización del Silencio, (Caracas, INAVI, 1988).
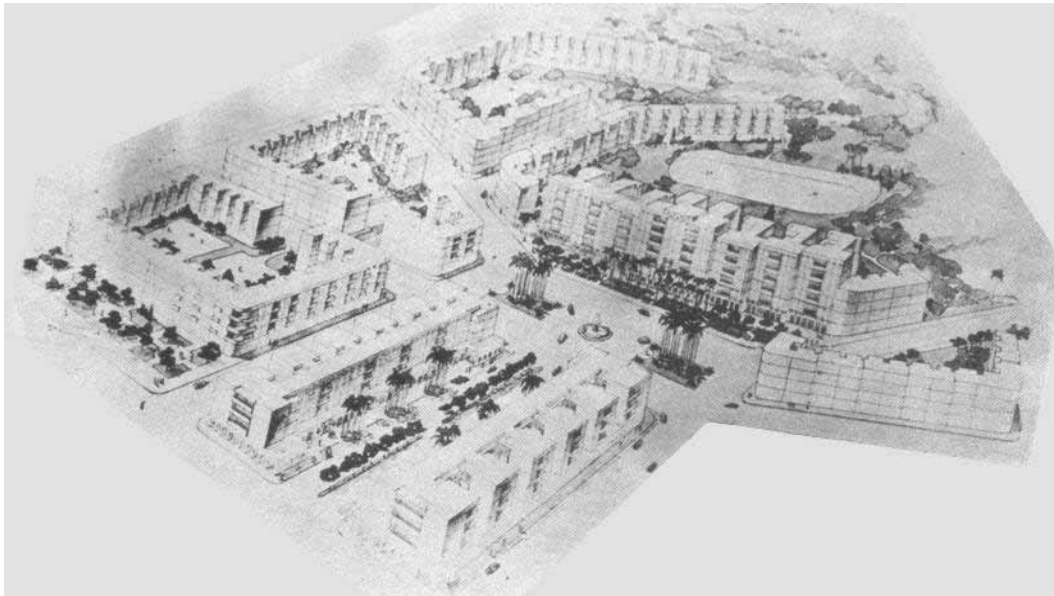
Figure 6 Villanueva's EL SILENCIO final proposal, 1942. (Source: De Sola Ricardo, Ricardo, La reurbanización del Silencio, (Caracas, INAVI, 1988).

Figure 7. EL SILENCIO, Plaza O' Leary 1949 (Source: Viejas fotos actuales, http://www.viejasfotosactuales.org/, 03/2008)

Figure 8 EL SILENCIO aerial view, 1960. (Source: De Sola Ricardo, Ricardo, La reurbanización del Silencio, (Caracas, INAVI, 1988).

Figure 9 URBANIZACION ALTAMIRA, Newspaper adverising (Source: Diario El Nacional, Viejas fotos actuales, http://www.viejasfotosactuales.org/, 03/2008)

Figure 10. PLAZA ALTAMIRA, aerial view, 1945 (Source: Ricardo Machado, Viejas fotos actuales, http://www.viejasfotosactuales.org/, 03/2008)

Figure Error! Main Document Only. PLAZA ALTAMIRA, 1951 (Source: Caracas Virtual, Caracas, http://www.caracasvirtual.com/, 03/2008)

Figure Error! Main Document Only. PLAZA ALTAMIRA, 1967 (Source: Viejas fotos actuales, http://www.viejasfotosactuales.org/, 03/2008)

Figure Error! Main Document Only. PLAZA ALTAMIRA, aerial view, 2002. (Source: Alcaldía de Chacao, Viejas fotos actuales, http://www.viejasfotosactuales.org/, 03/2008

Comparative planning history of Japan, Taiwan and Korea: challenges from 'Machizukuri' or community building

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1. Introduction

A kind of social technology that can be named 'urban planning' has probably existed in many parts of the world since recorded history. Yet the urban planning that we are now involved in is a planning system of an extremely special style. It is 'modern western urban planning,' which emerged from the late 19th century to the early 20th century in Western Europe and North America, following Industrial Revolution. It is a social technology that created and protected a good physical environment in the suburbia of large industrial cities and was mainly developed and supported by the emerging middle class who settled there.

The concept of the Garden City had a big influence on the development of modern western urban planning. The Garden City was proposed as an answer to the problem of growing large cities by an English citizen named Ebenezer Howard. He presented his idea in his famous book published in 1898, *Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*. Thus Howard became a powerful source of an intellectual tradition to discuss how the city should be. He also started a tradition of practice that 'a citizen makes the city.' In fact, he established an organization roughly corresponding to the present-day non-profit organization (hereafter, 'NPO'), which actually built the first Garden City of Letchworth in London suburbs in 1903. There, a Garden City that was full of greenery with a small scale, low density and unmixed land use development enchanted people and professionals, presenting an powerful urban image of modern western urban planning.

In the early 20th century, the practice of modern planning gradually moved from citizens' hands to that of the government which had far greater authority, capital, and expertise. Urban planning was legally institutionalized as an important element of public services that the government provides. Then, it became spread all over the world beyond Western Europe and North America. In this process, Japan was probably the first country in East Asia that accepted modern urban planning in full scale. Therefore, historical development of modern urban planning of East Asia starts first from the story of Japan.

The late 19th and early 20th centuries were an age of imperialism of powers. Within that time frame, the Japanese Empire began the invasion to surrounding countries by the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5) and Russo-Japanese War (1904-5). In around 1943, the colonies and occupied territories of the Empire at its heyday covered such wide regions as: part of the Aleutian Islands (U.S.A.) to the east; South Sakhalin, 'Manchuria', Kwantung Leased Territory, Korea and part of China to the north and northwest; Thailand and Burma to the west; and Taiwan, Dutch East Indies (present Indonesia) and many islands in the west Pacific to the south. In 1945, the Japanese Empire

collapsed as the result of the war defeat. The colonies and occupied areas were liberated, and became eventually independent.

In the prewar Taiwan and Korea, the Government-General was respectively set up, which introduced the Japanese planning system to its colonial territory. After the war, newly independent governments there succeeded the former colonial planning system. In the prewar days, the Japanese planning system was also planted in 'Manchuria' and some other areas under the Japanese control but, in the postwar days, the respective governments replaced it with their own planning system. So it may be said that only Taiwan and Korea have experienced the historical evolution of modern planning from the original Japanese colonial system to their own present system.

In the following, I will discuss the historical spread of modern urban planning in East Asia from the standpoint of comparative planning research. There I will see it in terms of the spread from Europe and America to Japan, and then the spread from Japan to Taiwan and Korea. What actually was the total process? How did the character of planning systems change in the process? How can we understand the present problem of each planning system in this historical context? What can we learn as for future perspectives? These are the questions to be answered in this paper.

2. Tokyo Urban Improvement Act of 1888

The first Japanese planning law was the Tokyo Urban Improvement Act, which was enacted in 1888 in order to remodel the premodern castle town of Edo into the modern capital Tokyo just like the Haussmann's Paris. The planning style of Urban Improvement was, in fact, an older one than modern planning as it aimed mainly at building such urban infrastructures as streets and parks in the already urbanized area, not aiming at planning and controlling the urbanizing area as a whole.

The act was applicable only to Tokyo, the capital of the rising Japanese Empire, where the Urban Improvement Program lasted for the following 30 years or so. The result was a considerable change in the physical appearance of the capital's core area. Narrow streets were paved and widened straight; sidewalks were provided with trees. People, with surprise and pleasure, welcomed devices of civilization such as gas lamps and horse cars of the street. Tokyo became a brilliant window to the Western civilization, for which Urban Improvement works provided physical and even psychological infrastructures.

If we look back from now, however, we can say that Urban Improvement was rather urban 'engineering' works, which built urban infrastructure after the area is already built up, than urban 'planning,' which tries to plan, build and maintain the urban area as a whole before it is actually built up. In a word, Urban Improvement was almost street construction works. The decision for individual works was made mostly by the Home Ministry bureaucrats on the project by project basis. There was not a long-term comprehensive vision or policy, which can be expressed in the form of the master plan

although there was a map that showed the kind and location of all the designated Urban Improvement projects.

In short, it should be noted that Urban Improvement has embedded three clear characters into the Japanese planning system of the following years. First is the main function of urban planning as the infrastructure construction rather than the provision of good living environment. Second is the main method of planning as the making of individual decisions based on the piecemeal basis rather than based upon the master plan. Third is the basic system of planning as a centralized and bureaucrat-leading style of planning rather than a decentralized and people-participating style. All these characters, with some later changes, dominated the later Japanese planning system for nearly a century and, as we see in the following chapters, are the points against which 'Machizukuri' or community building movements are challenging in recent years.

3. City Planning Act of 1919

After the World War I, the development of industry and urbanization caused the population concentration to Tokyo and other large cities which suffered from serious social and urban problems. Then, the government, learning from the technique of modern western urban planning, enacted the nation's first City Planning Act of 1919 (hereafter, 'the 1919 Act'). This law was to be applied first to the six largest cities and then to smaller cities all over the country.

The 1919 Act inherited the basic philosophy and structure from the Tokyo Urban Improvement Act. It was the Home Ministry bureaucrats who took charge of this new administrative field of urban planning. Urban planning was basically assumed as the job of the central government, not that of the municipality; the former was to decide almost all planning matters and the latter was simply to enforce them. This was typically a highly centralized bureaucratic planning system and there was no legal provision for people's participation.

The 1919 Act was a real modern planning system in that it aimed at the control of the whole urbanizing area with a variety of planning tools. As for the construction program, the act institutionalized the Land Readjustment Program of the German origin mainly for suburban development in addition to the infrastructure construction of the existing Urban Improvement program. As for the land use control tool, the act institutionalized the Zoning system of the American origin for the first time in Japan.

The implementation of the 1919 Act revealed, however, that the planning system did not work as was designed. Land use controls were weakened by politically strong landowners, who wanted to use their own land at their own desire, not under strong public control. The construction programs did not progress much due to the insufficient fiscal resources of the government. In short, the planning practice in the prewar Japan was characterized as 'weak planning powers.'

It became the 'planner's dream' to plan in advance and to build the urban area fully equipped with infrastructures, which needed 'strong planning powers.' This dream did not come true in the Japanese homeland for long but did come true in her colonies abroad in the later years, which will be discussed below.

4. City Planning Act of 1968

The 1919 Act, which lasted for nearly half a century until the postwar days, was drastically amended to the City Planning Act of 1968 (hereafter, 'the 1968 Act'). This act, after going through numerous amendments since then, is the current legislation for urban planning in Japan.

In the 1960s, the nation's rapid economic growth started, which brought about a rich fiscal situation to the government. Now, a huge amount of public money poured into the construction of such regional infrastructure as expressways and Shinkansen (Bullet Train), and of such urban infrastructure as street and sewage systems. Various agencies of the central government supplied generous subsidies to local governments but there was little coordination among national agencies and within local governments themselves. Local governments were too busy to carry out big construction projects one after another; they hardly had enough time and energy to discuss what is the desirable future image for their own community.

As the result, the more an individual infrastructure was built, the more the entire urban area became physically confused. In other ward, 'strong construction programs' went on under 'weak planning controls.' However, this system with the concentration of resources and powers in the hand of central government bureaucrats, functioned very efficiently in building expressways, industrial estates, and so on and contributed to the rapid economic growth of that time.

As we have seen above, infrastructure provision has occupied the central place of the planning function and the planner's concern whole through the history of Japanese modern planning. This may be compared with the American case, where 'city planning' started as a kind of 'physical planning' but then gradually evolved into an important tool for controlling the space, finance and character of the local community mainly through comprehensive planning and land use controls. So 'planning' now occupies the central place in the administration and politics of the American community as the social technology of policy making for the people and community as a whole.

The Japanese planning system has had a rather different path of evolution. Once, the 1919 Act planning system was one of the most advanced ones in the world at that time. Since then, however, it has never evolved into a wider function of public services. It was concerned about the 'physical' condition of the city but it remained basically as urban 'engineering' works rather than even physical 'planning.' It is probably because the planning administration of the central government was mainly dominated by civil engineering bureaucrats who controlled abundant budget for subsidies for construction works especially in the postwar years.

The urban planning system never evolved into a 'non-physical' tool for the people's community life. In a word, the 1919 Act planning system has 'fossilized' for long, which was embedded even in the 1968 Act system, widening the gap between what people ask for urban planning and what it provides for them. Unless we understand this historical fact, we may not be able to understand the real nature of the challenges of Machizukuri to the current planning system.

Then, how did this sort of Japanese planning system spread to the colonies of Taiwan and Korea in the prewar days? And how it developed there in the postwar days? Now we will see these as follows.

5. Prewar urban planning systems in Taiwan

The colonization of Taiwan started in 1895. In Taipei, the Japanese government established the Taiwan Government-General, which introduced into Taiwan the Urban Improvement Program that had started only several years ago in the homeland. The urban planning administration was carried out mostly by Japanese bureaucrat planners who came from the Home Ministry and related agencies. Local Taiwanese bureaucrats were hardly able to take part in the decision making of the core planning matters.

At that time, Taipei was a small walled settlement that had been built by the Qing dynasty bureaucrats. The city was with a population of about 50,000 and was suffering from epidemics, flooding and unsanitary conditions. The urban strategy of the Government-General was to provide the modern network of wide and straight streets with open ditches for drainage, and later sewer systems, which was to prevent flooding, to remove unsanitary houses and, above all, to demonstrate the modern urban image and dignity of the colonial government.

In 1899, the Government-General issued the first planning legislation in the form of the Order that was to regulate the land and buildings in the designated area for the Urban Improvement project. This is the starting point of the history of modern urban planning in Taiwan.

In 1905, the colonial government made a plan to completely remove the walls surrounding the city and to replace them with modern streets. They were popularly called 'three-ways streets' because these 40- to 70-meter wide streets were divided by wooded belts into two generous pedestrian walks on both sides and into wide vehicle lanes in the center. The network of these streets was later to be extended into the surrounding undeveloped areas. The result was a grandiose open space of streets stretching into all the directions in and out of the city, which looked like a miracle or dream to the planners and engineers in the homeland.

In Taiwan, the Urban Improvement Program was applied to many other cities than Taipei in contrast to the homeland, where it was applied only to the capital Tokyo. In 1900s, five cities (Taichung, Taipei, Hsinchu, Changhua, and Chia-i in this sequence)

made plans. A total of 51 Urban Improvement Plans were created in the entire Taiwan between 1895 and 1937 (Huang 2000: 154).

In 1932, the Government-General announced an urban Plan, which was to cover more than 9 times of the then urbanized area of Taipei. The planned population in 1955, or 23 years later, was 600,000 against the 260,000 existing population at that time. The street network was planned to cover the entire Taipei basin, which is the central urban area of the present-day Taipei. The 1932 Plan can be seen as an application of modern planning principle in that it aimed at controlling the whole urbanizing area, exceeding the old planning frame of merely providing infrastructures of the Urban Improvement style.

In 1936, the Government-General promulgated the Taiwan City Planning Order, which was roughly a combination of the homeland's 1919 Act, Urban Building Act and Land Readjustment Program. The main purpose of this order was to facilitate the colonial government to secure a vast amount of land needed for Taiwan as the logistics base for the Empire's expansion to the southern Pacific region. (The needs were more urgent in Korea, where the similar legislation took place two years earlier, as is discussed later.) The planning system under this order was maintained and extended to 72 cities until the end of the war in 1945 (Chang 43). Most of the planned future street lines were legally kept and became the basis of infrastructure provision even after the war.

It seems that the colonial planners knew the strategic nature of infrastructure planning. They could lay out and build streets, and could control the buildings along major streets as they wished. Once the government opened streets in the undeveloped areas, private people began to build their houses there under the government control, followed by schools and shops. In short, the street network planning only had a power to control the total urban area to a considerable degree. It should be also pointed that this was only possible under the colonial powers and the fact that Taipei was a far smaller city than Tokyo, whose population exceeded 6 million in the late 1930s.

6. Prewar urban planning systems in Korea

In 1910, or 15 years later than the case of Taiwan, the Japanese Empire made Korea her second colony. The Korea Government-General was established in Seoul and started the urban planning administration as part of colonial control. In 1912, the colonial government introduced the Urban Improvement program from the homeland. The first Plan designated the improvement of 31 streets by broadening, straightening and paving the former narrow streets in the midst of the historical Lee dynasty's capital of 500 years old. This plan was eventually amended five times and the number of the planned streets increased from 31 to 47. During the following 17 years (1913 to 1929), the actual construction works were carried out in Seoul, building about 21 kilometers of streets in total. By 1927, 21 out of 47 streets were completed (Sohn 71). Here again started the planning practice and tradition of street construction as the main function of urban planning.

In the early 1920s, as a result of the enactment of the homeland's 1919 Act and the start of the Capital Reconstruction Program after the Kanto Earthquake of 1923, the Korean authority got interested in introducing the City Planning system of the 1919 Act style. In Cities of Seoul, Wonsan and Taegu, there were actual movements for it. The new image of planning function was to expand it beyond mere street works, and to build, in the name of City Planning, many public facilities as railway stations and schools that are badly needed in the modernizing city especially for the Japanese immigrants. This idea, however, failed mainly because of the financial shortage of the colonial government (Sohn 82-138). So the City Planning fever faded away but the Urban Improvement style remained, which was the only urban planning activity of the colonial government until the 1930s.

In 1930s, the Japanese Empire started the militaristic invasion to the continent at full scale, and Korea became a very important logistics base for it. The colonial government now needed a system to secure a huge amount of urban space for industrial, military and residential uses. In this context, the Korea Urban Area Planning Order of 1934 was promulgated by combining the homeland's 1919 Act, Urban Building Act and Land Readjustment Program. The order gave great powers to the colonial government for the compulsory purchase of land and for the large-scale Land Readjustment. As the name suggests, the order did not aim at improving the existing 'city' but did aim mainly at developing the new 'urban area' outside the city. In fact, the Order was hurriedly made in order to secure the land for building the new harbor city of Najin on the Sea of Japan, which was to provide direct transport connection between 'Manchuria' and the Japan proper. Thus, this Order was applied to a total of 43 Urban Areas before the end of war in 1945.

It was time when the 'regional planning' concept was ardently discussed among planners in the homeland with little concrete results. In Korea, however, regional planning became a reality as the Government-General announced the designation of four Regional Plans from 1939 on. The largest of them was the Seoul-Inchon Regional Plan, where 11,636 hectare land was designated for compulsory purchase for industrial and residential uses, and 275 hectare land for Land Readjustment program (Sohn 202).

It may be summed up that the main planning function in the prewar Korea started with street construction of Urban Improvement, and changed into the large-scale new development by the combination of compulsory purchase and Land Readjustment program of the Korea Urban Area Planning Order. In both cases, the basic characteristics of urban planning was the infrastructure provision.

In Taiwan and Korea, the actual planning practice was centered on such construction works as street building and Land Readjustment. Land use controls were only carried out in areas resided predominantly by Japanese immigrants. In short, colonial urban planning was heavily oriented toward government's construction works. In doing so, each Government-General sought and, in fact, realized the 'ideal image' of the projects which was never possible in the homeland under a 'week planning system.' It must be

stressed that this was only possible because of the strong military power of the colonial government.

7. Postwar urban planning systems of Taiwan and Korea

In 1945, the war ended and subsequently the Government-General was replaced by each national government. Japanese planning bureaucrats returned home. The colonial planning system was left over but was not replaced immediately by the planning system of the new government. In Taiwan, the government of the Republic of China came in from the continent and brought its own City Planning Act that had been promulgated in 1939. Its planning system, however, was found hardly workable because the prescriptions were too simple to operate and too much different from the current situation in Taiwan (Chang 43). In South Korea, where the former colony was divided into two nations that were involved in the war between them, there was no time to create a planning system anew. So the colonial system remained valid, and 24 additional cities were designated for urban planning under the old system (Sohn 335).

In both countries, the new government utilized the power mechanism of the colonial planning Order by literally translating 'Governor-General' to 'President.' There, the planning system with concentration of powers for development and construction later functioned as an efficient tool for rapid economic development in the 1970s and 1980s. The urban structure of Seoul and Taipei, as we see today, which is fully equipped with urban infrastructure, is a combined product of the colonial and postwar governments both with strong planning powers. It may be seen by the former colonial planners as their 'dream come true' or an unexpected inheritance of the Government-General.

If we understand the above point as the 'continuity' from the colonial planning system, it would be also necessary to point out its 'discontinuity.' After the Japanese planners returned home, there was a huge lack in planning expertise in Taiwan and Korea. This technical vacuum was eventually filled by nationals who came back home after studying in the United States and other western countries. They have brought in planning philosophy, techniques and legislation which are completely different from the former Japanese planning system. The biggest difference was the introduction of professionalism into planning as contrasted to bureaucracy embodied by the Japan's Home Ministry, whose body order is still discernible in the contemporary Japanese planning system.

During 1960s, when the social, political and military disorders of the postwar days were over, Korea and Taiwan started to amend the old planning system they inherited from the colonial government in order to have their own systems. The first City Planning Acts were enacted in Korea in 1962 and in Taiwan in 1964. They had the second revision respectively in 1971 and in 1973, having had many more revisions until now. In this process, both planning systems became almost completely different from the original Japanese system. This can be seen as the 'complete independence' from the colonial planning system.

8. Birth of 'Machizukuri' in Japan

One of the biggest challenges that the Japanese planning system received from the postwar society was 'Machizukuri' or community building. In 1952, a group of citizens stood up who wanted to maintain their good living environment in the Tokyo's suburban Town of Kunitachi, where Hitotsubashi University is located. Their activity eventually became a big citizen movement to petition for zoning designation of Education District, where land uses are strictly controlled by prohibiting some undesirable uses. In this broad historical context, the term 'Machizukuri' was created by Professor Shiro Masuda of Hitotsubashi University who was a resident in Kunitachi at that time. He published an article in which he used a new word 'Machizukuri' with a meaning near to 'municipal reform' more or less as a slogan (Masuda 1952).

In 1960s, citizens and residents all over the country started various kinds of social movements in order to mitigate and protest against the negative impact of the rapid economic growth of the time. They include urban redevelopment proposals (Nagoya's Sakae-Higashi district), progressive municipal administration (Tokyo and Yokohama), opposition against industrial and residential developments (Mishima and Tsujidô), and neighborhood resident movements (Kobe's Maruyama and Mano districts). This nature of movements was often 'opposition' to the existing system or policy of the government. People engaged in the movements called their activities 'Machizukuri.'

As we have seen before, the 1968 Act was enacted in order to respond to the situation of rapid economic growth of the 1960s. The same was true with the full scale Machizukuri activities that took place all over Japan in the 1960s. So we can say that the 1968 Act and Machizukuri were twin brothers of 'The 1960s Family.' Yet the Act was born on the red carpet within the national Diet building by elite politicians and bureaucrats whereas Machizukuri was born as homeless on the bare streets of all over the country by citizens and residents.

In 1970s, however, the government began to develop various programs to respond to the people's needs that are expressed in Machizukuri activities. These programs include the Model Community Program [1], the Living Environment Improvement Program [2] and so on. At the same time, people also began to learn that their collaboration with government would bring about better fruits. As a result, the relationship between the people and government gradually shifted from 'opposition' to 'collaboration.'

In 1980, the amendment of the 1968 Act introduced the District Planning system, which aims at detailed and strict land use controls at the neighborhood level with intensive community participation. This planning system can be seen as one of the government's positive responses to the growing needs of Machizukuri activities. The next year, Kobe City was the first in the nation to enact the Machizukuri Ordinance, which aims at coordinating and incorporating Machizukuri activities into the District Planning system at the local level. The next year, Tokyo's Setagaya Ward followed the example of Kobe City. Since 1990, advanced municipalities all over the country have tried to enact

Machizukuri ordinances in order to supplement the City planning Act and to facilitate Machizukuri.

In 1992, the 1968 Act was amended to institutionalize the Municipal Master Plan system for the first time in Japan.[3] This system legally required citizen participation in the process of preparing the Master Plan. It had a great impact toward a wide and intensive practice of participation by both people and municipalities.

In this context, unique civic activities took place. Some citizen groups made the 'Master Plan' by their own hands and presented it to the local citizens and municipality. There was no legal basis or fiscal support provided by the government to this kind of a 'private' plan. Citizens simply got together and made a plan that would clearly reflect their own dreams and needs. It was named the 'Citizen-Made Master Plan' in order to 'relativize' the ordinary Master Plan as the 'Municipality-Made Master Plan.' It should be noted that this may be one of the ultimate styles of participation of the Machizukuri activities and that some citizens have now demonstrated they are no longer helpless amateur but have expertise even to prepare a plan for themselves (Watanabe 1998).

In 1998, the Non-Profit Organization (NPO) Act was enacted, which legally authorizes citizen's activity groups and give them corporate status. The act has promoted various kinds of people's voluntary activities in welfare, education, culture, international affairs and environment, including Machizukuri. This development has given us a good chance to look at Machizukuri in a wider theoretical context, especially in relationship to statutory urban planning.

9. Challenges of 'Machizukuri' in Japan

Generally speaking, there are three social sectors or mechanisms that produce, distribute and provide goods and services at the social scale. They are: (1) the government sector, (2) the market sector and (3) the civil society (or voluntary) sector. Each of them behaves respectively according to distinctly different principles. This three-sector diagram is also applicable to Machizukuri. The urban facilities and services can be also provided by (1) central or local governments, (2) enterprises and (3) people or NPOs.

The real essence of Machizukuri seems to be the activities of people and NPOs that provide urban facilities and services based upon the principle of civil society. So it is necessary to look at Machizukuri as one field of the whole spectrum of NPO activities.

Machizukuri is clearly different from statutory urban planning, which is basically the government activity for public goods and interests based upon the principle of government. It should be noted that public services are now provided not only by the government sector but also by the civil society sector as well. The government is no more the only provider of public services, although the kind and probably magnitude of public services provided by both sectors, may be often quite different.

Machizukuri was born out of the historical background of postwar democracy and the emerging civil society. Machizukuri as such can be understand as a challenge to the traditional statutory urban planning, which did and still often does monopolize the public decision and action for the urban space and life of people. What is now questioned is the nature of 'public' in urban planning, which is changing dramatically in recent years. More specifically, the point is: How can we redefine, in terms of planning system and its main actors, the 'traditional public' which has mainly meant the central government bureaucrats into the 'new public' which would mean the combination of local governments and people/NPOs?

In this context, important keywords are 'participation' and 'decentralization.' First, the participation of people and NPOs in the process of making public policies and plans has become crucially important. Further, the need for participation is now extended to the implementation and even evaluation of policies and plans that people themselves participated in making. People are no longer the mere consumers of public services and urban planning in particular, but are participants and often positive actors in the production and distribution of them.

Second, in order to guarantee such participation, it is necessary to decentralize the planning function of the central government to the local government. So far the national government still keeps the centralized planning system and tries to give planning powers little by little to the local government. This is a process of 'decentralized' planning powers within the 'centralized' planning system. The ultimate planning style that Machizukuri challenges ask for, may be the drastic decentralization of the current City Planning Act itself. It may be a combination of the basic planning act of the national government and of the planning ordinance of the local government, just like the American system of the combination of the State enabling act and the local government's ordinance. This would be a through decentralization, that is, the 'decentralized' planning powers within the 'decentralized' planning system.

In short, Machizukuri challenges the traditional urban planning and seeks for a new set of planning paradigm. They may be summarized as: planning function from the construction of infrastructure to the improvement of the living environment; planning method from piecemeal decisions to comprehensive decisions; and planning system from the centralized and bureaucrat-leading style to the decentralized and people-participating style. This will require that the traditional urban planning which is basically a hard engineering technology should evolve into a hard/soft social and policy-making technology which would enrich the quality of people's urban life as a whole.

10. Community building in Taiwan and Korea

In comparative planning research, we pay a special attention to the 'similarity' and 'difference' of each planning system. In terms of 'similarity,' the starting point of our entire discussion is the historical fact that the same Japanese planning system was imposed to both Taiwan and Korea in the prewar days. In terms of 'difference,' each planning system departed from the Japanese system and evolved into its own style in

the postwar years (the 1960s and 1970s). Recently, however, the 'same' side has surfaced again. In the late 1980s, people's activities that are very similar to the Japanese Machizukuri have risen as 'Shequ-Yingzao' in Taiwan and as 'Maeul-Mandeulgi' in Korea.

The social and political circumstances in the postwar history of South Korea and Taiwan are very similar to each other. In the cold war days after World War II, they both had a long period of the military regime, or 'development dictatorship' that promoted economic development with the sacrifice of political freedom. The government carried out large-scale construction works of the important regional infrastructures such as expressways and attained high economic growth in the 1970s and 1980s.

In the late 1980s, the oppressive regime went out and suddenly the society as a whole became democratized. In Korea, President-Elect Roh Tae-woo, who had been directly elected in 1987 after a 16 year interval, announced '6.29 Democratization Declaration.' The same year, the martial law, which had been kept for 38 years, was released in Taiwan. Now, citizen movements of various kinds including community building activities started on full scale. Some academics studied and introduced the philosophy and technique of the Japanese Machizukuri to their own localities, and also tried to make a new word that would express these new activities.[4] Thus, the words like 'Shequ-Yingzao' (Taiwan) and 'Maeul-Mandeulgi' (Korea) were made more or less as a direct translation of the Japanese 'Machi-zukuri.'[5]

In Taiwan, a citizen group named OURs[6] was organized in 1992 and started a movement to propose and act for wide range of urban policies. This is basically a citizen movement strongly led by academics, many of whom are planners but do not limit the field of their activities to the traditional urban planning. In 1994, the central government, under the leadership of President Lee Teng-hui, started a social campaign named 'Shequ-Zongti-Yingzao' or literally 'comprehensive community building.' The campaign emphasized the importance of creating community spirit and of promoting people's participation. The campaign seems to aim at establishing the self-identity of the Taiwanese, not necessarily Chinese, culture and tradition. The central government provided various subsidy programs for the local government for hard and soft projects. In 1995, Taipei City, under the leadership of Mayor Chen Shui-pien, also started a unique program to promote community activities through the project proposal system, the 'community planner' system and the 'community planning service center' program.

In South Korea, a citizen group named 'Urban Solidarity' was created in 1996 and began the activity like OURs of Taiwan. Around the turn of the century, Seoul City saw a public and private movement to preserve the traditional Korean style houses in the Pukchon neighborhood near the former Royal Palace. Kwangju City, under the academic guidance of Professor Lee Myeong-gyoo, started the government-citizen partnership program to improve the physical environment of neighborhoods. In 2006, the central government, under the leadership of President Roh Moo-hyeon, started a policy of 'Livable City' with financial subsidies and technical supports to the community building activities of all over Korea.

In both Taiwan and Korea, community building activities developed in accordance with the democratization of the political system, and the government plays a big role in promoting these activities. There, as many government subsidy programs in the name of 'community building' suggest, the government is more or less on the 'people side' as the general political mood is still 'democratization.' [7] The government, far more sympathetic to community building than in Japan, is eager to help and foster citizen activities in a 'effective' way. Yet in the current situation, where the NPOs are still weak, too much initiation of the government may fail in growing the NPO sector as a whole. It is important to remember that community building is a grassroots activity of a 'bottom-up style' rather than a 'top-down style.'

It may be fair to say that the practice of community building is still at a very young stage in Taiwan and Korea. Unlike in Japan, there is hardly a serious conflict between community building and urban planning. Yet as we have seen in the case of Japan, the basic logical structure of their relationship is rather similar though not exactly same. In short, community building activities will eventually challenge the traditional urban planning. They will ask urban planning for a shift from the large-scale development project for urban infrastructure to the small-scale improvement project for living environment, and also a shift from the centralized planning style of bureaucratic initiative to decentralized planning style of people's initiative and creativity.

Finally, it should be noted that recently the international exchange of community building is increasing. After the Taiwan's Jiji Earthquake in 1999, the exchange of experiences and expertise of the Machizukuri-style reconstruction started between the people of Taiwan and of Kobe City, which had suffered an earthquake and had started a subsequent reconstruction program 4 years before. Another exchange program is being developed by young academics of Japan, Korea and Taiwan, who have recently organized themselves into an international network, named ASCOM for the comparative and theoretical research of Machizukuri. There are many other trials to establish similar international networks of collaboration and exchange among the citizens, professionals and/or government officials so that they can learn from each other. In order to have a really productive international collaboration, it is important to have a convincing theoretical framework about community building and its practical future perspectives.

11. Conclusion

So far, I have briefly depicted the planning history of Japan, Taiwan and Korea as a basic diagram of 'traditional urban planning vs Machizukuri that challenges it.' I believe that this historical experience of ours may serve as a kind of model of wider applicability to the modernization process of other areas in East Asia, especially of our big brother China.

The traditional planning system has been a engineering technology by which elite bureaucrats efficiently build regional and urban infrastructures. It can be considered as a 'centralization model' for efficient development for a society where various resources are still scarce and so have to be centralized. As the result of economic development,

however, a mass of middle class people emerge, who ask for the better quality of life and for political freedom and participation. What they probably need is a 'decentralization model' for gradual improvement for a society whose future is decided by its residents themselves. This is exactly what Machizukuri activities envisage. Yet, our experience also shows that, when the centralization model is so successfully realized, the social system based upon it often becomes too huge and too rigid to flexibly respond to the new demands of the society of the next era.

How can we find a path of soft landing from the centralization model to the decentralization model? Again Machizukuri seems to be one of the answers. It is the painstaking efforts of the people who work hard creatively to shift from the traditional style to a new style. I believe that Machizukuri is what Ebenezer Howard expressed more than a century ago. That is: 'The peaceful path to real reform.'

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Notes:

1. The Model Community Program was administered by the Ministry of Home Affairs, which designated 83 Model Neighborhoods all over Japan and promoted community organization approach from 1971 to 1973. The main strategy of the campaign was creating community center buildings. In this context, Kôchi City developed 'Community Kalte (Analysis)' and 'Community Facility Plan.'
2. The Living Environment Improvement Model Program was started by the Housing Bureau, Ministry of Construction in 1978, which aims at improving the physical condition of neighborhood through the rehabilitation rather than clearance and redevelopment methods.
3. Before the 1992 Amendment, there was no requirement for the Master Plan in the City Planning Act. How can planning matters be decided without the Master Plan would be one of the most interesting questions of the Japanese planning system.
4. For example, the late Professor Kahng Byong-ki in Korea and Professor Chen Liang-chuan in Taiwan
5. The Japanese word 'Machi-zukuri' is a combination of 'Machi' as (urban) community or neighborhood and 'Zukuri' as 'making (which is not limited to 'creating' but practically includes 'maintaining' or 'improving' as well)'. The Chinese, or more precisely, the Taiwanese word 'Shequ-Yingzao' is a combination of 'Shequ' as community and 'Yingzao' as making/maintaining of hardware (ying) and software (zao). The Korean word 'Maeul-Mandeulgi' is a combination of 'Maeul' as (often rural) community and 'Mandeulgi' as 'making.'
6. OURs is literally 'Organization of Urban Re's,' where 'Re's' may mean Reform, Revitalization, Reconstruction, etc. The Chinese direct translation is 'Urban Reform Organization by Professionals.
7. In the recent Presidential election, Taiwan elected Ma Ying-chiu and Korea Lee Myung-bak, who are both more conservative than their predecessors. This may result in the more passive government attitude, and/or the more realistic policies, toward community building matters.

Landscape law, built-environment education and citizen participation: a case study of Japanese experiences and experiments

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1. Introduction

As a place of vitality, it is important that it be a place where residents and visitors would appreciate its beauty and find it to be a comfortable space to live and work. In Japan, the "Keikan-ho" (The Landscape Act) was enacted by the Diet on June 18th, 2005. Its purposes are to facilitate landscape formation and to create/conserve a beautiful landscape. The main aim of this paper is to analyze the possibilities and issues of built-environment education and citizen participation related to the law. Built-environment education enables us to consider how we choose to shape the rural landscape and the urban townscape, which would result in creating sustainable environment. It includes consideration of different types of environmental design, including the built heritage, architecture, planning, landscape architecture, and so on. In this paper, several programs for built-environment education are evaluated.

To consider the relationship between citizen participation and the Landscape Law, a few examples of entangled high-rise apartment projects will be analyzed. In order to analyze the historical aspect of the Law, interviews were executed with authorities.

2. Transitions in Japanese landscape and urban policy

Landscape is at times blemished by human activity, but also rises again to its former beauty. In the past, Japan was home of beautiful landscapes. Records left by foreign visitors at the end of the Edo period (from 1603 to 1867) and the beginning of the Meiji period (from 1868 to 1912) made unanimous testaments to Japan's natural beauty. This beauty was not limited to nature but could be also seen in the distinct downtown streetscape which made use of wood, earth and bamboo as its main ingredients, achieving a natural balance that gives rise to an overall feeling of uniformity.

Two turning points in Japan's history have witnessed the deterioration of such beautiful natural and urban landscapes. The first turning point was the introduction of unfamiliar Western culture at the start of the Meiji period, and the second was the age of the post World War II. Many problems existed in postwar Japan. Postwar restoration in Japan focused on low-cost and minimum urban development with a disregard for cultural values.

Although Japan was fortunate to achieve rapid economic growth in the postwar years, urban investment in individual buildings, roads and railways was undertaken without the establishment of a central governing philosophy. There was no real conscious effort to look at the whole urban picture[1].

As recent apartment building conflicts show, it has become clear that there is an ever-present gap between reality and a system (building standard law, city-planning law etc.) designed on the presumption that citizens would move to protect their own residential environment.

3. Elicit domestic issues: high-rise apartment construction in urban areas

Transition in Japan's landscape and urban development is as stated above. Now, however, I would like to introduce two examples of high-rise apartment construction in urban areas, an issue which is especially controversial at the moment.

1) The case of Kunitachi City

Kunitachi City is an academic city with a population of approximately 72,000 people positioned on the outskirts of Tokyo. Concerted action by residential groups such as "Sakura-mori (protect the cherry-blossoms)" and "Treasure Kunitachi Citizens' Gathering" has helped to nurture and maintain the urban landscape which is represented by the lush greenery of Daigaku Street. Landscape regulations were established in 1998 as a direct result of such groups. Amidst all this, a plan was brought forth in 1999 to construct an 18 storey (53m tall) apartment building along Daigaku Street, the city's symbol. Residents collected 50,000 signatures in response to this and petitioned that the plan be reviewed. Residents also presented a district plan that limited buildings to a height of 20m (maidenhair trees lining the street set as the standard), filed a provisional deposition to stop construction and took various measures to oppose the plan, but all to no avail as the apartment building was eventually built. However, an unusual decision at the subsequent civil lawsuit in 2002 ordered that parties involved partially dismantle the building. (However, the ruling was overturned 2 years later.)

Photo 1.   An eighteen-storey apartment along Daigaku Street

This was a landmark decision, because it was the first time that citizens' "landscape profit" had been acknowledged by a court of law. It is also important to note that the court stated that the parties involved should not forget their responsibilities and it does not suffice to merely fulfill the city-planning law and other related legislation. It is not sufficient nowadays for an enterprise to seek profit simply based on strict conformation with regulations, but rather it can be said that there is an ever-increasing need for consideration of the living (landscape) profit of local residents.

2) The case of Utsunomiya City

Utsunomiya City, placed 100km north of Tokyo, is the prefectural capital of Tochigi

and home to 450,000 people. Although the city has flourished since the Middle Ages as the gate town for Futaarasan Shrine and as a castle town and post station in modern times, almost all historic buildings were burnt down in the two wars during recent times. It is at the gates of the historically rare Futaarasan Shrine that there are now plans to construct a 24-story high-rise apartment building. Local

Conceptual view of the development of Futaarasan Shrine

authorities had been looking to utilize the site since ever since the locally-owned department store previously placed there had gone bankrupt, leaving the lot vacant. However, there are of course calls to stop a 24-story building that would look down upon the shrine, with the opposition placed to take civil action if necessary. Although not directly related to this, local groups are also actively working to bring people to discuss urban development and landscape regardless of their stance, their activities published daily in local newspapers. Many residents are still indifferent despite such movements, with a considerable number completely unaware that there is even a problem in the first place. Utsunomiya City differs greatly to the before mentioned Kunitachi City on this point. Although these cases both involve apartment buildings, they differ in accumulative experience with regards to civil movement, making comparison a difficult affair. But why is there such a difference? There are two possible reasons. The first is Utsunomiya City's favorable geographic situation, with active induction of post-war production bases leading to urban development based on economic priorities. The second being an increasing drop in the awareness of citizens who have been overwhelmed by the economically prioritized ill-sorted town landscape, eventually leading to a complete indifference to town landscaping.

It was in 2004 that the Landscape Law was established and "landscape" was finally brought to light in terms of urban development. As a result, local bodies are expected to expand as they now have legal backup for their landscape & urban development activities.

4. The Landscape Law and Citizen Participation

According to research by the National Highway & Transport Bureau, there were 494 regulations established in 450 communities (14% of the total number) as of September 2003. The Landscape Law was brought into full use in June 2005 to reinforce landscape regulation along with the landscape administration of autonomous bodies[2].

The Landscape Law consists of: (1) the section which sets down basic regulations; basic philosophy surrounding landscape, residents, business sector, local authorities, and governmental responsibility; (2) the section about land use regulations surrounding landscape planning, landscape zones etc.; (3) the section dealing with the constituent factors of landscape such as derogation of public facilities; protection of landmarks such as important architectural landscape and important tree landscape; (4) the section

which sets down the support system; landscape agreement, landscape conference, landscape maintenance machinery, etc[3].

Moreover, the law clearly states citizens' responsibilities, the creation of a system that involves citizens being one of its main characteristics. An outline of this legal aspect is given below.

1) Joining the Landscape Planning Process

The main planning body of landscape planning is the landscape administration body（local authorities that take on the responsibility of administering the Landscape Law on a whole）. Such events as public hearings are held during the planning process to reflect the opinion of residents as a condition of the law (term 9).

2) Landscape Conference

Landscape Law term 15 is mainly concerned with the governing of landscape administration bodies, landscape maintenance machinery, and important landscape public facilities, setting out the organization of landscape conferences to deliberate on suitable landscaping for the proposed landscape planning zone. It is possible to join landscaping and the promotional activities of residents as a constituent member as necessary. In other words, citizens have the right to give their opinion and deliberate on issues that include maintenance and administration of public facilities.

3) Landscape Agreement

The Landscape Law allows for an agreement to achieve suitable landscaping within the proposed landscape planning zone through agreement between the landlord and leaseholders, in other words the signing of a "landscape agreement" is permitted[4]. However, in order to fully implement Landscape Law policy, regional consensus and maintenance of a support system becomes indispensable. It is thought that efforts centered on accumulative citizen participation geared to the region based on self-motivated citizens and the unique policies of self-governing bodies make landscaping a reality.

For this reason, the next chapter will look at built environment education and citizen participation, necessary to foster awareness as a citizen.

5. Interview Surveys

In January 2008, we conducted interviews with an official of Utsunomiya City who was responsible for landscape policy and an architect who had many architectural works in Utusnomiya.

Through the interview with an official we found that the most difficult task was to improve citizen's consciousness toward landscape. To create or preserve preferable

landscape, design, volume, shape and height of a building are often controlled by by-laws. However, it sometimes means invasion of private rights. So that, it is often very difficult to get consensus among citizens regarding creation and preservation of landscape.

It is also pointed out that local governments with less experience in landscape policy, like Utsunomiya City, will need much effort to motivate citizens.

The architect who cooperated with our interview told us that citizens, city officials and private corporations of Utsunomiya should at first find out landscapes that must be preserved. Then, together they should consider the ways to preserve those landscapes. Doing so, consensus about preferable landscapes will be established. However, it takes time.

Photo2.   View of the CBD of Utsunomiya City

Photo3.   A linear scenery of Kamagawa River,

6   Built-Environment Education and Landscape

1) Urban Development

This section looks at urban development. While there are various definitions of urban development, it can be clearly stated that the aim is "lifestyle development." <u>Machizukuri Textbook Vol. 1; Machizukuri Methods (2004</u> raises the following ten areas for basic urban development:

(1) Revitalization of the "town center" where local activities are focused
(2) A sustainable local society where all can feel safe living
(3) Urban development which allows one to get around on foot during everyday life
(4) Maintenance of landscape/landscape along with creation/revitalization of historical, cultural and artistic places of interest
(5) Local society where a diverse range of lifestyles and culture coexist
(6) Compact town planning that doesn't allow waste of resources
(7) Revitalization of town planning that coexists with the natural environment and eco-system
(8) Urban development that warmly welcomes all and allows for diverse exchange
(9) Recycling-oriented local economy based on community business etc.
(10) Construction of a local society system based on local authorities[5].

Fig 2.   Image of Landscape Law's Designated Areas   Source   *Journal of Architecture and Building Science*, January 2005, p.24

An emphasis should be made that "(4) Maintenance of landscape/landscape along with creation/revitalization of historically, cultural and artistic places of interest" is included among the ten areas.

Urban development deals with the everyday topic of lifestyle development, landscape, history, and culture eventually forming into unique local symbols as a direct result of such daily efforts. In other words, landscape is a reflection of lifestyle development and urban development. Particularly, it is in essence an expression of the values and esthetic feeling of the people who live there. It goes without saying that such aspects can become a substantial local asset.

2) About Landscape

Built-up areas generally consist of natural environment and artificial environment. Natural environment points to greenery, rivers, sky etc., while artificial environment is broken down further into public and private property. Civil structures and public facilities

such as roads constitute public property, with private property consisting of commercial establishments, housing etc. Individuals can only be directly involved in private property.

Accordingly, landscape is seen as having a "public nature" in Western countries, with many architectural restrictions in place even for privately owned land. However, there are few instances where the surrounding environment is taken into consideration when constructing privately in Japan, as private land is still viewed as a personal asset. As before mentioned, individual awareness is directly expressed with regards to private property, the values of the people who live there reflected by the natural environment and public property of the region. It is not so difficult to imagine that, for example, the overall landscape of a town with a large number of residents that want to "preserve nature and history" would differ slightly from that of a town with residents wanting to "entice factories and develop industry." As mentioned at the top of this paper, most post-war cities in Japan took the later, regional identity lost along with the landscape as a result of pushing urban development with priority on economic activity during the years of fast economic growth. The appearance of "swing back" phenomenon has become common in attempts to balance the scales that have been up to now heavily tipped by economic activities, built environment education being placed as one of the important tools in this process.

3) The Possibilities of Built Environment Education

Built Environment Education is a place for citizenship education, taking interest in one's residential environment, awareness and skills to find and actively solve issues through self-intuitive. In other words, fostering the ability to actively participate in the sustained maintenance and creation of a comfortable residential environment can be seen as built environment education. It is said that built environment education originated in England. In 1969 in England, it was proposed in the Skeffington Report that citizenship education be included in compulsory education in order to nurture urban planning qualities[6].

One of the key persons in built environment education in England is Lady Eileen Adams. She has been involved for many years in attempts to integrate built environment education into environment education methods. As a specialist in arts, Lady Adams claims that it is possible to increase receptiveness to the environment through environment education focused on design. This method can also be referred to as environment design education, where "realization" evoked by activities such as workshops develops into "understanding" and "expression". To be more precise, efforts are focused on fostering the children's observational skills. For example, the children are asked to sketch the shape and color of buildings, benches, the school yard and other

Fig 3   Teaching Manual for Built Environment Education by Lady Adams (Source   K. Teramoto   Machizukuri through Comprehensive Learning. p.45

landscape, or make a landscape collage through combination of various photos[7].

Such efforts by Lady Adams should be noted from a "landscape and sensitivity" perspective with a special eye on "increasing environmental receptiveness" and "fostering children's landscape observation skills."

Everyone possesses the ability to be aware of and evaluate landscape. Lady Adams' built environment education is an extremely informative method for developing such abilities, whilst also hinting at the possibilities of built environment education.

There is a need to develop the potential of each and ever one in order to be aware of good landscape. It is therefore necessary to firmly convey to children what is good landscape, and what is not.

 On the other hand, there are various domestic efforts taking place with regards to built environment education. Examples are introduced below.

Table 1 Classroom based Landscape Study for Junior High Students

Technique	Elective social studies lesson
Implementation Period	2003 , 17 hours
Implementer	Miyazaki City, teacher in charge at the school
Subject	13 3rd grade junior high students in 2001, 33 in 2002, 21 1st grade and 27 2nd grade students across 2 schools in 2004
Content	"Implementation of Landscape Education" "Studying Urban Development" "Landscape Observations and Census Research" "Making Landscape Models" "Looking back at Classroom based Landscape Study"
Reaction of Participants	Now notice the surrounding buildings. Now think about good Landscape and bad Landscape. Now concerned with the color of buildings, signs, etc.
Effect	Developed an eye for evaluating the Landscape where one lives

Source: Naomi Tani, "Classroom based Landscape Study for Junior High Students", *City Planning*, No. 253, (Tokyo: The City Planning Institute of Japan, 2005), pp.34-35.

4) Built Environment Education Issues

As stated above, there are various domestic efforts with regards to built environment education at schools and on a regional level. A steady stream of results can be seen with efforts all around the country that include such activities as utilization of supplementary reading material, interviews of regional members, dioramas about one's town, and participation by experts. However, on the other hand, it cannot be said that study to improve "receptiveness" to the environment, as mentioned above with relation

to Lady Eileen, is not exactly at a satisfactory level. For example, when looking at Landscape it is necessary to pay attention to the aesthetic beauty of individual buildings (design, color, shape) as well as taking into consideration how they will all come together (balance, proportion). This is not something that can be attained merely as a skill.

Without training to properly make use of thisreceptiveness, the built environment education that lies ahead eventually runs the risk of becoming a shallow affair. It can be said "sensitivity education" is important in order to raise "receptiveness" at this stage, especially as Landscape is a theme within built environment education that is closely related to one's "sensitivity."

Photo 4. Built Environment Education at Elementary School in Tochigi City

As fore mentioned, built environment education involves taking interest in one's residential environment, fostering awareness and skills to find and actively solve issues through self-intuitive. For this reason, it can be said there is a necessity to undertake sensitivity education to nurture receptiveness to things of beauty along with acquiring urban development skills through the use of the "supplementary reading material" mentioned above.

It would probably also be wise to consider integration of built environment education and environment education in this case. Sajima (1995) raises the following 4 points as "environmental ethics" to nurture in terms of school education: (1) concern for the environment; (2) posture toward the environment; (3) understand the environments pain and empathize; (4) strive to preserve the environment. Moreover, Sajima points out, "The most important thing of all in regards to the environment is being able to sense that what is beautiful is beautiful, and what is dirty is dirty.[8]" Can it not be said that integrating the best points of environment education and built environment education gives rise to the possibility of a new direction in education aimed at nurturing sensitivity to landscape.

7. Conclusion

It may be said that Japan is sick due to various problems from within. For example, housing policy continues to produce residential areas that sap individualism. And production/distribution system of mass-production/mass-marketing has destroyed neighborhood shops and businesses [9]. Kouyama expresses the comprehensive and root-deep internal sickness this country faces in the fashion above. Appropriately, he comments that this sickness cannot be cured simply with superficial design policy. As previously stated, Landscape is a reflection of daily lifestyle development and urban

development. Particularly, it is in essence an expression of the values and esthetic feeling of the people who live there.

Therefore, there can be no real cure for the "root-deep sickness" pointed out by Kouyama without nurturing our values and aesthetic feeling. There are high expectations for built environment education that fosters children's receptiveness to landscape and the environment, along with the possibility of opening up new horizons through integration with environment education.

Endnotes:

1. Akira Tamura, *Machizukuri and Landscape* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten Publishers, 2005), pp. 58-61.
2. Mari Uchiumi, "The Value of the Landscape Law with regards to Landscaping based on Citizen Participation", *City Problem Research*, Vol. 58, No.3(Osaka: City of Osaka, 2006), p.86.
3. Landscape Urban Development Research Institute, *Utilizing the Landscape Law* (Tokyo: Gakugeishuppan Co., Ltd., 2004), p.10.
4. Ibid.3, pp.91-93.
5. Architectural Institute of Japan, *Machizukuri Textbook Vol.1; Machizukuri Methods* (Tokyo: Maruzen Co., Ltd., 2004), pp.4-7.
6. Ibid. 5, p.5.
7. Kiyoshi Teramoto, *Machizukuri through Comprehensive Learning* (Tokyo: Meijitoshoshuppan Co., Ltd., 2001), p.43
8. Tomomi Sajima, *Environment Education to Nurture Sensitivity and Awareness*(Tokyo: Kyoikushuppan Co., Ltd., 1995), p.172.
9. Hisao Kouyama, "Can Landscaping be achieved through Design?", *Complete Essay Compilation No.3; The Frontiers of Landscape Design* (Tokyo: Architectural Institute of Japan, 2005), p.22.

Effects of public and private partnership in urban renewal - a case study of Hong Kong's district Sai Ying Pun

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Introduction

Hong Kong Urban Renewal Authority (URA) is currently working on two hundred projects to revitalize the city.[1] The first realized buildings after the establishment of the URA in 2001 have raised strong concerns among community groups, heritage activists, and academics. Determined by the goal of comprehensive redevelopment, the projects have displaced existing residents, increased development potentials of sites, and erased entire blocks of existing urban fabric. Since the formation of the Land Development Corporation (LDC) in 1988- the predecessor of the URA- redevelopment in the name of self-financing has ended up in maximizing profits for private developers.

This case study of Sai Ying Pun, one of the city's oldest districts, traces the collaboration between public agency and private developers in compromising stated public goals for revitalization. The study focuses on changes in the urban tissue: building types, open spaces, street life, and urban experience against the historical background and renewal strategies of the city. Through planning documents, building plans, aerial photographs, and site studies, this paper presents critical issues in Hong Kong's urban transformation.

The study is divided into five phases: 1) Formation of Sai Ying Pun 1850-1870; 2) Period of Transition 1945-1961; 3) A New Beginning 1962-1971; 4) Disintegration and Dilapidation 1972-1988; and 5) Urban Renewal 1988-2007. The transformation process is traced at three scales: the city, a district, and a street block with its individual houses. The focus is one block that contains Yu Lok Lane. Described by historian Carl Smith, the lane is one of the rare places where local life of the district has survived.[2] The current urban renewal project plans to demolish almost all the buildings in the lane, replace them with a high-rise tower and a new open space.[3]

The 'perfect' square: formation of Sai Ying Pun 1850-60

In studying a map of Hong Kong Island, one is undoubtedly struck by the unusual form of Sai Ying Pun's street layout. Among all urban districts in Hong Kong, Sai Ying Pun stands out as a 'perfect' square. Bounded by Des Voeux Road West, High Street, Eastern and Western Streets, it measures almost equally (900x960 feet) on its sides. The streets were laid out in the four cardinal directions. Centre Street bisects the square from north to south.

Fig. 1 Map of Sai Ying Pun

Fig. 2 Aeril view of Sai Ying Pum, 1964

Sai Ying Pun (　　　) means the Western Encampment in Chinese, the first military camp formed a year after British landing on Possession Point in 1842. The area was subdivided into orthogonal urban blocks with 50x100 feet lots for sale between 1855 and 1861.[4] Military influence has been suggested as a reason for this regimented layout. The simple numbering of interior streets, First, Second, and Third Streets, seems to support this view. However, Centre, Eastern, and Western Streets imply geographical boundaries and axis of a district, and evoke imperial models of Chinese and Roman walled cities. Several other aspects contribute to Sai Ying Pun's distinctive character apart from its square frame.

First, there are two planned areas in Sai Ying Pun, one on the waterfront (Praya West), and one uphill. Waterfront streets were laid out perpendicular to the terrain and harbor. This area has flourished as a trading port of dried seafood despite the construction of reclaimed land and highway at the waterfront. Uphill streets were laid out parallel to the terrain. The area is primarily a residential district with local shops and businesses. The two areas divided by the city's thoroughfare, Queens Road, are linked in the other direction by three uphill streets: Eastern, Centre, and Western Streets. These straight streets ascend rapidly from the harbor to a steep 20% incline, and give unobstructed views to the water.

Fig. 3 Eastern Street

Fig. Centre Street

Fig. 5 Western Street

Secondly, there are different types and sizes of blocks. Waterfront block measures 100x250 feet. Uphill block below Second Street measures 100x450 feet. Uphill block above Second Street measures 145x450 feet. The typical block consists of two rows of T-shape tenements with a back-lane between them. The blocks above Second Street, too deep for the standard tenements, have developed differently from adding a row of small houses in Yu Lok Lane to several dumb-bell shape tenements on High Street.

Thirdly, there are different types of pedestrian paths. Apart from the main streets, labyrinths of lanes, slopes, steps and lately escalators have been constructed. They climb the hill, access blocks' interior, and provide inter-block connections. Some are village-like streets called *fongs* (malls) or *lis* (lanes) connecting houses, temples, and open spaces. Beyond its external order, Sai Ying Pun is the opposite of the perfect square. It is a medieval town where building and space adjust and shift in relation to each other, and where community and privacy overlap in unexpected ways.
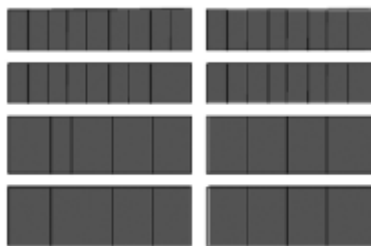
Fig. 6 Lot lines, 1889   Fig. 7 Pedestrian paths, 2007   Fig. 8 Survey plan. 2007

The architecture of Sai Ying Pun has changed significantly since the district was first laid out. 5-6 storey shops/flats built in the 1960s have replaced most of the original 3-4 storey tenements. Many have been redeveloped into 30-40 storey high-rise towers. Underlying the district's jagged appearance is a historical tissue within which the voids as opposed to the solids have been the vessels of urban life. The following sections will reveal the formation and disintegration of this urban tissue through a study of the interplay of public planning and private interests.

The period of transition 1945-61[5]

The Second World War ended in 1945 with extensive damage of properties throughout Hong Kong. The population dropped significantly from 1.63 million to 600,000 during the war and rose to 1.8 million by 1947.[6] War damage in Sai Ying Pun was concentrated on the western and southern ends. Many tenements located near public structures like the Kau Yan Church and the public dispensary became targets. The government established several policies to address postwar problems of dilapidation, overcrowding, and poor living condition. Severely damaged properties were demolished. Rent control act was enacted to curb escalation. Strata title of properties was introduced to encourage home ownership.[6] The result was the restoration of existing buildings, and the construction of new ones.

Fig. 10 Centre Street, 1946-47

Fig. 10 Centre Street,1946-47

The reconstruction of Sai Ying Pun was in a state of flux between hope and despair. Among buildings were many ruined and empty sites. Streets bustled with marketing activities were devoid of people at times. Squatter settlements proliferated on empty lots and rooftops. In the block of Yu Lok Lane, nineteen buildings were rebuilt between 1945 and 1955. Sixteen of them were located in the lane; three on High Street. They were built under an earlier 1935 Buildings Ordinance, which controlled the height of building by the width of street and to a maximum height of five stories.[7] On High Street, the buildings followed existing urban pattern with shops on the ground, and living units above. The buildings on Yu Lok Lane were essentially village houses with simple living units on two or three floors.
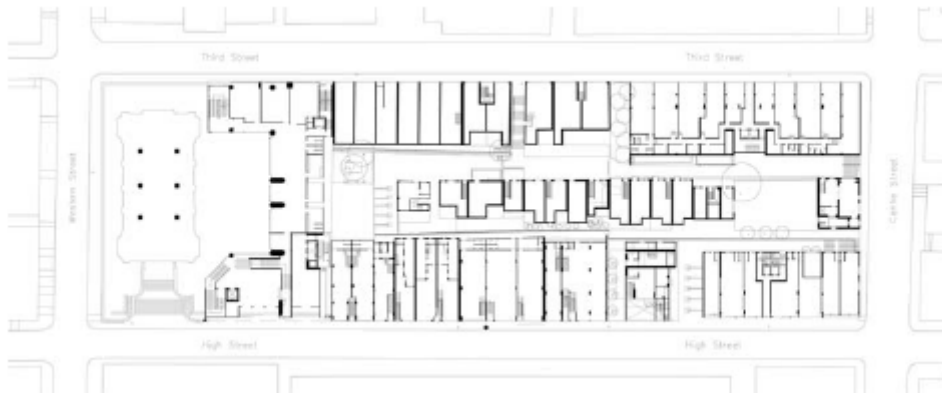

Fig. 11 Plan of Yu Lok Lane Block, 2007

Fig. 12 Elevation of house number 7-19 Yu Lok Lane, 2007

Housing problem in Hong Kong was at its worse in the 1950s given internal shortages and an influx of immigrants from China in 1949. Two types of housing policies were introduced. The first was to construct public housing. The Housing Society was set up in 1951 to build middle-income housing; the Housing Authority in 1954 for low-income housing. The second was to promote private home ownership[8]. The Buildings Ordinance was revised in 1955 to intensify land use. Building height was increased to two, three or four times the width of streets in different areas; floor height was reduced from 10'-6" to 9'-6"; buildings up to nine stories were permitted without a lift.[9] This led to a sharp growth in real estate investments from 95 to 250 million between1954 and 1957. The boom peaked in 1958 as most of the population could not afford private housing.[10] Sai Ying Pun was unaffected by this momentous growth of the city. It was not at a prime location. There was a shortage of available land. Developers had difficulties in assembling multiple lots. The streets were too narrow to capitalize from the zoning incentive. Some shops/flats were constructed, but the district had remained unchanged since its post-war reconstruction.

A new beginning 1962-71[11]

The decade of 1960 was one of outstanding growth in the history of Hong Kong. The territory's population reached 3 million in 1960. The introduction of industries in the 1950s brought influx of overseas investments and businesses.[12] Work opportunities flourished, and the livelihood of people improved significantly. But housing conditions deteriorated further. Illegal structures mushroomed everywhere and formed urban villages or "slums" in the city. The construction of factories, warehouses, offices, and private housing placed further strains on the city's infrastructure, utilities, open spaces, and public facilities.

The Buildings Ordinance was revised in 1962 to curb growth but to take effect in 1966. It aimed to reduce development by twenty percent. It set more stringent requirements for light and ventilation. Instead of curbing growth, this revision caused a sharp rise in development during the intervening period.[13] Coupled with high land costs, demolition and redevelopment of old buildings were prevalent. Hong Kong transformed from a low brick and tiled-roofs city into a high-rise city of concrete and flat-roofs. The government also put forward plans to build more public housing in new towns. In the span of ten years, the city underwent major transformation. Fifty percent of Hong Kong's population was living in high-rise public housing by 1971.[14]

Sai Ying Pun at the beginning of this exuberant decade looked its best from the air. War-damaged properties were filled; restored buildings had traditional tiled roofs; new buildings remained low in height. With the consolidation of the urban fabric, the district appeared homogenous and vibrant. Itinerant hawkers filled the streets. The Centre Street Market was rebuilt in 1953. The site of the Sai Ying Pun Market became an area for hawkers with a small playground. There was little vehicular traffic in the district apart

from Queens Road West. Centre Street, true to its name, had remained the focus of the community.

Fig. 13 Aerial photo of Sai Ying Pun, 1963

Fig. 14 Eastern Street, 1970s

This pristine view was quite different on the ground. Overcrowding was severe; living conditions poor. Deteriorating buildings posed danger of collapse; illegal structures permeated the district. A government appointed working group on slum clearance identified Sai Ying Pun in a 1964 Pilot Scheme for urban renewal although nothing was actually executed.[15] Small developers who dominated the real estate market then began developing prewar tenements into 5-6 storey shops/flats. The city was transforming incrementally with one building by one developer at a time. The 1965 banking critics, and the 1967 political unrest, and over building eventually altered this form of development. The end of 1960s saw the emergence of larger developers, and with them a different urban pattern.[16] Many institutions including churches had become developers. The block of Yu Lok Lane saw the redevelopment of the church-associated Kau Yan School and housing (site of Lechler Court) into a large six-storied project. Six other buildings were reconstructed into the 5-6 storey shops/flats in the block of Yu Lok Lane. All were built before the 1966 deadline- a confirmation of the strong public control and private interests in shaping the city.

Disintegration and dilapidation 1972-88

In order to cope with the continuing rapid rate of population growth (from 3 to 4 million between 1960 and 1971) and to ease pressure on the older districts of the city, Hong Kong's Government focussed in the 1970s on the development of the New Towns.[17] Plans to improve living conditions in the older districts such as the 1964 Pilot Scheme were discontinued. By the beginning of the 1970s, the Government was already working on the assumption that these areas would undergo change by private investors.[18]

In Sai Ying Pun, the Praya area was the first to change. All along Des Voeux Road West, old tenement buildings were replaced with 10-12 storey buildings, which expanded over areas equivalent to up to seven land parcels. On the corner of Queen's Road West and Eastern Street, the first tower constructions were underway. In the upper

part of the district, the changes were smaller in scale. Here, new shop/flat houses of up to 7 storeys built over 2-3 original land parcels replaced various tenement houses.

Toward the end of the 1970s, major political and economic events were to have an accelerating influence on the urban transformation process: e.g. Deng Xiaoping's "Open Door Policy" (1978), the creation of the Special Economic Zone Shenzhen (1979), the translocation of industrial production across the northern border and the rise of Hong Kong as a global centre of international finance services. In parallel, the population saw further rapid growth, reaching 5 million inhabitants by 1980.

Fig. 15 Aeril view of Sai Ying Pun, 1980
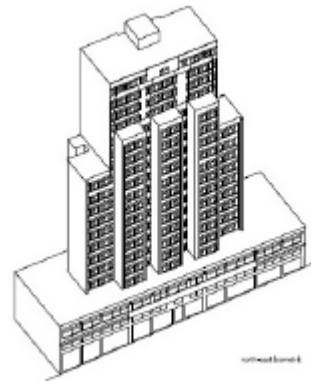
Fig. 16 Podium tower at Third Street, 56-72, 1981

In the 1970s, towers of up to 28 storeys begun to appear in the upper part of Sai Ying Pun along Eastern Street, Third Street and High Street (Fig. 15-16) close to the more attractive Mid-levels. These towers were built on top of podiums of between 1 and 3 storeys (their proportion was determined by the building regulations) which expanded horizontally over up to 10 land parcels. Often, they were developed at street corners or as transverse blocks as these sites allowed higher plot ratios. Despite their building height, these early podium towers did not change the relationship between street, shop and workshop. Indeed, the size and proportion of the shops remained still the same, facilitating the continuity of local businesses.

The building type began to change in the 1980s. The Government had been concentrating its work in improving Sai Ying Pun's hygienic conditions, which were precarious since the 19th century. To achieve this aim, the public market square in the centre of the district (Fig. 9) was replaced by a second enclosed market building. Next to it, public washrooms were added. As a further change, almost an entire street block was cleared away for a new private development adjacent to the new market building.

Fig. 17 Aerial view of Sai Ying Pun, 1989

Fig. 18 Second Street after redevelopment in the 1980s (photo 2007)

By the end of the decade, many towers that began construction in early 1980s were completed (Fig. 17); among them were two cruciform towers of the "Western Garden", a private development built on the cleared site next to the new market building. This development differed from the other projects in the district in that it was bigger and designed to integrate with the market building. Between one of the towers and the market building, an open space was created with similar dimensions as the original market square. This new open space was placed on a podium and equipped with benches, trees and plants. However, being separated from the surrounding buildings, it does not have the same meaning to the residents as the earlier public space. A second open space enclosed by fences was also introduced between the two towers. Today, these open spaces and a part of the new market are often devoid of people.

The attempt of the government to improve the hygienic conditions of the district and to create a design in coordination with a private developer resulted in negative side effects. With the design of the new podium, traditional shop-fronts were replaced by a wall of glazed tiles (Fig. 18) for easy cleaning and interrupted only by service entrances. Street life was further reduced by the banning hawker activities from the district after a road accident in 1984. The space gained from their disappearance was immediately occupied by increasing vehicle traffic.

The introduction of urban renewal 1988-2007

The creation of the Land Development Corporation (LDC) in 1988 represented a new chapter in the urban transformation process of Hong Kong and Sai Ying Pun. With this organisation the Government turned its attention back to older districts on Hong Kong Island. The LDC concentrated on them as the CBD was expanding rapidly. The renewal strategies of the LDC were first published in a study in 1990.[19] The wording of this study revealed intentions such as the careful improvement of streetscapes and respect for heritage and for traditional businesses.
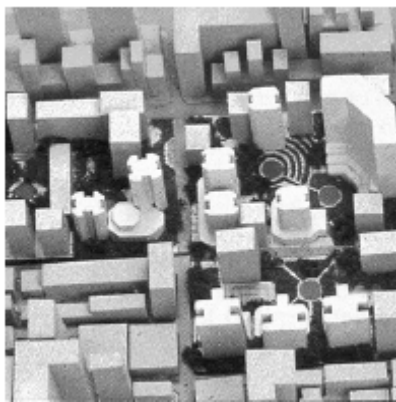
Fig. 19 LDC Proposal for Sai Ying Pun
and Centre Street, 1990.

Fig. 20 Street life on Centre Street as
Represented in the LDC Study of 1990

Provided by the Government only with a minimal budget, the LDC decided to work in close partnership with four of Hong Kong's biggest developers. Its first priority was to develop highly profitable commercial projects in the vicinity of the CBD and to create a solid financial basis for later projects in less desirable areas. This strategy was welcomed to the Government as it could create land of high value with LDC 's intervention. According to a study by scholars Adams and Hastings (2000), the LDC used in the years from 1988 to 1996 only HK $31 million of its initial low interest loan of HK $100 million provided by the Government. In the same period, it paid the Government additionally to the interest for this loan an amount of HK$55.83 million on taxes for its revenue of over HK $2 billion. Moreover, the land premium for the two LDC flagship sites, Wing Lok Street and Jubilee Street, brought the Government Treasury total revenue of HK$2.9 billion.[20]

Fig. 21 LDC project Ko
Chun Court, 1994

Fig, 22 "Open space", Ko Chun
Court (photo 2007)

The study also revealed that the LDC had chosen Sai Ying Pun as one of the main redevelopment areas in 1990. It identified two blocks between Des Voeux Road West and Queens Road West and two blocks between Queen's Road West and Second Street as "Action Areas".[21] Based on their dilapidated conditions, it was first intended to

give these areas priority in the renewal process. Despite earlier stated aim of preserving traditional businesses, the LDC proposal would have erased many houses of the long established dry seafood traders (Fig. 19). However, like the Pilot Scheme of 1964, this project was never realised. Due to the multiple ownerships prevailing in the area, the site acquisition consumed too much time so the LDC decided to work on an alternative plan.

By the mid of the 1990s, the LDC completed two towers outside of the "Action Areas". These were the *Ko Nga Court* (Fig. 21)*,* a 33-storey apartment tower on Eastern Street and the *Ko Chun Court,* an adjacent 13-storey tower on High Street. Both towers profited from their attractive location near the King George V. Memorial Park. The apartments of the *Ko Nga Court* initially intended for the re-housing of residents from the "Action Areas" were immediately sold on the open market upon completion.[22]

The stated aims of the LDC study also included the creation of more community facilities and open spaces. While *Ko Nga Court* did in fact integrate 1,150 square metres of community space, e.g. a Central and Western District Association for Culture and Arts and a Third Street Refuse Collection Point; the newly created open space was separated by walls and gates from the neighbourhood (Fig. 22). In terms of their design, the two towers did not differ substantially from the private developments in Sai Ying Pun.

The new apartments offered comfortable living spaces for their new owners. However, the LDC did not improve the living conditions for people in the district. On the contrary, the *Ko Nga Court* exceeded the general building height and significantly increased the density; and its gated ground level excluded neighbourhood residents from using the new created open space. Even more problematic was the announcement of the comprehensive redevelopment of the "Action Areas" to replace most of the older buildings, causing great anxieties for existing residents about their future. This situation was maintained for over 15 years and nothing was done to encourage maintenance or improvement works to the existing buildings.

Fig. 23 URA project on First Street/Second Street as Present to the local residents until March 2008

Fig. 24 Updated rendering of the currently constructed URA project

In the first years after the Change of Sovereignty from Britain to the PRC (1997), the district did not see significant changes given the Asian financial crisis. The establishment

of the Urban Renewal Authority (URA) in 2001 to succeed the Land Development Corporation (LDC) brought changes. The URA inherited from the LDC its redevelopment plans but was given by the new HKSAR Government a greater power for assembling sites. Soon, the URA focused on the previously defined "Action Areas". Given the dilapidated condition of the First Street/Second Street block, which since 1990 has been waiting for the announced actions of the LDC, the general engagement of the URA could be seen as a positive step. In parallel, the URA also developed a second project in Yu Lok Lane.

The URA faced the same problem as the LDC in that it has to make redevelopment pay. Consequently, it chose to work similarly in partnership with private developers. For the development of the project on First Street/Second Street the firm Kerry Properties was selected through a tendering process. In community meetings, the URA presented a project with a wide open space and low buildings (Fig. 23). None of the traditional looking buildings were in fact part of the existing site; also the open space was shown in exaggerated dimensions and the intended towers were not shown.

Fig. 25 First Street/ Second Street (photo 2007)

After residents had moved out and the entire block was demolished (Fig. 25), the developer presented via its own website a rendering that showed two towers without any information as to how the buildings would meet the ground. The press release by the developer described a 425,000 square foot project comprising commercial spaces, 100 car parking spaces and "600 luxury residential units".[23] All of this was to be placed on a site of 38,000 square feet. The expressed goal of the developer is to reshape "the site into an 'Elite Neighbourhood' of the West". This meets the future economic potential of the site following a planned extension of the MTR Island Line linking it directly to the financial centre.[24]

After critique of its public information policy, the URA eventually updated its website in March 2008 showing a rendering of the project currently under construction (Fig. 24). The podium of this project will further destroy the existing network of alleyways and open spaces; and its wall-like double towers will reduce light and air. With the large building volumes and the proposed 100 new parking spaces it is unlikely that the project will reduce the most pressing problems of the district: traffic congestion and air pollution.

The second URA project in Sai Ying Pun of Yu Lok Lane is announced as another improvement of open space. As before, the planned tower was not shown in the rendering of the project. Only two houses of the early post-war period (Fig. 12) will be conserved to make way for a new open space. [25] One of them would be altered beyond recognition. One house in the lane will be retained "to recall the history of this place and the early days of the district". In looking at the desolate open spaces created in the district since the 1980s, one would argue for a new space to be integrated with the existing buildings and to preserve the atmosphere as described by historian Carl Smith "But not all of the past is gone. In Yu Lok Lane I found an old-style gabled Chinese roof, a relaxed, unhurried, quiet atmosphere, an old lady dozing in the sun, a young student doing home work, two people busy at cottage work on a table in the open air, four women playing a card game, washing strung on lines." [26]

Conclusion

Sai Ying Pun has transformed from an area of tenements to one with a mixture of old and new, low and tall residential buildings. It also retains a rich urban fabric on the ground because of its early development into urban blocks with multiple lots. Sai Ying Pun reflects the physical improvements as well as the historical imprints of Hong Kong in the past one hundred and fifty years. During this period, people's need has changed from basic housing provision to better living environment. Driven by wealth generation through real estate and belated urban renewal policies, the city has enabled the demolition of entire urban blocks, and the construction of large development projects since the 1980s. With these projects, the area is facing increased spatial segregation between the dwelling and the city, and rapid disintegration of its rich urban tissue.

One of the key reasons justifying urban renewal is to improve open spaces in the city. Contrary to established rhetoric, there are many open spaces in Sai Ying Pun. King George V Memorial Park on Eastern Street is located next to the current urban renewal project on the First and Second Streets. Buildings in Yu Lok Lane are to be demolished to make way for a proposed open space. Yu Lok Lane with several Chinese Banyan trees is already an urban enclave. Unique to the area are many urban voids of internal courts, pocket parks, widened paths, and old trees on retaining walls. Many such spaces have been made derelict, fenced in, and demolished by the city, while many purpose-designed open spaces are desolate-looking places.

Centre Street where residents, pedestrians, and storeowners gather and barter, has always been the focus of street life in Sai Ying Pun. With the introduction of vehicular traffic, the banning of hawkers and the building of two large indoor markets, much of

Centre Street's vitality has been reduced. People now clamber along on narrow pavement and behind protect railings. Street life is tenuous, regulatory control can help or destroy it. The study of history reveals the streets of Sai Ying Pun as places of gathering as opposed to channels of traffic.

Many traces of the land have disappeared in Sai Ying Pun. The building of uncoordinated structures on the waterfront has blocked important view axes to the harbor. Large leveled building sites replace small multiple terraces of the past; labyrinthine paths and pocket spaces become meaningless voids; and stonewalls and shady old trees are turned into rubbles of construction. With the building of large podium development, Sai Ying Pun is fast losing one of its unique qualities: experiencing of the land.

The transformation of Sai Ying Pun has been one of small-scale incremental change in which people of different means could find a place among diverse building types. With comprehensive urban renewal strategies introduced by the government in the 1980s and executed as public-private partnership with focus on real estate developments, the area is undergoing physical transformation and population change. The life and death of Sai Ying Pun are played out again in the familiar terms of large-scale development, gentrification, segregation, and homogenization.

Notes

1.   URA website, http://www.ura.org.hk/html/c800000e29e.html downloaded on 26 March 2008.
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The road of development for community planning based on public planning: study on the community planning of Yuzhang Street in Nanchang

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1 Introduction

The development of community in China started and promoted gradually under the special social background of transforming from planned economy to market economy, and its organizing form, work content, progress motivation etc. have been deeply influenced by rapid transformation and constant restructuring of structure. However, the communities of western developed countries are mostly developed under relatively steady social surroundings. They were established in the social system whose market economy had been relatively mature. And after long term evolvement, they have shaped a comparatively self-contained community development system. Although the urban community planning and construction of our mainland have learned from the experience and concept of those of overseas, their content and forms are greatly different from the latter because of different social backgrounds and constraint conditions of system. Meanwhile, the establishment and growth of the Chinese community are still in an exploring stage of economic and social transformation, and community form and function are far from stabilized condition. The public awareness of community essence is relatively dim, and the operating way of community still has a strong sense of administrative tendency.

The development of community directly impacts the living standard and quality of urban residents, as well as the sustainability and health of the development of a city. Therefore, exploring community planning and implementation manners suited Chinese national condition is of great practical importance. Accordingly, we take the community planning of Yuzhang Street of Nanchang, Jiangxi province as an opportunity, and public regulatory plan[i] as platform, carrying out a comprehensive and systematic research, from the perspectives of social background, characters of present conditions, impact of problems, analysis of strategy, planning measures and organizing forms etc., to provide some enlightenment for the relative studies of community planning in the future.

2 The present situation of Yuzhang Street

Divided by Yangming Road, Yuzhang Street is to the north of the old city zone of Nanchang, which is a historic ancient city. It has an excellent location:

standing on the southern bank of Ganjiang River, it faces Ganjiang Bridge Railway on its east, and the new Bayi Bridge on its west, and adjacent to urban center. After nearly fifty years' construction and development since 1949, where Yuzhang Street located has gradually evolved into an important part of the urban center of Nanchang. As Jiangxi Provincial Party Committee and Provincial Military Command stationed in this area, it even took on the appearance of a political center. (Fig 1) (Fig 2)

However, as the adjustment of urban character and functional distribution takes place, the internal and external surroundings of the street have been deeply changed, and its structure has also begun to decline and aging. Compared with other districts of the city, it shows more and more anility day after day. Based on the field investigation and relative interview, we can find out Yuzhang Street area has the following problems:

2.1 Lack of function orientation

There are lots of state-owned enterprises, construction sites and synergic supporting facilities in the street block, which mixed with living facilities and interrupt one another. As the society grows rapidly, the living pattern of planned economy seems to lag behind the development of the times further and further. Its status in the whole city is descending continuously, and its competitive power cannot be compared with the previous. The large state-owned enterprises in this area have now faced with embarrassment of shutout and change of production line and function. A great number of employees have to find their own ways out, and the improvement of their living conditions is far from being realized. Lots of plots like that are existed in the street block. Yuzhang Street, which is in the narrow crevice of history and reality, shoulders heavy responsibilities when it exploring the solutions to the series of problems such as what kind of developing way it should take, how to carry out function replacement, how to activate its growth potential, and how to offer developing opportunities for those who lost social guarantee because of the ruin of enterprises etc.

2.2 Mixture of land use

There are many fourth-class buildings among current residences with high building density and small intervals, which influence sunlight and ventilation; because of high building density and large extraneous floating population, random building and rebuilding are frequent, thus the whole surroundings are in disorder. The infrastructures have aged and cannot meet the living needs; building density is comparatively high; decent public facilities are in short; virescence is relatively poor; and the community is lack of attraction. The internal road network density is relatively low, and roads are narrow. Some

roads have not formed complete traffic network because of the dividing of *the Compound*, therefore result in certain inconvenience in trip, and difficulty in dealing with sudden events. Due to the lagging traffic planning, transportation service facilities are seriously in short, social parking lots and bus stops are comparatively sparse. The shortage in public transportation reachability also brings difficulty for the improvement of vitality of this block.

2.3 The precipitation of role transformation

China's community was developed from nearly vacuum: it was born from administration system of Mao Era. Under the trend of invalidation of omnipotent government and the disassembly of Danwei system, the government needed a new organizing and managing system to replace the former structure to keep the stability of political society, therefore, the existing resource of residential committees it could control naturally took the responsibility of transforming to community organization. Some scholars describe them as *political communities*, which is very appropriate. In reality, these communities still bear political colors – they are just simple alteration of residential committees, and their organizing structure and managing means have little difference from the previous. Whether the change is valid or not is to be examined by practice. Additionally, the re-dividing of communities is mostly operated by civil administration department, lacking overall consideration of city natural status and facility distribution etc. However, the various supporting facilities are allocated by planning departments, according to the planning requirements of residential areas and quarters. There are inevitably deviations between them, resulting in insufficiency of facilities in some community, and lack of cohesion and sense of belonging. Under such social background, the same precipitated problem comes to the twelve communities of Yuzhang Street in their role transformation.

2.4 The difficulty in the Compound's integration

As known to all, Aug. 1 Uprising is the unique resource of Nanchang. The entering of Jiangxi Provincial Party Committee and Provincial Military Command greatly improved Yuzhang's political status, and its political influence could speak for itself. To meet the requirements of governmental and military management and secrecy, the establishment of the Compound was natural. However, when the social surroundings change, the balanced self-development is broken. The government and military command are still in *the Compound*, and their self-managements do not allow external interruption; while the external society becomes activated due to the influence of market mechanism, and it begins to seek improvement of overall interest, or expects some factors in the Compound can be consistent with the external. Thus the conflict comes. Combining with the problems the street meets, the Compound

covers several relatively big blocks, and has comparatively complete transportation system inside. But the dividing of the Compound results in incapability in connecting some roads in the area, and then incapability in forming a complete network. What's more, quite a lot architectures in the Compound are among the few historic villa buildings in Nanchang city, which have important historic and cultural value. Due to lack of guidance of relative architecture protection planning, the repair by the army is so random that the phenomenon of altering the appearance and structure of the architecture at will is everywhere. The subsequent results of damaging of features and descending of cultural level are worrying.

3 The combination of public planning and private planning

3.1 The dilemma of public planning

Government-leading public planning is a planning from top to bottom, in which official urban planners are in charge of design and study, and then the relevant government departments or developers take the responsibility of implementation. In this process, the government plays the role of *parent*, while the public act as the *bystander*, at most receive some relevant investigation and interview at the beginning of the planning. Generally speaking, the main body making public planning is government, so it is governmental behavior. It holds the developing direction of a city or district from macroscopic perspective, makes overall arrangement for the various parts of a city, and offers guidance for its further implementation. It has overall and coordinated characters, and irreplaceable strategic significance for overall development of a city. But as the transformation of China economy and large-scale urban development, the pyramid type highly power-centralized development exposes more and more weaknesses of public planning. First, public planning is short of content of community planning, and without furthering into community, thus more and more planning cannot be carried out after reaching community. Under such circumstance, government has to make another plan, and thus national resources are wasted. Second, the public planning style from top to bottom loses the hold of conditions of grassroots society, various social conflicts, consequently, become more distinct. Danwei system management under long-term planned economy and the ignorance of mass participation bring about the discordance of contradiction at present stage, and, therefore, difficulty in carrying out the planning. Last, the cycle of large-scale operated public planning, from planning to practical implementation, is very short, too short to take deep and careful investigation and analysis. It is no longer suitable for the current economic system and construction development. Furthermore, it no longer accords with the world trend of sustainable development.

The public planning covering Yuzhang Street of *Regulatory planning of Binjiang Avenue (Bayi Bridge – Ganjiang Great Bridge)* has encountered dilemma of impracticability. The original purpose in making this plan is to comb road structure, solve the enterprise problems of *replacing the secondary industry with the tertiary-industry* and *replacing function.* However, due to condition limitation, the planning lacks further analysis of the development orientation of this district, and fails in predicting the functional replacement trend because of its nearness of the urban center. Therefore, during the implementation process, serious conflicts come out between the practical orientation of planned roads and community interest. The run-through of some roads needs the current community unit to be divided, or piles of buildings to be removed because of road alignment or fixation of width, etc. So when the main body is impracticable, the implementation of other relevant planning is far from being carried out.

3.2 Folk will and community planning

These years, China academia is advocating the concept of *public participation*, and different public planning also propose to actively encourage public participation and extensiveness, so that the planning can truly achieve a public participated win-win situation. But in general, the discuss and implementation of public participation in public planning still stay on the surface, the practical implementation strategy is still in short, and the practice of policy guarantee, technical support, mutual coordination etc. needed in public participation is insufficient. The shortage of content sets off the difficulty in practice. The deficiency of public participation in government-support public planning cannot be remedied in one day.

As market economy developing constantly, the social relations will be increasingly complicated in urban planning and construction, and the main behavior body of urban planning and construction will be increasing diversified and of non-governmental. The value choice and interest orientation of these main bodies are different, even conflict with each other. Take the community planning this time as an example: some residents hope to increase facilities of living service, cultural entertainment, public activities etc. in their living or working areas, while some other residents hope to decrease some of the above facilities, thinking the setting of those facilities would impact their living in the future. Meanwhile, the social demands of different communities will be somewhat diverse. Some communities have good conditions, comparatively complete functional facilities, so their demand of planning is not so urgent, enthusiasm of participating is not so high. But some other communities with bad conditions of facilities and environments are in high demand of improvement by government, so they are highly enthusiastic in participating planning, and will propose some acute problems out of the scale of planning

and investigation, expecting to take the opportunity of community planning to express their own interest.

So the main body of community planning of Yuzhang Street is individuals. We have to obey the principle of interest diversification, try to reflect their respective interests harmonically, to achieve a result that can satisfy any party. Rome is not built in a day, and public participation should be accumulated and advanced step by step. Only by doing so can the planning and design be practiced more smoothly.

3.3 How to combine public planning and private planning

Governmental planning encounters difficulty in practical implementation, while private planning based on popular will is hard to be approved by government, and short of legal basis and guarantee. Urban development is led by planning, community development is the same. The implementation and completion of planning cannot go without community planning. The problem for every one of us to think about is how to fill the vacancy at present rather than simply transplant and copy western community planning. Additionally, the current communities have the characteristics of the times: it is more than mere congregation of people in the same area living together for a long time, besides, reasonable measures should be executed for community residents' different unfixed conditions such as rebuilding of old community, construction of new community and alternation of old and new communities etc. Therefore, theory combined with practice, we conclude that the plan making at present demands a platform of governmental planning. Plan and study the community development under the framework of governmental planning can precipitate the smooth practice of governmental planning, and guarantee the interest and developing demands of community residents, even orient block developing for the developer, so every party can get the fruit it wants. (Fig 3)

Community planning relates to the various interests in community residents' everyday life. It pursues the harmony of the whole environment. It contains block rejuvenation, social construction, economic development, community involvement and community management etc., so the planning is bound to make practical arrangement and design for construction. When it comes to public planning that government authorized, examined and approved, it is on the technical layer of particular planning. When it comes to city subarea planning or city overall planning, their scales are too large, and much more considerations from macroscopic rather than microscopic will reduce the operability of community planning. The planning land of Yuzhang Street covers 4.05 square km, whose size is comparatively corresponding with that of public regulatory plan. Therefore, when making community plan, we can study community development based on this public planning platform. So that

after the completion of the plan, it can offer gist for the adjustment of government's previous public planning, and provide practical guidance for the planning and implementation of different communities as well, and finally reach a win-win end.

4 The cultivating of the spirit and atmosphere of public participation

In the process of the combination of public planning and private planning, multi-participation is a very important part, and the most basic working method. In popular words, a community demands planning, as well as the mass's opinions. But according to the present situation, there are shortages in participation spirit and atmosphere. They are mainly as the following:

4.1 The environment of public participation has not been set up yet

Since the middle of 1950s, our country has executed a set of *pyramid style* highly power-centralized managing system for a long time. Under this mode, government controls layer by layer from top to bottom, and everyone is in its relevant position. Planning, as one of government's work, is in semi-secrecy, that ordinary people have rare chance to get in touch with plan making, let alone bringing into the concept of public participation. The theory and practice exploration of *Public Participation in Urban Planning* has not walked gradually into the public vision until 1990s. But in general, this exploration still exists in form. The majority of ordinary people can only express their opinions to the planning at the final examine and approval stage or after the completion of exhibiting, which is useless for the planning. So government has been used to the mode of *big government, small society* for long. The public has been awarded some rights to know, but relatively very few rights to participate. In addition, government worries that if brings public participation totally, social contradictions can be triggered or inspired. Therefore, the environment of public participation has not been set up yet.

4.2 The social awareness of the public is to be strengthened

Community development has the characteristic of highly power-centralized, and when people are used to such style, they form an ingrained concept that city is in the work content of the government and does not relate with their own lives. They will appeal only when their lives are in inconvenience so as to get relative departments' attention and resolution. Thus the situation appears of more participation in the affairs relating to their own interest, but less participation in the affairs relating with public interest. Furthermore, the history of China's urbanization is short, while its developing velocity is quick. After the changing of identity and role, people have not switched their social concept accordingly yet, and their cultural qualities are not high, thus their initiative in

seeking social voice is not strong. Just because of the insufficient atmosphere of public participation and induction, people have limited awareness of public participation, and would be keen on their own demands if they participate. In the investigation of participation in Yuzhang community of Nanchang, what the residents care from the most to the least is respectively housing type – residential district internal facilities – residential district external facilities – community *planning*. We can conclude from this that at present stage when people's living standard is to be improved, the gap between the aim of public participation and the reality is to be minimized, and people's social awareness is to be strengthened.

4.3 The participation of developers and NPO

In the past, developers only obtained the development rights of land from government through economic way in the process of old city reconstruction and development, and began housing construction and house selling after house removing by government. There are few indigenous people among the new inhabitants, so this developing mode of overall-changing induced much castigation. Now developers have gradually started to realize the shortage of this developing mode which is lack of public participation. They spontaneously organize some similar participating activities, and achieve certain results. In this community planning, some developers actively took part in the investigation and collection of site information and the whole process of public participation. Community residents also initiatively organized some NPO in their participation. Of course, these organizations, compared with those of western countries, are just at germination stage. Under this developing background, actively cultivating NPO and creating a public participation atmosphere appear to be very urgent. It seems to be even more important in the process of community planning relating closely with the living and working of ordinary people.

5 Thinking and prospect

Under the current system and specification of present China's urban planning, only the community planning, which mostly originally initiated by non-governmental background bodies of businessmen, individuals and non-governmental organization, coordinated with the existing system and specification, can it promote community planning, realize the implementation corresponding with the national conditions, and exert the function of the existing mechanism. To meet the trend of development, community planning should progress step by step rather than achieve overnight. It needs long time to accumulate in every stage, as well as participation of various kinds in every process. At the same time, public planning's function as a platform should be brought into full play. The two kinds of planning should be promoted as each

other's supplement and optimization. And attention should be paid to the reasonable expression of community residents' pluralism in their will. What's more, a win-win development mechanism is to be established, to gain the support from multiparty interests of community in reality, which is becoming more and more complicated. China's communities are still developing under the high-speed economic development and violent social reform. Their planning is to adjust and develop accordingly constantly, and our exploration and research will go on as well.

Fig 1 the location of Yuzhang Street
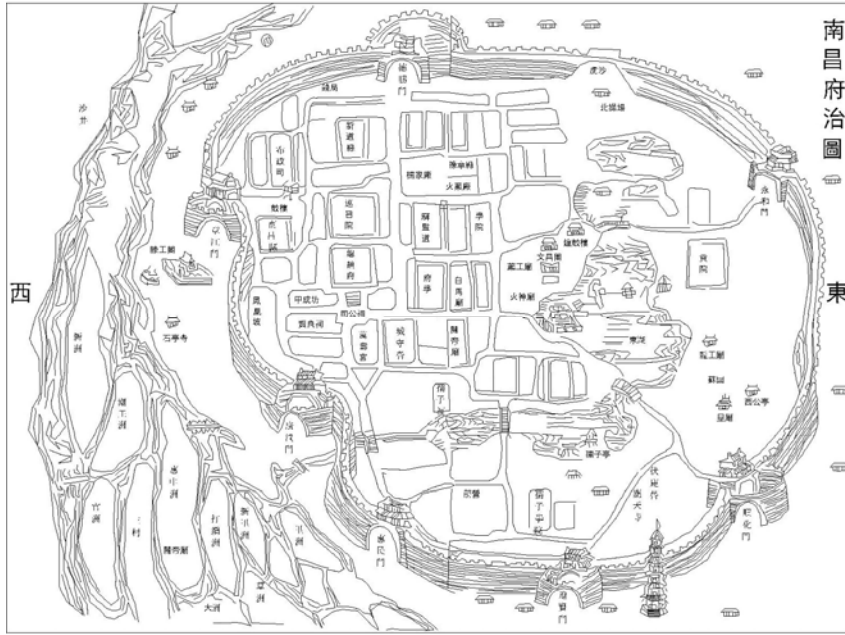
Fig 2 the old map of Nanchang City
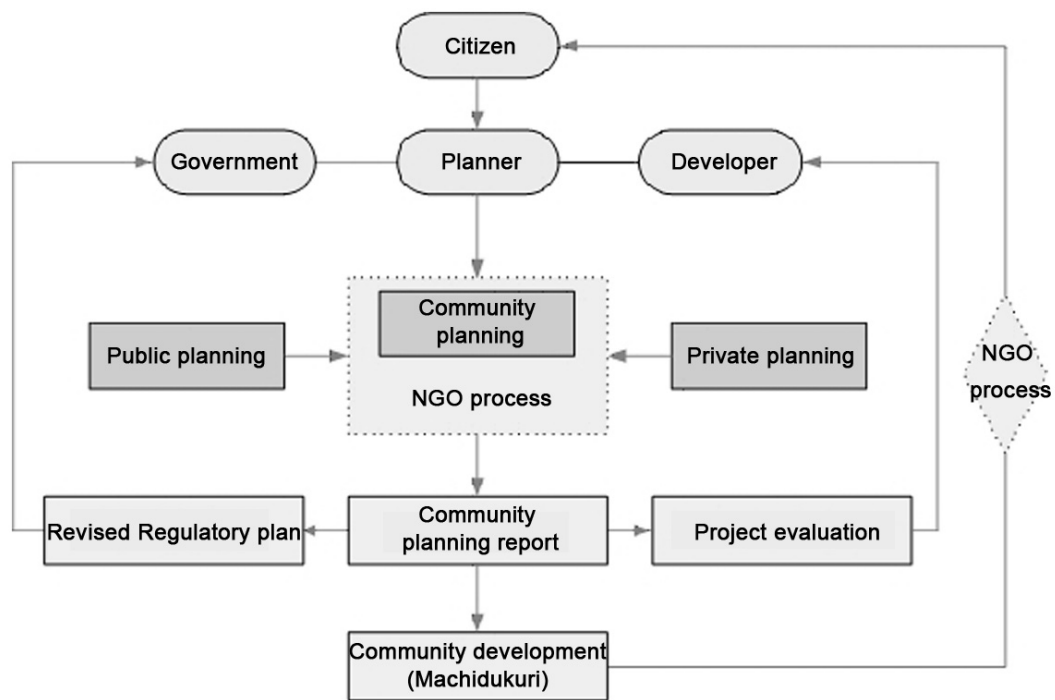
Fig 3 the structure of community planning

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[i] Regulatory plan, it is similar to the zoning code in the USA.

Brazilian city planners and American city planning principles and practices: a starting point of view from Rio de Janeiro's urbanism, from 1930 to 1945

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Introduction

This article analyzes the connection between the ideas and principles of American city planning, mainly as of 1920, with those that have been proposed by Brazilian city planners years afterwards. Some of these proposals were adopted by the local administration of the City of Rio de Janeiro, then the capital of Brazil, especially during the "Estado Novo" [The New State] period (1937-1945).

That period in Brazil was characterized by great centralization of political power and decision making in the hands of the president and the state and local governments. In several Brazilian cities, such as Rio de Janeiro, restructuring projects were undertaken and new forms of urban administration and municipal organization were adopted.

During the same period, access for Brazilian professionals to technical and academic production from other countries was fostered. And, from 1927 to 1930, architect Donat Alfred Agache also contributed decisively to the circulation of ideas, bringing proposals and examples from other countries, such as those expressed in his Plan for the City of Rio de Janeiro.

There is already a recognized connection between Brazil and France regarding urbanism theory, but, in this article, we explore another theoretical connection for city planning ideas, namely, that with the United States. Among the principles and procedures in circulation, we emphasize the requirements of city plans, city planning commissions and finance for urban activities, such as "excess condemnation" (lateral disppropriation) and "special assessment" (urban improvement levy).

With this intention, we analyze articles and books written by four Brazilian engineers, Luiz Ignácio de Anhaia Mello, Washington Azevedo, Armando de Godoy and José Octacílio Saboya Ribeiro, and the proposals offered by the American City Planning Institute, registered in the proceedings of the National Conference on City Planning and in the periodical, 'City Planning', as well as books by affiliated authors, especially those cited by the aforementioned professionals as references. Many of the latter authors had been faculty members at the School of City Planning at Harvard University, which had played a remarkable role in this process due to its capacity to disseminate ideas and train professionals dedicated to the theme.

The post-1930 period and the "Estado Novo"

An understanding of the transformations in Brazilian cities in the period, 1930-1945[1], which included the "Estado Novo" (1937-1945), raises particular aspects of the economic and institutional scenario of the time: a new phase characterized by the industrialization process in the country, and the administrative reform that occurred in the institutions the State.

In political and ideological terms, the 1930 Movement[2] that brought Getúlio Vargas to power, is configured as the opposition to liberalism, to the State dominated by regional oligarchies and to the unconditional protection of the agrarian export model. It brought profound changes to the country with centralization of the political and administrative power necessary for an interventionist policy for changes regarding the industrialization process. (Moraes, 2000)

In the period, 1930-1945, political centralization mechanisms were progressively implemented extended and broadened in the Estado Novo[3], the dictatorial period, in which the Federal Government administered with totalitarian powers. The Estado Novo emerged as the consequence of a situation of hegemonic crisis in which different sectors of the dominant class proved to be incapable of controlling the political machine, thereby creating conditions favorable to the formation of a strong state. (Diniz, 1997)

With regard to the importance of the cities, this was in large part due to the industrialization process, which was driven by institutional conditions created after the 1930 Movement. In practical terms, the oligarchical federalism was replaced by politico-administrative centralization and conceded to the national state to be built, the means for an interventionist and industrialization policy. (Saes, 1984) This industrialization policy, which was part of a nation-building project, competed for the project of an urbanized Brazil.

Especially in the Estado Novo, as of 1937, the intention to build a nation was oriented towards policies for education, culture, protection of natural resources, worker organization and organization of public administration, including at municipal level. In this scenario were found municipalist ideals as elements of Brazilian nation-building.[4] If, however, we could perceive the State after 1930, and, mainly the Estado Novo as of 1937, intensely centralizing in political, administrative and financial terms, we could notice the paradoxical character of the municipalist ideals embedded in this model of State.

The explanation for this paradox is provided by Melo (1993), who, in this conception, highlights the municipality as a pre-political instance protected from the representative instances, without mediation of territorial or party-political instances. The articulation between the two levels would be ensured by centralization, which brings closer and unites the two poles.

Municipalism as a program has accompanied the discussion about cities throughout various decades. Politicians align themselves in ideological terms to this current, which preaches not only the strengthening of municipalities, but rational management and increased resources transferred to them. Juarez Távora, a participant in the 1930 Movement and Minister of Agriculture in the Getúlio Vargas Government from 1932 to 1934, was one of the advocates of the strengthening of municipalities and influenced, in ideological terms, Saboya Ribeiro, one of the professionals focused in this article.

The political and administrative centralization at federal level began soon after the 1930 Revolution, inspired in part by the procedures adopted in the USA as of the beginning of the XX century[5], aimed at greater efficiency in public service. The reform was accompanied by a series of measures, such as the creation of the institutions, like organs for formulation and control of policy, state intervention as a means of weakening or controlling the power of regionally dominant groups, councils and commissions, such as consultative organs[6].

The urbanism in Rio de Janeiro, capital of the Republic, after 1930

For an understanding of the transformations related to urban management in Rio de Janeiro after the 1930 Revolution, it is necessary to recognize the eminently political characteristic of the city, the nation's center of power, administered by mayors appointed by means of accords and permeated by discussions, such as that regarding the political autonomy of the Federal District.[7] The 1930-1937 period was characterized by great political instability and by three mayors, the penultimate of whom, Pedro Ernesto, did not conclude his mandate, as he was deposed and imprisoned. The discontinuity of the action in the urbanistic field was, as a consequence, also a characteristic of the period.

The first mayor, Adolfo Bergamini (1930-1931) remained in power for less than a year, and in the wake of the federal administrative reform measures, attempted to organize the administration[8], creating, among other measures, the "Comissão do Plano da Cidade" [City Plan Commission]. The decree, however, was revoked by his successor, mayor Pedro Ernesto (1931-1936) and re-established the former organization.

In terms of city planning, the contracting of Donat Alfred Agache, in the late 1920s, for preparation of the "Plano de Remodelação e Embelezamento da Cidade" [City's Remodeling and Embellishment Plan], had contributed to discussion about the problems of the time. But the conclusion of the Plan coincided with the 1930 Revolution and with the reaction contrary to everything that had been produced in the "Republica Velha" [Old Republic], including the Plan.[9]

Mayor Henrique Dodsworth (1937-1945), assumed office before the issue of the Estado Novo decree amid support from professionals in the technical sector, in a situation where to administer also meant take initiatives for physical urban reform. The form of action adopted was the execution of a large volume of works favored by the centralization of power in the Estado Novo era.

Outstanding in this context was the Comissão do Plano da Cidade, recreated in 1937[10], on similar lines to those utilized by administrations in the USA. Its justification was the need to devise an improvement program, contemplating pressing works. It was also an attempt by H. Dodsworth (1937-1945) to reply to criticisms of the absence of a plan for Rio de Janeiro, and mainly for not implementing "Plano Agache".

The Commission defined the Plano de Extensão e Transformação da Cidade [City Extension and Transformation Plan], a combined package of highway and urbanization projects resulting from the removal of hills and landfills in the central area. It constitutes the preponderance of urbanism understood as a set of works over the urbanism such as that proposed by D. A. Agache, based on surveys.

With this Commission, however, the bases were constructed for the institutionalization of urbanism as an activity in the ambit of the Rio de Janeiro City Hall, and in 1945[11] it was transformed into the Department of Urbanism, part of the official structure of the local administration.

In the XIª Feira Internacional de Amostras da City do Rio de Janeiro [11th International Fair of Urban Projects for Rio de Janeiro City] in 1938, the City Hall presented its projects. The exhibition was visited by President Getúlio Vargas, who was committed to opening the thoroughfare, Avenida do Mangue, later renamed Av. President Vargas. [12]

In order to viabilize this project, the "Obrigações Urbanísticas" [Urbanistic Obligations] were approved by the President of the Republic[13], an instrument similar to that of "excess condemnation", linked to the surrounding land resulting from urbanization projects. In the Brazilian version, it entails expropriation of an area larger than necessary to carry out the works, utilizing the deeds for the lots created by the new urbanization as collateral for bank finance, rendering the works financially self-sufficient.

Bearing in mind that the consciousness of the increased value of the real estate resulting from public interventions already existed, though previous governments had not tried to exploit this, the Estado Novo period, based on its authoritarian and centralizing approach, was the ideal moment for application of this new instrument: "This system of finance, which also had the merit of allowing the reallotment of the lateral land along the new avenue, deserves to be attentively accompanied by the scholars of municipal finance, and so this seems to be Brazil's first large scale attempt in this terrain". (Dodsworth, 1955, p.40)

City planning in the United States

In the USA, as of the 1920s, an atmosphere of intense discussion was consolidated by theories and experience regarding city planning propitiated by the existence of professional organizations, in particular, the American City Planning Institute, the American Society of Civil Engineers[14], the latter being more linked to works in cities, and the creation of the American Society of Planning Officials[15]. National seminars were held annually, with publications related to its proceedings and technical journals, such

as 'The American City' and 'City Planning'[16], a channel for divulgation of the American City Planning Institute. At the same time, the administrations of the states and cities were professionalized in the urbanistic field, and the Universities introduced graduate courses within the theme.

In 1917, as a result of the 19th National Conference on City Planning, the American City Planning Institute (ACPI) was founded, the first organization for city planners in America, characterized for having among its members the most active and best qualified professionals. This Institute was primarily concerned with public policy and legislation in city planning, and the nature of the profession; in its own words: "to study the art and advance of City Planning". (19th Conference 1927, p.12).[17]

The National Conference on City Planning was held in a different state each year, its proceedings being published under the title, 'Planning problems of city, region, state and nation after 1925'. The first conference occurred in 1909, in Washington, focusing on concerns regarding population congestion and housing conditions in American cities, and oriented towards discussion of the scope of city planning abroad and in the United States.

In the conference themes, it is perceived that, throughout time, the emphasis has lain on particular concerns, even though the necessary city plan, the establishment of zoning and attempts to delimit the field of the city planning have always been present. The affirmation of W. A. Hubbard, then Director of the Harvard School of City Planning, in the 1934 Conference, clarified the scope of the city planning thus:

"We are still concerned with getting straight in our own minds, …, what city planning really is, but I am afraid that we have been more successful in determining what it is not. In the first place, it is not the planning of cities alone. If the idea of planning is good it certainly applies just as much on the one hand to towns and villages and open country, and on the other to counties and states, and in some respects to the whole nation." (1934, p.1)

Other concerns, however, complement those already mentioned, such as the creation and functioning of the city plan commission, and financial management and urbanization of cities. Consulting the conferences proceedings from 1911 to 1934, we can observe that some issues are intensively focused: the discussion of the effectiveness or the progress of city planning (1912, 1913, 1914, 1916,1920, 1924, 1927, 1928, 1931, 1934); the financial gains and the economic value of city planning, the acquisition of land for public improvements and the discussion of procedures as "excess condemnation" and "special assessment" (1911,1912,1914, 1917, 1924, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931,1932, 1934), and city planning administration and the functions of a city plan commission (1912, 1913, 1915,1917,1924,1929, 1930).

The denomination of the conference also provides evidence of the concerns focused. In 1910, it was entitled the 'Second National Conference on City Planning and Congestion of Population'. In 1933, the first after the Crisis of 1929, held jointly with the American

Civic Association,[18] was denominated 'Planning and National Recovery' and discussed city and regional planning in depression and the federal administration of emergency public works. In 1935, the first as the initiative of the American Society of Planning Officials, successor to the American City Planning Institute, was denominated 'Planning for the future of American Cities' and discussed, among other themes, the decadence of the American cities and the efficacy of the city plans.

Regarding the works of the authors cited by the Brazilian professionals, we can observe that some professionals, such as E. Bassett, J. Nichols, J. Nolen, A. Bettman and F.B. Williams were not exclusively oriented to a specific issue and discussed different matters related to the general theme of city planning.

On the other hand, R. E. Cushman and A. E. Buck were particularly devoted to the study of "excess condemnation" and "special assessment". T. Adams was oriented to the study of the history of city planning and its scope. N. P. Lewis with his book, "Planning the Modern City", influenced all other professionals on the issue of financial gains, city planning administration and city planning commissions, after its first edition in 1912, as well as W.B. Munro and his books on government and municipal administration.

Regarding city planning courses[19], there are strong connections among professional associations, especially the American City Planning Institute with the foundation at Harvard University, the nation's first Academic Department of City Planning, established in 1929. Many of its members are also lecturers or professors at Harvard: H. Hubbard[20], T. Adams, G. B. Ford, F. B. Williams, A. C. Comey , A. Bettman and E. Bassett.

Brazilian professionals and their relation with urbanism in the USA in the 1920s and 1930s

In the 1920s and 30s, Brazilian professionals defended the need for master plans, citing, in their articles and books, forms of management and instruments applied by American urbanism. Among them, the outstanding are the publications by Luiz Ignácio de Anhaia Mello, Washington Azevedo, Armando de Godoy and José Octacílio Saboya Ribeiro, the latter two authors having been significantly involved with the technical corps of the Federal District, Rio de Janeiro.

Engineer Anhaia Mello[21], through his book published in 1929,"Problemas de urbanismo, bases para a resolução do problema técnico" [Problems of urbanism, bases for solution of the technical problem] produced a treatise on municipal administration focused on urbanism, comparing the experiences of France, Germany and England, and covering the USA's proposals in greater depth.

In this book, which compiles lectures given throughout 1928 and 1929, he stressed the American initiatives in the field of urbanism. The importance of the author and this book, and their impact on other professionals is undeniable, cited by Washington Azevedo (1932) and innumerable times by Saboya Ribeiro (1936) in their publications.

Azevedo in his article in 1932 about architecture in cities, in reality an article about urbanism, states: "The true urbanism was born in Germany. The War and the financial difficulties paralyzed the German efforts, but the USA came to expand this initiative to the point of turning it into a great science. Some months ago, Dr. Anhaia Mello, ex-mayor of São Paulo and engineer, that possesses great understanding and culture with regard to urban problems, said to me, that the sole source for urbanism studies were the American books. (1932, p.151)

Although no evidence exists of Mello's trips abroad, consultation of his personal collection shows evidence of a professional oriented towards new ideas in the urbanistic field in countries like England, France and the United States, the latter being especially contemplated: "In matters of Urbanism, the Americans are in the vanguard of the world; they are Wagnerians of this science and art, while we are still rehearsing the «La donna é mobile» of fragmented projects. There, with city problems overcome, solutions are already being sought for the large districts or metropolitans regions, like New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, San Francisco, Pittsburgh, Washington and others." (Mello, 1929, p. 31)

Among the books he possessed by American authors, we can highlight the sources of some of his proposals concerning our theme: "The planning of the modern city" by Nelson P. Lewis (1922), which presents principles and proposals for legislation of urbanism and finance for the city plan; "The law of city planning and zoning" by Frank B. Williams (1922), in which are discussed the excess and zone condemnation and reallotment in the USA and Europe, plus the finance of the planning and administration in the USA, Canada, France and England; 'A standard city planning enabling act' by Herbert Hoover (1928), an act that deals with municipal planning and planning commissions and "Model laws for planning cities, counties and states" by Edward Basset, Frank B. Williams, Alfred Bettman and Robert Whitten, published by Harvard University (1935), in which planning laws, zoning and planning commissions are discussed.

Anhaia Mello analyzes the main ideas and urbanism professionals in the USA. In particular, he cites H. Bartholomew, J. Nolen, "who, after Bartholomew, is the urban planner who has most produced in the USA", T. Adams, "director of the Regional Plan for New York and environs, the greatest work of urbanism ever conducted and financed by the Russell Sage Foundation", Bettman, Bassett and Williams, "the men to whom the American cities owe the admirable progress to their urbanistic legislation, far superior to that of the old European cities" and W. B. Munro. (1929 , p.36)

On the other hand, Washington Azevedo[22] had direct contact with the principles of "city planning" practiced in the USA, where he did a postgraduate course at Harvard University in 1932. He opened a technical consulting office in Rio de Janeiro, and the title urbanist-engineer was encountered in his articles (1932, 1934). Upon consultation of his study records at Harvard University, we verified that prior to his postgraduation in "City Planning", he had already undergone another at Institut d'Urbanisme in Sorbonne, France, concluded in 1927.

The usual behavior among the postgraduate students at the Harvard School of City Planning was the sending of news to the director of the institution, keeping him abreast of their professional development. There is, however, an exchange of correspondence between H. V. Hubard, director of the "School of City Planning" and W. Azevedo, in which is expressed the importance of the ideas divulgated in the courses for his work. The exchange took place between October 1933 and October 1936, and began in response to a request from Hubbard about an assessment of the training received.

Azevedo presented the conclusion of two reports[23]. The first, about the organization of a commission for control of municipal activities in Minas Gerais State, gave rise to the book, 'A Organização Técnica dos Municipios'(1935) [The Technical Organization of the Municipalities], and the second, about the city plan for Recife, resulted in the publication, 'Urbanismo no Brasil' (1934) [Urbanism in Brazil], dealing mainly with the city plan commission.

Azevedo, in reply to a request for an assessment of the training, highlighted the courses run by A. Comey, and the technical literature that contributed to his professional qualification. Thus, he commended "The planning of the modern city" by N. P. Lewis, the 'Regional Plan of New York and its environs" - according to him, a sort of encyclopaedia, "Recent advances in town planning" by T. Adams, main author of the Plan of New York, and, among others, "The law of city planning and zoning" by F. B. Williams. In the area of municipal administration and finance, Azevedo further highlights the books written by W. B. Munro, Lent D. Upson, A. E. Buck and J. Wright. His book, 'A Organização Técnica dos Municipios' reproduces the main concepts divulgated in the School of City Planning, by which he influenced others, especially J. O. Saboya Ribeiro. Azevedo dedicated this book to Thomas Adams and William Bennett Munro, professors of City Planning and Municipal Government and Administration at Harvard University, "to whom I owe much and to whom Urbanism and Municipal Administration owe a lot (1935, p.v)"

In Brazil, the relationship of W. Azevedo with public administration and the divulgation of his ideas in the federal ambit, which compete for the acceptance and adaptation of his proposals, seemed to take place after his work for the Minas Gerais State Government, the origin of his book "A Organização Técnica dos Municipios":

"With the advent of the 1930 Revolution, the Mayors began to be nominated by the interventors. The municipal administration was centralized. .... Dr. Gustavo Capanema, then Secretary of the Interior, Minas Gerais State, understanding the need for exclusively administrative control, and, therefore, of a technical nature, submitted the problem to our opinion, in May 1932. In January of the next year, this opinion was presented." (1935, p.vii)

Gustavo Capanema, then Secretary of the Interior, Minas Gerais State, later, as of 1934 [24] became Minister of Education and Health under President Getúlio Vargas, with extension of his power over the forms of urban administration, including that of the Federal District, the capital of the Republic.

Another two engineers, José Octacílio Saboya Ribeiro and Armando de Godoy, were reponsible for divulgating the principles of American urbanism with greater proximity to the technical sphere of the City of Rio de Janeiro.

Armando de Godoy[25], as of 1923, acted in defense of a plan for Rio de Janeiro. It was he, among other professionals, who exerted pressure on the administration prior to the 1930 Revolution, which resulted in the contracting of D. A. Agache to prepare a master plan (1926-1930). After 1930, the Agache Plan was not implemented, despite having been evaluated by a commission[26] in which he was a member. Godoy disagreed publicly with abandoning the instrument, (1931,1936), having been one of the voices, along with Saboya Ribeiro, who had insisted on the importance of city planning.

His production[27], in general, is oriented towards planning as a necessity and the reproduction of examples from the USA. After his visit that country, he situated himself in this line, as in the article, "O Urbanismo nos Estados Unidos"(1935) [Urbanism in the USA], which, besides presenting a picture of American urbanism and the example of cities he had visited, defends the city plan commissions and the Nova York regional plan as an example of planning: "the most gigantic and complex plan devised until today" (1935, p.211-212). In another article in 1935, 'As conseqüências sociais e econômicas dos princípios do urbanismo' [The social and economic consequences of the principles of urbanism], cites Hoover, who, "as Minister of Commerce and later as President of the United States, contributed much to the principles of urbanism." (p.712).

Godoy was one of the voices that reproduced the guidelines of American urbanism in Brazil via his articles. On the other hand, we find J. O. Saboya Ribeiro[28], a young engineer, acting not only through articles, but also as a consultant of the Federal District Government. The structuring of the Federal District Government (PDF) as of 1937 coincides with the period in which Saboya Ribeiro was linked to the City Plan Commission, as the author of various projects. His articles and books reflect the initiatives of European countries, but dwells, just like Anhaia Mello, on American urbanism. It was only in the 1950s that he left Brazilian shores, the occasion being an international congress[29].

In a work in 1936, 'A cidade e o Estado' [The city and the State] he cited, as references for his proposals, the books by W. Azevedo, "O urbanismo no Brasil" (1934) [Urbanism in Brazil], Anhaia Mello and his book, 'Problemas de Urbanismo" (1928) [Problems of Urbanism], and N. P. Lewis, 'Planning the modern city'(1922), on themes related to the city plan commissions, the administration of the City, the figure of the city-manager and the need for the municipalist technician, cognizant of the problems of the cities. He did not, however, focus on issues of revaluation of the land for the purpose of urbanization works.

Saboya Ribeiro's statements reflected the desire for a strong, organized, anti-liberal state that solves the major national issues as expressed in the cities. Such ideals justified his affinity[30], and, as a consequence, the opportunities in advising the City Plan Commission throughout the Estado Novo period.

Principles and ideas divulgated by the Brazilian professionals

In the articles and books by Brazilian professionals we focus, the recurrent theme is the relevance of city planning and the preparation of a master plan. Besides this, Brazilian authors highlight the city plan commissions and the figure of the city manager or municipalist technician. The need to restore property values subsequent to public works and the respective are also current issues, with emphasis on the discussion regarding the advantages of the application of each one of the instruments: "excess condemnation" or "special assessment". Among the model documents mentioned, the outstanding are the 'Regional Plan of New York and its environs' (1930) and the 'Standard City Planning Enabling Act' (1928), published as guidelines for American states and cities.

With regard to the city plan commission, Anhaia Mello (1929) stated: "Another administrative device of the modern, progressive American cities (adopted by 529 of the major cities in 44 states) is the City Plan Commission. Either we adopt an identical device or we will never do complete, durable work in the field of urbanism"(p.70)

And he cited A. Bettman in the National Urbanism Conference in Dallas: "The need of this organ arises from the very nature of the problem of urbanization. Each municipal government organ is in charge of a specialized type of physical development or administrative activity. For this reason it is inevitably partial in its particular type. The adjustment of these parts can only be made by an organ interested (but disinterested...) in the problem in its entirety." (p.71)

In this regard, Armando de Godoy, (1936) in an article in which he evaluated the administrations of the City of Rio de Janeiro, issues the following warning:

> "The history of innumerable North American cities shows us the enormous services that the City Commissions may render to the population centers, when they are well constituted and dominated by high social purposes: and aesthetics. The urbanism commissions function as an intermediate organ, of great utility, between the government and public opinion, enormously facilitating the tasks of the municipal authorities." (1936, p.309)

Saboya Ribeiro, in 1936, defended the institution of management of the cities by commissions, citing the City Plan Commission with the purpose of "overseeing the growth of cities and their improvement; apolitical commission and outside the administrative sphere of the municipalities and has rendered great services to cities like New York." (1936, p.92)

His administrative model for cities was via councils or independent commissions of elected representatives, utilized by the local administration in the U.S.A, which commenced around 1900 and radiated out to various states, reaching 400 cities by around 1915. Some contemplating the figure of "manager", a technician without a political link who managed various municipal departments. (1936, p. 89)

For Azevedo, the commission should also include cities and regions. For this reason, according to him, the most comprehensive was: "that in which I include as consultants the technicians of greater universal reputation, the 'Regional Plan of New York and its environs', which covers an area of 14,200 sq. km, including 400 cities and part of 3 states. In 1915, Arthur C. Comey, was already arguing in favor of cooperation among the studies regarding state and municipal public services."(p.180)

The proposals found in the books by Azevedo (1934, 1935) are mainly related to the administrative organization of the states and municipalities. Among the measures "to rationalize and 'industrialize' the municipal administration" (1935, p.7), in his words, reaffirms the importance of the city manager, a specialized technician to be maintained in the administrations and independent of political groups, in accordance with a proposal presented by, among others, N. P. Lewis.

However, Azevedo did not mention "excess condemnation" as a means of financing urbanization, but "special assessment", as evidence of the divergence of opinions on the best instrument: "The widening of streets must be financed, as already mentioned, by taxes in general and special ones created for this purpose, that is, what the Americans call "special assessments". After a certain time lapse, the onus of these taxes is borne by the parties benefited by the improvements. In Brazil, these are termed improvement taxes. Various methods were created to determine what would be a fair distribution of such tax and it can be presumed that the scheme presented by Nelson P. Lewis is the most satisfactory." (p. 121)]

The discussion about the advantages arising from the utilization of "excess condemnation" or "special assessment" took place in Brazil, in the same period and in the same way as in the USA, and intensified in subsequent decades. Mayor H. Dodsworth (1937-1945) in his book published in 1955 about the opening of Avenida Presidente Vargas, stated: "An attitude of prudent reserve regarding the results is what is most suitable in the face of the plans of 'excess condemnation'. Even admitting, however, that the success of the plan (Av. Presidente Vargas) from the financial aspect was complete, we will have to consider that the expropriation by zone constitutes an exceptional financing process, which, only in rare cases, can be effectively applied, and that, from the fiscal point of view, is unjust and unequal." (1955, p.41)

He stated, citing, among others, R. E. Cushman that the instrument presented great risks of financial failure, constitutional difficulties and disadvantages in relation to "special assessment", regarding the revaluation of the land.

Final considerations

In underlining the importance of the American participation in the formation of urbanistic thinking in Brazil, in particular, in Rio de Janeiro, the Federal District, we cannot isolate it from other branches, whose models reach us sometimes via the hands of the foreign professionals mentioned in this article. Authors that are featured in the Brazilian technical literature through their articles and books, in particular, T. Adams (an English

urbanist), W. B. Munro, F. L. Olmsted, F. B. Williams, reproduce the English, German and French experiences as an introduction to the theme of planning or as a counterpart to that practiced in the USA, which shows us the importance of these initiatives as constituents of the knowledge field of urbanism.

It is also befitting to recall the importance of French urbanism brought by D. Alfred Agache[31] invited, in 1926, to devise the plan for the City of Rio de Janeiro. The contribution of this plan to the discussion about the problems of the city in that period is undeniable, and it should also be stressed that among his proposals there are instruments that we are discussing[32]: the city plan commissions and the procedures for recovery of land value arising from urbanization projects.

On the other hand, we must not forget that other Brazilian authors also dedicate themselves to the study of experiences in France, including those linked to modernist urbanism and other urbanistic experiences in England or Germany in the period covered by our research.

The point presented here, therefore, does not consist of attributing supremacy to a particular school in the formation of ideas, but shedding light on a less discussed current, perhaps by its presence in the sphere of Brazilian professionals, more due to issues related to municipal administration than the general principles of urbanism. Even so, we must highlight that other themes, contemplating examples of American experiences also reached us, such as those related to parks, free areas and the highway and transport system as of the 1930s.

Finally, the links between the urbanistic thinking of Brazilian professionals and the technical literary production from the United States lead us to recognize the divulgation capacity of this current that reaches us and influences government practice. The explanation for its power seems to lie in the circulation of the innumerable books and articles produced by American professionals, propitiated mainly by the annual holding of the National Conference on City Planning and by the publications resulting from it, such as the Proceedings and the magazine, 'City Planning'. Besides this, as we have mentioned, this is due to the recognition of postgraduate city planning courses in that country, that began to have as early as 1929.

As regards Brazil, what appears to be clear is that, in the period following the 1930 Revolution until the end of Estado Novo, there was a political and ideological conjuncture that included the municipalist ideals, and this was transformed into measures for rationalization of administrative organization. This setting was favorable to receiving proposals from American city planning and were adopted, in the case of the City of Rio de Janeiro, into the City Plan Commission and the institution of the "Obrigações Urbanísticas" [urbanistic obligations], based on "excess condemnation", procedures and options in matters of city planning, adjusted to the country's reality at that moment.

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Notes

[1] On this subject, see Décio Saes, (1984), Eli Diniz, (1997) and M. Célia M. de Moraes (2000).

[2] After November 1930, Getúlio Vargas, head of the Provisional Government, suspended the 1891 Constitution, dissolved the National Congress and the State Assemblies, and replaced the governors by appointed interventors.

[3] The Estado Novo was characterized by a major concentration of the political power and means of communication in the hands of the President of the Republic, publication of the 1937 Constitution and the dissolution of the parties, besides the closure of the National Congress, State Assemblies and Municipal Chambers. The municipal mayors were designated by the interventors appointed by the President.

[4] An example highlighted by Melo (1993, p.4) is the proposal, in the 1934 Constituinte [Constitutional Convention], from ex-lieutenant and Minister Juarez Tavora for reorganization of the country into a municipalist federation. In it, the states would perform the role of intermediary between the sovereign union and the autonomous municipalities.

[5] In the USA, procedures adopted in the "Progressive Era" and others by H. Hoover, responsible for measures in the management of cities, constituted models for other countries. Favorable attitude toward urban-industrial society, belief in ability of experts and in the efficacy of government intervention formed part of the principles of the "Progressive Era."

[6] Decree no. 20.348 of 20th August 1931, issued by the Provisional Government, instituted consultative councils in the states, in the Federal District and in the municipalities, limited independent financial activity at these government levels, dictated rules for public service, and, moreover, suppressed municipalities via small annual budgets.

[7] The autonomist banner used to identify Rio de Janeiro as the "land for everyone, except its own" or "an attractive head that does not think". Getúlio Vargas allows the autonomist proposal, but yearned to construct a solid axis among the political forces and only then allow it. (Sarmento, Carlos Eduardo, lecture on 3rd September 2007).

[8] Decree no. 3.622 of 14th September 1931.

[9] Denomination given to the republican period prior to the 1930 Revolution.

[10] Decree-Law no. 6.092 of 8th November 1937, approved by President Getúlio Vargas. It constituted a recreation given that another had already existed in 1931.

[11] Decree-Law no. 8.304 of 1945.

[12] The avenue, inaugurated in 1944, with a width of 80 m, resulted in the demolition of 525 buildings.

[13] The Obrigações Urbanísticas [urbanistic obligations] were approved by Decree-Law no. 2.722 of 30th October 1940, federal decree, and regulated by the City/Town Hall by Decree no. 6.896 of 28th December 1940.

[14] The American Society of Civil Engineers (ASCE), the oldest national engineering society in the United States was founded in 1852.

[15] The American Society of Planning Officials was founded in 1934, an organization for planners, planning commissioners, and planning-related public officials.

[16] In 1925, City Planning no. 1 was published.

[17] The institute changed its name to the American Institute of Planners (AIP) in 1939 and later joined with the American Society of Planning Officials (ASPO) in 1978 to form the American Planning Association (APA). (Hopper, Mary, 2000)

[18] The National League for Civic Improvement was established in 1900, and merged with the American Park and Outdoor Association in 1904 to form the American Civic Association. In 1935, this organization merged with the National Conference on City Planning to form the American Planning and Civic Association. (Cornell University Archives, 2008)

[19] Education in city planning was first provided in the School of Landscape Architecture in 1909. In 1923, an optional curriculum was established leading to a master's degree in Landscape Architecture in the field of City Planning, and, in 1929, a separate School of City Planning was founded.(School of City Planning, 1930, p.9) The second course was founded in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology – MIT in 1932.

[20] H. Hubbard , director of the School of City Planning in Harvard was editor of the magazine, 'City Planning' for 10 years.

[21] He was born in 1891 in São Paulo and concluded his graduation as architect-engineer in 1913. He was professor of city planning and Mayor of the City of São Paulo for two periods during 1930 and 1931.

[22] He was born in 1904 in São Paulo. He concluded his graduation in Mackenzie University in 1923. His office in Rio de Janeiro was situated in the Edifício Castelo Avenida Nilo Peçanha 151, 803/804. Although not stated in his educational school record, we deduce from the information in later correspondence that, in 1932, he was attending the course on City Planning at Harvard University. (Harvard Archives, consultation in October 2008)

[23] Letter sent to Hubbard on 27th November 1933.

[24] In 1935, once again, we found Azevedo as a technician in the confidence of Minister Capanema, commissioned to advise him on the choice of project for the university campus in response to the reactions of Brazilian professionals against the invitation made by the Minister to the Italian architect, Marcello Piacentini, who designed Rome University campus, executed under the fascist regime.

[25] He was born in 1876, in Minas Gerais State, and died in 1944. He graduated as an engineer in 1903 and was the editor of 'Revista Municipal de Engenharia' from its foundation (1932) till 1943.

[26] The Plan was examined in 1931 by a commission, which included Armando de Godoy (president), Henrique Novaes, Lúcio Costa, Arquimedes Memória, Ângelo Bruhns, Raul Pederneiras and José Mariano Filho, who decided to approve it with modifications.

[27] Godoy was the reporter of the commission that prepared the first Code of Urban Works for Rio de Janeiro (Decree 2021/1924, Decree 2087/1925). He stated that to draft it "he was greatly inspired by the celebrated work of Lawrence Veiller, 'The Model Housing Law'". (1943, p. 320).

[28] He was born in Ceará in 1903 and died in 1969. He graduated in engineering at Escola Politécnica do Rio de Janeiro. His professional activity was mainly in the City of Rio de Janeiro.

[29] In the 1950s, the engineer participated in an International Congress in Puerto Rico. This information was provided by his son, J. O. Saboya Ribeiro Filho, on 22nd February 2008.

[30] After the decline of the Estado Novo, his texts contained críticism of the excessive centralization of the central government, in detriment to other forms of management by commissions. Saboya Ribeiro, J.O. 'Urbanização do Rio de Janeiro e o Problema do Tráfego', Conference at Clube de Engenharia, Revista do Clube de Engenharia (Rio de Janeiro, BR: November 1948), p. 329 and 'Por uma política de descentralização urbana', Revista do Clube de Engenharia (Rio de Janeiro, BR: November 1953), p. 57.

[31] In Anhaia Mello's collection there are books by D. A. Agache: Comment reconstruire nos cites détruites (Paris, FR: Librarie Armand Colin, 1916), La remodelation d'une capitale, aménagement, extension, embelissement (Paris, FR: Société Coopérative d''Architectes, 1932).

[32] The circulation of ideas between the USA and France resulted in Agache's article, 'City planning in the United States' published in the magazine, 'City Planning', the official organ of the American City Planning Institute, vol. VI, October 1930, p.264-269, in which he analyzes different trends in American city planning.

A study on 'flexibility' and 'mobility' of mega-structures design shown after 1960's architecture – urban theory

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1. Introduction

1-1. Purpose and background

Banham addressed the realization a few years earlier, in his melancholy epilogue to Megastructure: Urban Futures of the Recent Past(1976). Megastructures and other experimental practices of the 1960's embraced the period's liberation sentiments and the "belief in the permissive and the open-ended, in a future with 'alternative scenarios".[1]This was quite different trial from the modernist dreams of a totalizing environmental control which urge to impose a simple and architectonic order on the layout of human society and its equipment. Rapid economic development and concentration of population and industries in urban areas have aggravated space problems in urban areas. As the space available for development is limited, rational and multi-dimensional development of the land got to be needed.

Questioning of modernism was of course nothing new; from New Monumentality, Neo-liberty, and the multifaceted work of Team 10 to practices that embraced system theory, cybernetics, and the behavioral and social sciences after modern architecture had been repeatedly challenged throughout the decades following the Second World War. Yet after experimentation with new technologies and new social subjectivities in the 1960s, the '70s marked a watershed and a distinctly post-utopian turn.[2]

This paper begins with the investigation of the background of Avant-garde architecture's theory covering the theory of ideal cities in 19C~20C. The reason why we focus on the period of 1960~70s experimental movement after CIAM is that it seems to be reasonable to see this period as turning point of the urban theories' paradigm in 20th century. Since 19th century, we try to see the Ideal cities which expedite the birth of modern urban theory and radical creative suggestions of the early 20th century in the terms of 'historical avant garde'. The work of number of British and European architects and urbanists(often called the radical avant-garde) will be discussed within the greater intellectual and cultural milieu of bodily and psychological freedom, liberation, and permissiveness that exploded during the 1960s and early 1970s. Themes of liberation and freedom were commonplace by the mid-1960s: the civil right, feminist, and free speech movements were only a few of the numerous peaceful coalition that formed under the banner of freedom.

The purpose of this study is to clarify the meaning of 'Flexibility' and 'Mobility' of mega-structure design shown in the experimental architecture movements and theories after CIAM (Confress Internationaux d`Architecture Moderne) which was finished with 10th conference in 1956. Throughout this trial, the concept and features of sustainable urban

growth of experimental and radical architecture-urban theories can be found and understood as the possibility to be able to adapt to the contemporary cities.

2. Ideal cities and new urbanism theories

2.1 19C ideal cities theory

An underlying assumption of was the rationalism, functionalism, and mode of production espoused by the modern movement was analyzed and critiqued by this third generation of architects who ultimately found the "modern project" to be unfinished, alienating, and repressive. It was the modern ideal of architecture as rational and functional , and its utopian desire to engender a better world through

Centrists' Ideas	
	1800
	1850
	1900
La Villa Radieuse (Le Corbusier)	1935
Counter- attack against 'Subtopia' (Nairn)	1955
Urban Ingra (TEAM10,GEAM,Archigram)	
Urban Diversity (Jacobs, Sennett)	1960
Civilia (de Wofle)	1970
Compact City (Dantzig & Saaty) 5 ,	1975
Compact City (National Government Newman & Kenworty, ECOTEC,CPRE,FOE)	1990

Decentrists' Ideas
New Lanark   (Robert Owen)
Saltaire   (Titus Salt) Bournville   (George Cadbury) Port Sunlight   (William Lever)
Garden Cities   (Ebenezer Howard)
Broadacres City   (Frank Lloyd Wright) A new Community Plan
New Towns Movement   (Mumford, Osborn, TCPA)
Market solutions   (Gordon & Richardson, Evans, Cheshire, Simmie) "Good life"   (Robertson, Green & Holliday)

the symbolic representation of the mode of production, that this generation of architects who grew up during the war both celebrated and critiqued.

European modernists like Charles-Edouard "Le Corbusier" Jeanneret and Ludwig Hilberseimer were revolutionaries, fascinated with large-scale schemes that would wipe away the old order and comprehensively reorganize cities for personal mobility via the automobile. The selling points

were speed, efficiency, cleanliness and progress, a message that played especially well in America.

There was nothing new about proposals for a vertical, industrial metropolis. By the 1920s, various visions had been floating around for over a generation. Possibly the earliest was King Champ Gillette's "Metropolis," which he outlined in his book *The Human Drift* (1894). Gillette proposed a city of high rise towers to be located in the region of Buffalo, NY and powered by Niagara Falls. Everyone would live in 25-story apartments arranged around domed atria.

Gillette proposed a well-connected street network made of hexagonal blocks and triangular, glass-roofed islands. Below the surface were three levels for electric transport, deliveries, maintenance and infrastructure. Gillette's blocks were 900 feet across, which was large for a pedestrian-oriented plan but on par with Manhattan's 800-foot blocks.
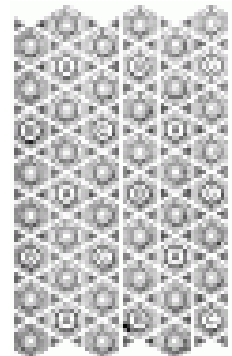
Visions of the vertical metropolis continued to catch the public's fancy. William Robinson Leigh, a painter of wilderness landscapes and Indians, painted his atypical "Visionary City" in 1908. Leigh portrayed the urban superstructure of the future as a vertiginous massif illuminated by a ruddy sunset. But even this mega-structural vision had a well-connected thoroughfare network, with bridge crossings spaced at regular city block intervals.

"King's Dream of New York" appeared in the 1908 annual souvenir book of New York architecture published by the Moses King Corporation. A more bustling version than Leigh's future, this was the Manhattan of 1908 compounded vertically, yet retaining its fundamental pedestrian orientation at ground level.

In Chicago, planner Daniel Burnham was commissioned to create a plan for the Chicago region. Burnham was the most famous planner in the nation, having designed and built the epochal 1893 Chicago World's Fair and having planned the National Mall in Washington. Burnham's 1909 Chicago plan proposed multilevel thoroughfares snaking through downtown with towers rising above. The upper level was to be a grand boulevard for pedestrians and vehicles, while the lower level would serve as an intermodal freight distribution network. This was actually built (albeit for automobiles only) as Wacker Drive in 1924-26. The vertical metropolis was in the Zeitgeist of the day — but always with a pedestrian and mass transit orientation.

2.2 The critique about the modern movement

Le Corbusier made the most dramatic leap yet towards the auto-oriented city. He demanded that existing cities be razed and built anew from the ground up. He proposed a thoroughfare network composed of multi-level freeways, forming a grid of superblocks 1,300 feet on a side. All citizens would live in 60-story towers and slabs, creating densities of 400 people/acre while also freeing most of the surface as open space for sports and decorative landscaping.
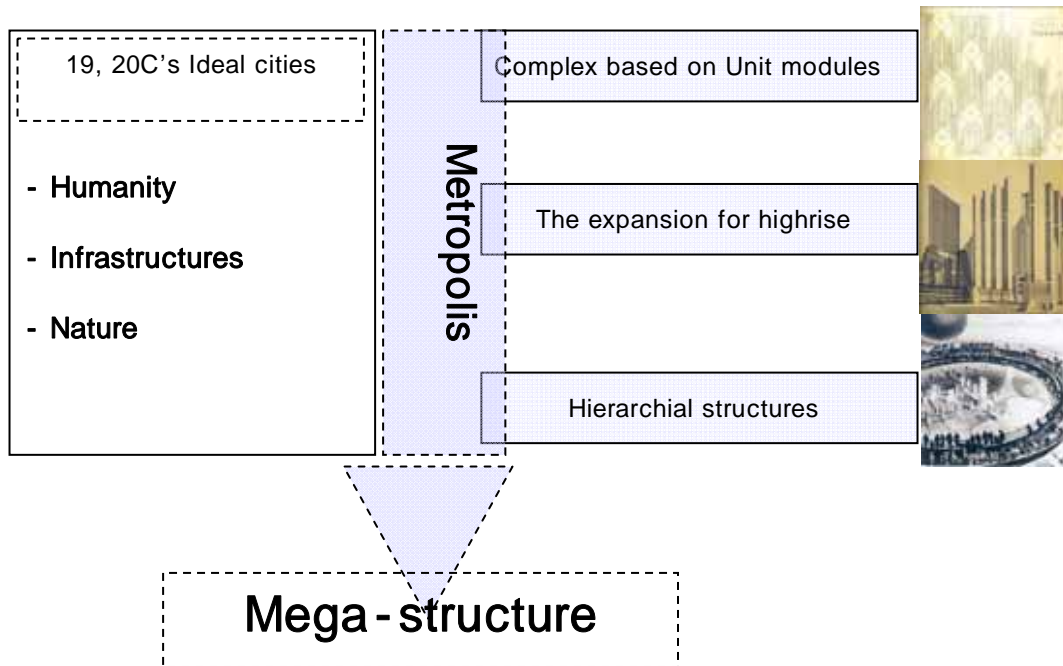
In Le Corbusier's concept, the street was abolished. He opposed the placement of residences next to streets with a fundamentalist's fervor: Because freeway ramps would connect directly to the towers' garages, there was scarcely any need for people to walk anywhere. But in case they did have the desire, there would be underground tunnels allowing pedestrians to access neighboring superblocks and streetcar stops.
The repetition of the blocks resulted in too much uniformity. Every natural thing was excluded: no tree or grassy area broke the monotony. The result was more a necropolis than a metropolis, a sterile landscape of asphalt and cement, inhuman in every aspect.[3] Another mega-structures' theorist, Ludwig Hilberseimer said like this from 'Grossstadtarchitektur' which was published in 1927.

> "The megastructures basically depend on the two factors: the room as the basic unit and urban structure as total system. Basic housing cell, the total urban system and the single unit as the gradient establish the residential complex block and decide the housing type."[4]

This explains that each cell unit is main important factor to decide the urban design. In short, the metropolis shown in modern ideal cities is the mega-structure as the complex based on the basic cell unit.

In the late 1920s, Hilberseimer began to theorize more dispersed settlement patterns with more green space. He proposed a strict separation of uses into dedicated districts: industrial, commerce and administration, and residential. He developed "branching" or hierarchical thoroughfare patterns to eliminate automobile conflicts and danger to pedestrians.

However, the complex of Cell of Hilberseimer got rid of the possibility of diversity or flexibility which can be different from the individual residence and provided the massive productivity. There is the limitation that the networks of cells appear as the uniformed features in any environment. Here, we can suggest that another possibility for the future urban needs was the autonomy which were disregarded in modern urban theory and could be important alternatives as the new demands for future system in order to be able to response individually and spontaneously according to the residential environment

19, 20C's Ideal cities		Complex based on Unit modules
- Humanity	Metropolis	The expansion for highrise
- Infrastructures		
- Nature		Hierarchial structures

Mega- structure

3. "Mobility" and "flexibility" of avant-garde movement after 1960s

3.1 The birth of experimental movement of 1960s

As Europe recovered from the ravages of World War 2, many of the youth of Britain, France and Italy turned away from the brute reality of their broken cities and shattered lifestyle and began to seek a new life through education.

The next generation of young European and British architects who went to school during 1950s and began to practice and teach during the late 1950s and early 1960s were less convinced by Modernism's social and formal aims, but were attracted to the architectural potential of advances in technology that were the handmaiden of progress. Instead of looking to the more formalized work of Le Corbusier and Mies van der Rohe, They championed designers such as Buckminster Fuller and group like archigram, Haus-Rucker, and Superstudio and architects such as Hans Hollein among many others embraced the ideology of liberation, freedom, and pleasure that permeated Europe and the United States during the 1960s.[5]

3. 2 The meaning of 'Flexibility' and 'Mobility' of Megastructures

The various architecture group of 1960's tried to make various meanings in the aspects of "Flexibility" and "Mobility" to the transition history of architecture. "Self-control" make it possible for resident to intervene positively in circumstances by application of a demand for residence's environment. "Flexibility" enabled to examine several experiments as alternative proposal about complicated technology at the side of

facilities. It became the factors to be able to recognize the limitation of modernization and arouse the experimental and practical architectural movement and groups such as TeamX, GEAM(Group d'Etude d'Architecture Mobil), Archigram, Metabolism, Superstudio and Archizoom.

This main issues of ideal cities were Human Circumstances, Infrastructures, and High density of residence. Those issues became the basic idea for expanding modern design of metropolitan After the Second World War II. The rapid economical growth resulted in the excessive belief about the mechanical response and caused the problem of lost identity and isolated settlement. This brought some changes, such as mega-structures through network, free-developing structures based on infra, and high density residence of new form. Additionally, "Self-control city as a foundation of mental state" and the "Flexibility including potential movement" are two factors. It came to be critical focus that can figure out features of avant-garde architecture after CIAM.

Modern architecture		Avant'garde Urban Architecture	
Restricted space		Network space	Mobility
Fuctional Space	Avant'garde Urban Architecture Theory in 1960's	Interchagne space	
Introduce the meaning of Time		'Mobility' thorough physical network of Infrastructures	
- Human Environment	Humanism	No- directional Free growth structure	Flexibility
- non limited Growth cities based on the Infrastructure	Infrastructures	Organic Growh of densed low rise	
- High rises on the green	density	Multi layered groth of 'Flexibility'	

1960 is the most critical period to understand the change of paradigm which show the transformation of the architectural movement from the CIAM which was the fortress to aim the rationalization and standardization of modernism to the TeamX which suggested mobility, change and growth, cluster and Urbanism as part of habitat.

4. The features of mega-structures

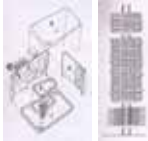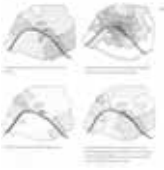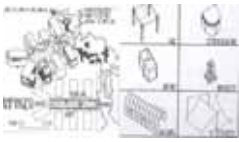The hypothetical environments proposed by the so-called mega-structuralist drawing of groups like the international situationists, the Metabolist, and the Italian Futurists as well as the evolving extraterrestrial architectures of space stations and satellites is not the

only fantasy and experimental world anymore. Offshore oil exploration was only a nascent industry in the 1960s when megastructuralist images began to emerge in European architectural circles. Works like Yona friedman's spatial city series and archigram's Plug-in city proposed a utopian vision of a truly three-dimensional and infinitely expandable urban environment, bearing an uncanny likeness to the technology. Ralph Wilcoxon defined the megastructure in 1968 as:

> Not only a structure of great size, but… also a structure which is frequently: 1 constructed of modular units; 2. capable of great or even 'unlimited extension; 3. a structural framework into which smaller structural units(for examples, rooms, houses, or small buildings of other sorts) can b built- or even 'plugged-in' or 'clipped-on' after having been prefabricated elsewhere; 4. a structural framework expected to have a useful life much longer that of the smaller units which it might support.(Wilcoxon, 1968, p.2)

The emerging utopian vision was a metropolis as a machine: an autonomous, adaptable urban environment.

4.1 "Flexibility"

		TeamX	GEAM	Archigram
Flexibility	Unit and total	Addictive Unit	Independent unit	Changeable Unit
	Exchange and Reponse	Human and Human	Human and Architecture	Human and System
	Conservation and expansion	Existing city and flexible system	Existing city and upper layer	Selective choice of existing cities

4.1.1 Unlimited expansion of unit order

- Metabolism's Capsule idea

I intended my capsule spaces to be a declaration of war in support of restoration of the oriental individualism, which has been lost in the process of restoration of the oriental individualism, which has been lost in the process of modernization (Capsule Declaration , 1969)

The capsule space, which is a representation of the oriental individualism, is not a part of the piece of architecture to which it is attached. The capsule and the building exist in contradiction yet mutually include each other. Such Architecture and cities would exist in contradiction but would mutually include another. The same kind of relation should exist between architecture and nature and between human beings and technology. The philosophy of in-between spaces and en-spaces should help make possible a change of direction towards attaining such relations.[6]

4.1.2 The changes of situation and event

Urbanity and Architecture can be conceived as a flow between permanent and transient polemic by developing a conceptual system in which the physical arrangement of event-facility spaces is disassembled. "Even spaces' become the

- Situationist(SI)

The Situation: this concept, central to the SI, was defined in the first issue of their journal as "A moment of life concretely and deliberately constructed by the collective organization of a unitary ambiance and a game of events." As the SI embraced dialectical Marxism, the situation came to refer less to a specific avant-garde practice than to the dialectical unification of art and life more generally. Beyond this theoretical definition, the situation as a practical manifestation thus slipped between a series of proposals. The SI thus were first led to distinguish the situation from the mere artistic practice of the beat happening, and later identified it in historical events such as the Paris Commune or the Watts riots}, and eventually not with partial insurrections, but with total revolution itself.

4.1.3 frame structure for sustainable growth

Constant Nieuwenhuis' New Babylon Project

The technological and visual similarities between the elaborate structures of the new Babylon and the blustered grouping of oil rigs common today are striking- the raised platforms, the vibrant colors, and flexible space-frame systems composed of an infinitely expandable plastiche of parts rather than an architecturally organized whole. Morever,

the rig as an autonomous floating city seems to exceed even the most far-fetched futurist ideas of utopian urbanism.[7]
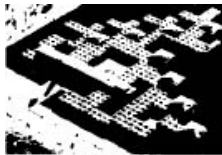
4.1.4 permeable boundaries(public-private)

Georg Simmel emphasizes the struggle between the private and the public in his description of the urban experience.

> 'Since contemporary urban culture, with its commercial, professional and social intercourse, forces us to be physically close to an enormous number of people, sensitive and nervous people would sink into despair if the objectification of social relationships did not bring with it an inner boundary and reserve.(Simmel, 1997)'

4.2 "Mobility"

> 'The future environment will be where you may find it. If there is an upsurge in designing for mobility of society and mobility of facilities, so that the previous limitations of location and institution are overridden, we shall reach a point where the whole of territory is part of a responsive environment.(Cook, 1970)'

		Team X	GEAM	Archigram
Mobility	Infra structure	Recongnized infrastructures	Insulting system	Moving Infrastructures
	Inbetween Flexible structures	Continuous Pedestrian network	Indetermination Space	Intermediate space for circulation

4.2.1 Organic structure of pedestrian network

The development of pedestrian network that covers diverse human activities creates diverse space organization methods, viewing the train station area from the pedestrian network perspective links underground and above ground spaces more closely.

- Alison and Peter Smithson's Golden lane

This study was concerned with the problem of identity in a mobile society. In the old tradition, the street ouside the house is the first point of contract where children learn for the first time of the world outside. Urban structuring diagram in which Golden Lane-type housing weaves between existing buildings interlaced with main roads. The street mesh slots into the vertical circulation of such integrated deck and complexes. Using this concept, the word 'cluster' was introduced at CIAM 10 at Dubrovnik in 1956. Intention of these studies was to show in terms of actual built network forms that a new approach to urbanism was possible.

There are two interrelated systems of movement and two interrelated geometries: the upper level platform net for pedestrian and the lower-level street net for vehicles.[8] Pedestrian upper level platform net crosses the vehicular street net between every street intersection. At these points, the two systems are connected by continuously running public escalators.

4.2.2 Potable structures

- Fuller's DDU project(1941-44)

The dymaxion Deployment Unit(DDU) marked a significant turning point in Richard Buckminster Fuller's research agenda on the industrialized house since the hiatus to his 4D-Dyamaxion House project in the mid-thirties. In the larer context of Fuller's humanitarian proect of a 'house for every one', the military patronage that enables the DDU to pose outstanding questions with respect to the issue of oppprtunism, necessity and complicity. DDU is the type of DUchamp 'ready made.' The whole concept of what is modern has been changing. This invention meant that the new need for future is uprising as a machin for living, with the accent on the mechanical equipment, the possibility of mass production, the notions of portability and self-sufficiency.[9] In an attempt to redirect the destiny of the DDU, Fuller tried to ascertain the viability of his structural adaptation to the construction of air base facilities. The limited qualities of DDu recall yet another of Fuller's earlier artifactual productions, the DTU(the Tree wheeled Dymaxion Transport Unit) of the thirties-a personal omni-medium transporter capable of traversing land and sea. By mid-1956, with the success of the geodesic structure as a radome-deployment along the DEW-line(Distant Early Warning) halfway around the north pole, fuller's 1928 projection for a portable trans-continental portable environment system appeared to be partially fulfilled. Like this, He made a strategic choice to fucus on the enclosure-structure technology functioning as the portable facility to support the nomadic life.

- Peter cook's Blow-out village

Peter cook's blow out village presented a transportable environment that could be used in disaster areas or for less serious and more playful events. "Mobile villages could be used everywhere to rehouse people hit by disaster, for workmaen in remote areas, and

as fun resorts sited permanently or seasonally at the seaside and near festivals. When not in use the village was quarter size.". Archigram 7(and the work done between 1966 and 1967)codified the group's interest in soft and mobile solutions for the critique of dwelling and permanence.

- Mike Webb's Cushicle(1966-7)

The cushicle, designed by Mike Webb in 1966-7, was to be a fully serviced, semi-autonomous nomadic unit(Cook, 1999). It comprised two main components- a chassis, or spinal system, to provide the structural support to carry the required appliances, and an inflatable exclosure to provide shelter, along with a series of viewing screens. Mike Webb also proposed the suitaloon, conceptually an extension of the cushicle, in1968(Cook, 1999). In this design the suit became the base unit that provided movement, a large envelope and power. The possibility of community development was enhanced by the inclusion of a key on each suit, which allowed envelopes to be grouped together if desired.

4.2.3 Spontaneous infrastructures

- Achizoom Associati, Non stop city

For Archizoom Associati, to pretend that functions had particular shapes was a false qualification of Modernism that would be eliminated. The factory and the supermarket become the specimen models of the future city.: optimal urban structures potentially limiltless, where human fuctions were arraged spontaneously in a free field, and made uniform by a system of micro acclimatization and optimal circulation of information. Achizoom's non stop city was to be made up of a totally artificial and homogenous infrastructure of residential districts. These free and equipped spatial systems were called "residential parking" lots that would allow inhabitants to appropriate for their individual and spontaneous uses.

Team X	GEAM	Archigram
Addtion of infrastructures	Layered upper system	Plug in system
cluster, stem, "deck and sky street"	Air city	Plug in ciy Instant City Walking city

Communication Of residence	Selective independece of residence	Flexible substitue system - megastructues

Network growth structure

Having "Mobility and Flexiblity"
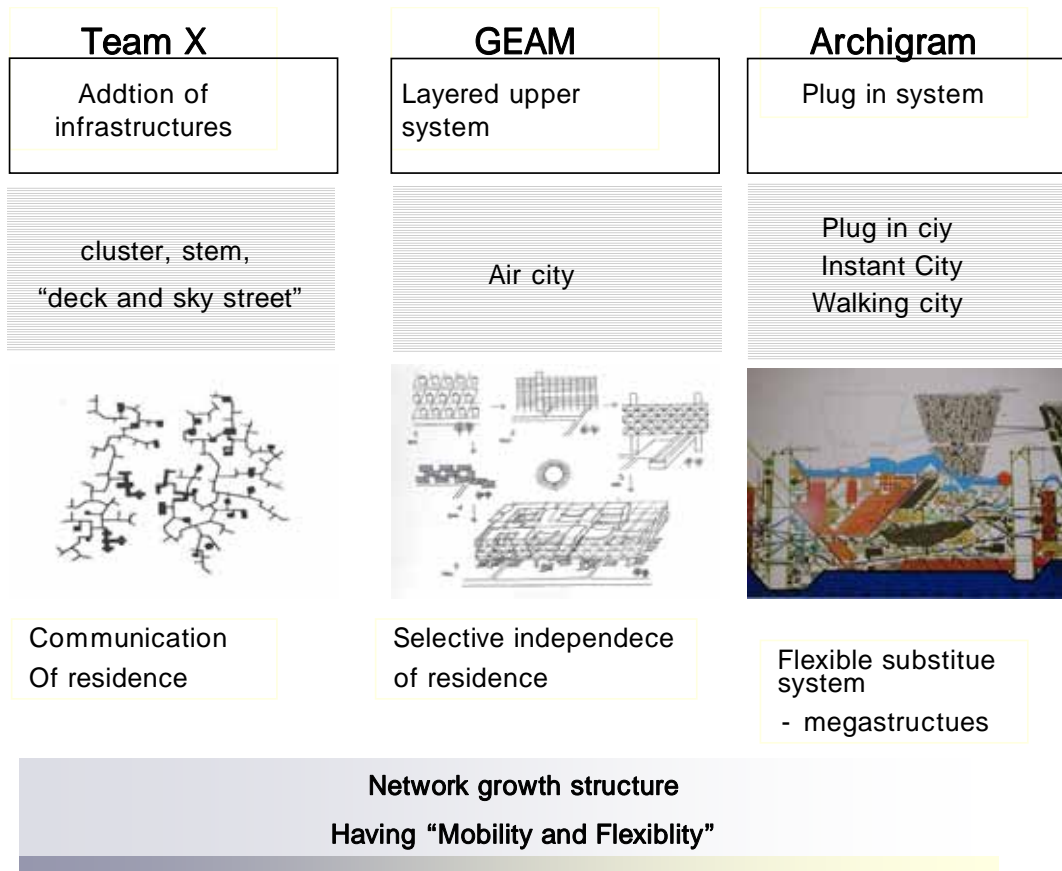
Team X showed external developing structures by adding infra system from the existing core. And GEAM show internal developing structures which is a organically layered combination of upper and lower parts extend personal characters into the inside through space frame structures. In the case of Archigram, They propose automatic network system which acquired free control system (plug in system).

They all have common features from the point of taking sustainable network systems which obtained "Mobility" and "Flexibility" .

5. from the mega-structures (flexibility+mobility) to mega-city for transit oriented development

The strategy for the mega-structures of modern times is more symbolic, integrated and multi-dimensional solution for quality of human life unlike the other suggestions of direct and physical solution in 1960's avant-garde architecture-urban theory.

They tried to suggest the unlimited growth of high density, open structures for undetermined situations, flexible frame based on mobility, Nomadic residence based on infrastructures, etc.

Currently, the train station area share the cores of urban transportation and play a

pivotal role in the area development. But disconnection of urban blocks, high density use of land and other problems exist and they haven't fulfilled their functions. In each cases, they had a important role in modern TOD area as a starting point to discuss about the relationship between architecture and urban design fields having the issues of urban circulation and multi-dimensional pedestrian network. The existing urban planning of the train station area is based on spot development that emphasizes commercial and economic efficiency. But the underground development in recent years requires flexible and diverse designs that are closely related to the community and that can handle large floating population. When we consider the fact that the train station area is used by the public, systematic planning technique that emphasizes total urban network is more appropriate than special purpose unit planning. Therefore, the development of underground pedestrian network is important because it incorporates urban network by utilizing underground and above ground spaces rather than using existing individual building or block development method.

We have two important standpoint about the multi-dimensional space of Transit Oriented Development.

" the effective and flexible utilization of urban space(MXD) "
" public-open-space giving multi-dimensional pedestrian network "

5. Conclusions

In conclusion, the radical movement after 1960s such as Team, GEAM and Archigram produced several types of urban solution, such as Infra Architecture, Flexible residence of high density, and Systematic mega-structure. Also they promoted the Sustainable Network through the open possibility of undetermination and variety by residents, not by intention of developer. They have the several similarities and differences in the way to support their Growth Concept from the point of the "Self-control" and the "Flexibility". Therefore, this study shows that they produced the mega-structures which can be the possibility of the sustainable-open-structures and contribution for making network system above existing urban fabric. In each case, the 1960's experimental architecture group's theory had a important role as a starting point to discuss about the relationship between architecture and urban design fields into practical viewpoint with "Self control" and "Flexibility.

In details, Their "Flexibility" and 'Mobility" concept came to make a mega-structures which is different from metropolis of modern architecture.

In short, Ideal cities and Avant garde 1960's experimental suggestions shown in architecture and urban theory produced several types of urban solution, such as Infrastructure's circulation, Flexible structures of high density, and Systematic multi functional mega-structure. Also they promoted the Sustainable Network through the open possibility of undetermination and variety by residents, not by intention of developer. They have the several similarities and differences in the way to support their Growth Concept from the point of the "flexibility" and the "Mobility". In each cases, they

had a important role in modern TOD area as a starting point to discuss about the relationship between architecture and urban design fields having the issues of urban circulation and multi-dimensional pedestrian network..

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Carl Friedrich Joseph Rath in the 19th century São Paulo: conflict and complementarity in private and public planning

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In the 1830s and 1840s, demographic density and industrialization were key factors for the resurgence of epidemic outbreaks in European cities. These decisive historical events increased public awareness on the sanitary problems and led governments to intervene in the cities.[1]

From the 1840s onward, after the first impacts caused by such epidemics had passed, the first public research on the sanitary conditions of the population was conducted in England.[2]

Written in 1842 under Edwin Chadwick's coordination, the *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain* revealed that London workers lived in precarious districts with awful healthiness conditions.[3]

For the first time in the history of cities, both their physiology and pathology became important objects of study in Europe. New methodological tools made available by science, among which topographic and hydrographic surveys of cities, became extremely important to obtain scientific knowledge on the environment and find technical solutions to fight epidemics.[4]

Particularly noteworthy in this context are the works of Rudolf Virchow, in Berlin, especially his topographic survey, which included soil conditions and waterways, and was intended to help plan the urban development after a cholera epidemic. These were fundamental works for the birth of epidemiology in Germany.

Considered the father of both this new science and the modern conception of public health, Virchow wrote *Collected Essays on Public Health and Epidemiology*, in 1879, to strengthen his theories following various studies and his active participation in the City Council of Berlin in the 1840s, 1850s and 1860s.

In 1854, the Government of the *Província* (State) of São Paulo communicated to the City Council of São Paulo that "*cholera morbus*" might arrive to Brazil. It requested that action be taken to remove any infection source from that city. City Council inspectors were then charged to monitor hygienic conditions systematically.

From 1834 onward, the fear that epidemics could reach Brazil mobilized Rio de Janeiro's Society of Medicine, which sent to all the City Councils of the different *Províncias* (States) a report containing the necessary measures recommended by Dr. Broussais in order to avoid *Cholera-Morbus*.[5]

Since this report stressed the topographic conditions of Rio de Janeiro, the doctors consulted on that matter by the City Council of São Paulo disregarded part of the recommendations it contained. In fact, differently from Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo's urban core did not have, at the time, areas liable to flooding because it had been built on a hill.[6]

Nevertheless, these fears led the City Council of São Paulo to create inspection commissions and begin supervising the city health conditions by visiting different places considered insalubrious, as slaughterhouses, butchers and the Council's pen in addition to squares, streets, *casinhas* (shops that sold food), Churches and the *Cemitério dos Aflitos* (Cemetery of the Afflicted).

The concern with the epidemic outbreaks that hit European cities stimulated the government of the Empire to restructure the health services by creating, on September 14th, 1850, the Board of Public Hygiene in Rio de Janeiro. Nevertheless, cholera and smallpox outbreaks raged through many Brazilian cities, in 1854 and 1858, respectively.

Because of this conjuncture, the sanitary decisions contained in the 1828 Imperial Law were incorporated into the City Councils' legislation in a more incisive way and the authorities increased their actions to inspect the sanitary conditions of the cities during epidemic outbreaks. From the mid-19th century onward, through Regulations and *Posturas* (local laws), the City Councils began intervening further in the administration process of the city space, to guarantee public interest, and their actions were inspired by scientific knowledge. [7]

Later cholera outbreaks in Brazilian cities explain why the city of São Paulo, which called on German Engineers for help, began to build more urban works related to healthiness and water supply.

Since the links between these German engineers and the birth of epidemiology in Germany have not yet been investigated in the field of urbanistic studies, we decided to undertake a research focusing on Carl Friedrich Joseph Rath, the most renowned German professional who worked in São Paulo at that time.

A naturalized Brazilian citizen in 1845, Rath was born in Stuttgart in 1802. Graduated from a European academy of natural sciences, he was a civil engineer, a geologist, a geographer and a doctor and he played a leading role in the main discussions on healthiness in the city of São Paulo in the 1850s and 1860s. The City Council of São Paulo hired his engineering services to design projects aligning streets and squares and promoting their improvement and embellishment, to manage the water and sewer piping services, to install fountains, to participate in commissions on the city healthiness and to be responsible for garbage collection, among others.

His works were designed with the help of the graphic and hydraulic survey of the city he had made in 1855, which located rivers, springs, brooks and areas liable to flooding. Both this map and the debates held at the City Council show how well informed he was

about the works carried out in Berlin and the ongoing development of epidemiology by Virchow. Since he spread this new scientific knowledge, the new science of urban planning that would develop in Europe in the second half of the 19th century was not unknown in São Paulo.

Rath also wrote a thesis on the situation of the water network in the city. Nevertheless, he considered that the Council had never given his studies and proposals the deserved attention or appraisal. Among others, he stressed how noxious it was to build countless water tanks or reservoirs kept open and thus exposed to insects and animal visits.

Based on a unitary vision of the complexity of the urban world, Rath was a professional engineer with specialized knowledge of hydraulics, which he tried to apply to the works built in the city of São Paulo.

In the 1850s and 1860s, the public administration of the city of São Paulo started to construct a series of public works considered essential to preserve urban hygiene. The role of Rath in the discussion on the localization of healthy and unhealthy buildings in the city is still being investigated, but he may have been the precursor of a scientific conception of technical control on the city territory. Rath's services were crucial for various public works in the city of São Paulo at that time, as the Consolação public cemetery, built between 1855 and 1858 after one of his projects

The first open air cemetery in the city of São Paulo had been constructed in the late 18th century on a land that belonged to the diocese. Since the Chapel of Our Lady of the Afflicted, inaugurated on June 27th 1779, stood in its center, it became known simply as Cemetery of the Afflicted. Used to bury indigents, slaves and victims of torture, it was closed after the Consolação Cemetery was inaugurated and inhumations in other places were forbidden.

Although the City Council strived to enforce the 1828 law that determined the creation of public cemeteries in the city and prohibited church burials, it failed to find a consensus with the ecclesiastic authorities. In 1845, a cemetery abutting the convent of the Luz was built. The religious and their chaplains, who were responsible for its administration, would also be buried there. In 1851, half of it was ceded to make a cemetery for catholic foreigners, which was called the Germans' Cemetery. Part of the latter, which was reserved for non-catholic foreigners, became known as the Protestants' Cemetery.

That same year, a special commission was appointed to tackle the creation of a public, general cemetery and, in 1855, engineer Rath, who administrated the Protestants' Cemetery in the district of Luz, suggested the heights of Consolação would be the most appropriate location for it.

In the debate on the need to build a municipal cemetery, the idea of building two, one in the western part and one in the eastern part of the city, was initially put forward. In 1854, the *Presidente da Província* (Governor) even approved a project to construct these two public cemeteries in the city of São Paulo, one for the inhabitants of the

northern and western districts and one for the population of the southern and eastern parts. The first one would be called "*Campo Redondo*" (Round Field) and would receive the dead from the Freguesia de Santa Efigênia, in the western part of the city, and from the Distrito do Norte, in the Freguesia da Sé. The other one would be intended for the dead from the Distrito do Sul, also in the Freguesia da Sé, and from Braz.[8]

The "Campo Redondo" cemetery should be built after a project by engineer José Jacques da Costa Ourique, in a region later inhabited by São Paulo's coffee elite. The other would be located exactly where the then Cemetery of the Afflicted was located, in a less noble part of the city. Although this polemic on the construction of two public cemeteries had arisen, it was finally decided to build only one, the public Consolação cemetery.[9]

On October 15th, 1855, physician Ernesto Benedito Ottoni sent to the councilors a report on the epidemics that hit the State of Pará. He asserted that "burials within temples should be ended once and for all" and proposed to adopt "a temporary cemetery out of the city".[10]

Faced with the population's pressures, on September 13th, 1855, São Paulo's councilors eventually decided the best place to construct the new cemetery based on a report by Rath, who had provided a map together with his arguments. The new Cemetery should then be built on the heights of Consolação and its construction should begin by the walls and the Chapel. The Council appointed Rath to design personally the Cemetery and temporary Chapel "plans".[11]

Still in 1855, the Council approved a *postura* (local law) that prohibited any "burial in Churches, Chapels, Sacristies, Corridors or any other place in their premises"[12] and the Government of the *Província* (State) ordered the Regulation for the public cemetery be executed. It was approved in 1856 and, although it established thorough procedures, it did not help prevent the practice of church burials to occur in the city of São Paulo. When a smallpox epidemic broke out, in 1858, corpses were still buried in churches. On July 07th, 1858, the *Presidente da Província* (Governor) ordered that the City Council of São Paulo prohibit the practice of burials in temples. The Consolação cemetery would receive the first corpses of the victims of the epidemic before its works were concluded. Thus, on August 15th, 1858, when the first inhumation occurred in the cemetery, the first public cemetery of São Paulo, the Consolação cemetery, was considered open.

Rath's works on São Paulo reveal how scientific knowledge circulated in the 19th century, a knowledge that, in the field of the urban planning, was marked by hygienist conceptions. When he designed his works, Rath knew the hygienic premises that guided the 1862 urban planning project of J. F. L. Hobrecht for Berlin, which included solutions for the water supply and sewerage systems to avoid such serious problems as the 1841 and 1846 cholera epidemics. Among the proposals actually adopted in the beginning of the 1880s, Berlin chose a sewerage system (*Schwemmkanalisation)* with a process to eliminate the black waters through radial drainpipes. This was firmly advocated by Rudolf Virchow who had also participated in the commissions created to

investigate the causes of and solutions to the problems that the epidemics brought to Berlin in the 1840s. [13]

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Private interests, public virtues: *Parana Plantations Ltd* and the foundation of new towns in Brazil

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Introduction: a British colonization enterprise – private interests, public virtues

British colonial enterprises have had profound consequences for urban development and local life in worldwide dependent territories.[1] The case of northern Paraná's late colonization process was not different. As part of imperialist initiatives, the British company Parana Plantations Limited invested in Brazil during the second quarter of the twentieth century. Thus, three million acres of unexplored area in the north region of Paraná State were acquired from State government. Then, a colonization scheme was set up and the settlement of immigrants was carried out. Nowadays, six decades after the British company's liquidation, Parana Plantations' former property holds dozens of towns and cities, and a population of nearly two million inhabitants.

Although Parana Plantations' colonization scheme has been positively evaluated, particularly from economic, technical, and social point of view[2], less attention has been drawn to its urban features. As a land speculation syndicate, the British company's main purpose resided in selling small rural plots for coffee growing. However, the success of the financial investment thoroughly depended on the facilities the company could offer to settlers. As a result, the colonization scheme carried out in northern Paraná comprised the countryside as well as new town areas. As a fundamental part of the land development project, a railway line was built and a road network was established. Also, a cluster of nine new towns was originally founded. Additionally, basic public services and facilities were provided. Moreover, the British company was responsible for stimulating local urban life. Thus, in contrast with other company and railway towns, Parana Plantations' public built environment seems to have been favored.

Hence, this paper will reflect upon the regional planning features of that British colonial private enterprise. Based on town and country planning history, on studies of colonialism/imperialism, on a few remaining original documents and maps, and on personal observations, it will seek to explore the boundaries between private interests and public virtues within that colonization scheme.

Imperialism, colonialism, urbanism

Plantations, colonial properties and farms were one of the pillars of British Empire economy.[3] For decades colonies and dominions fed back the dynamic of British capitalism. Since the eighteenth century, money has been poured in a continuous stream into the English countryside by those who have sought their fortunes in distant parts of the globe. Thus, Parana Plantations' founder, Lord Lovat, just followed a

tradition, in investing 'so heavily' in Brazil in 1925.[4] However, there was more than investment and income involved in metropolitan businesses with dependent territories.

On the one hand, imperialist initiatives were usually taken as an obligation which, in turn, was also rewarded with moral satisfaction. According to Said, transactions within colonial context were encouraged beyond the profits by the certainty of being promoting the development of undeveloped regions.[11] Thus, as an example of that attitude, Lord Lovat, in referring to a certain African colonial development scheme which he also took part in, declared that the scheme was not only 'materially advantageous to Great Britain and the cotton industry' but it was also 'adding very largely to the welfare of the natives'.[12] Similarly, Parana Plantations board of directors expressed satisfaction with the 'plantation' mostly because the company was also taking 'prosperity to numerous Brazilians'.[13]

On the other hand, transactions within colonial context involved the movement of people, commodities, capital, and ideas as well. Likewise, physical planning notions were also exported. As a result, planning goals and techniques were applied to the colonial world, notably systematic colonization and settlement; ordered development; physically healthy environments; good traffic flow; planned residential areas; low densities; and zoning.[5] Actually, physical planning notions became part of the overall economic and political context of colonialism.[6] Thus, metropolitan planning ideas, particularly corollaries of the Garden City proposal, were transferred to dependent territories and colonies as well as to the north region of Paraná.[7]

The development period of town planning's theory, ideology, legislation, and professional skills coincided with the British colonization of northern Paraná. Lord Lovat, in taking part in Parliamentary debates on Town and Country Acts, was probably acquainted to those issues. Besides, by that time, a massive campaign for Garden City idea was noticed in London.[8] In fact, it had already been suggested that the social cities' scheme was 'well enough adapted to a new country'.[9] Moreover, Letchworth and Welwyn Garden Cities 'were undertaken as home colonization schemes' and, according to Purdom's book, first published in 1925,

> 'they ought to be considered as providing models for the organization of the planned transfer of communities to Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the African colonies… If emigration were to take the form of the establishment of new industrial towns, not villages but real towns, each with its agricultural belt, we should have the basis of a new population policy for the British Commonwealth…The two garden cites show how it could be done'.[10]

Now, the implementation of town and country planning ideas in northern Paraná was the basis of substantial improvements afforded by the British colonization scheme. The success of the enterprise relied upon it, as it is about to be presented. Moreover, British town and country planning ideas were to a great extent responsible for the prosperity the colonizer claimed to have been taking to that developing region.

Town & country planning in northern Paraná

The interpretation of maps usually implies a search for geographical features. However, maps are seldom read as a manipulated form of knowledge that has helped to fashion those features. Actually, they are not inert records of morphological landscapes.[14] Maps are 'thick' texts: discourses of a culturally-constructed form of knowledge. Thus, they can also convey much about the context which they were produced on.

Figure 1. Parana Plantations' partial map: rural land parceling and planned new towns. From left to right, three towns are shown: Rolândia (1932), Cambé (1932) and Londrina (1932). Small rural plots and road network are also presented. Source: Universidade Estadual de Londrina-CDPH, 1934.

Parana Plantations' development map (Fig. 1) can reveal the effect of metropolitan ideas and previous British colonial experiences on northern Paraná colonization scheme. To put it another way, it suggests what Said has pointed out as a 'set of cultural forms and structures of feelings'.[15] Indeed, in the core of British culture preparations were made for colonial enterprises. As a result, British town and country planning notions can be observed on that map.

To begin with, a systematic colonization can be learnt. The British company was interested not simply in selling the land but in developing the entire region, and realized that the development project had to rest upon large number of small farmers, urban centers, and ready accessibility.[16] Besides, systematic colonization had long been recommended for British colonies' development.[17] Thus, the whole estate was previously surveyed and thoroughly planned. Northern Paraná planning is conveyed in

what King has called a comprehensive environmental decision-making.[18] Transport system, rural parceling, and urban areas resulted in a landscape of integrated settlement with colonization and regional planning coordinated.

Once the company's target was small holders, the territory was parceled off into small rural plots, apparently responding to a Garden City movement's recommendation.[19] The parceling obeyed a simple rule: roads were opened up along the inter-streams; since each rural property was expected to have easy access to transport system and to water supply, plots took a rectangular shape, from ridges to streams. The sale of rural plots was conditioned to the planned expansion and the progressive foundation of new towns; so, incipient towns and roads preceded the sale of rural plots, evoking the British colonial settlement policy pointed out by Home.[20]

Then, a policy of deliberated urbanization can also be noticed. Towns were laid out in advance of occupation, according to a prepared plan. The railway line positioned on the main ridges was the backbone of the urbanization scheme, even though towns were built before the arrival of the train tracks. Thus, town sites were chosen along the projected railway line at small regular intervals (Fig. 2). Fifteen kilometers separated the most distant towns. Moreover, the British company was eager to 'animate not one but many towns'.[21] Thus, a cluster of towns was established, acting as 'social cities'.[22] The dispersion of settlements was avoided as well as the difficulties of collecting the rural production. Additionally, the dweller in a town of small population could easily reach and communicate with the neighborly group of towns.
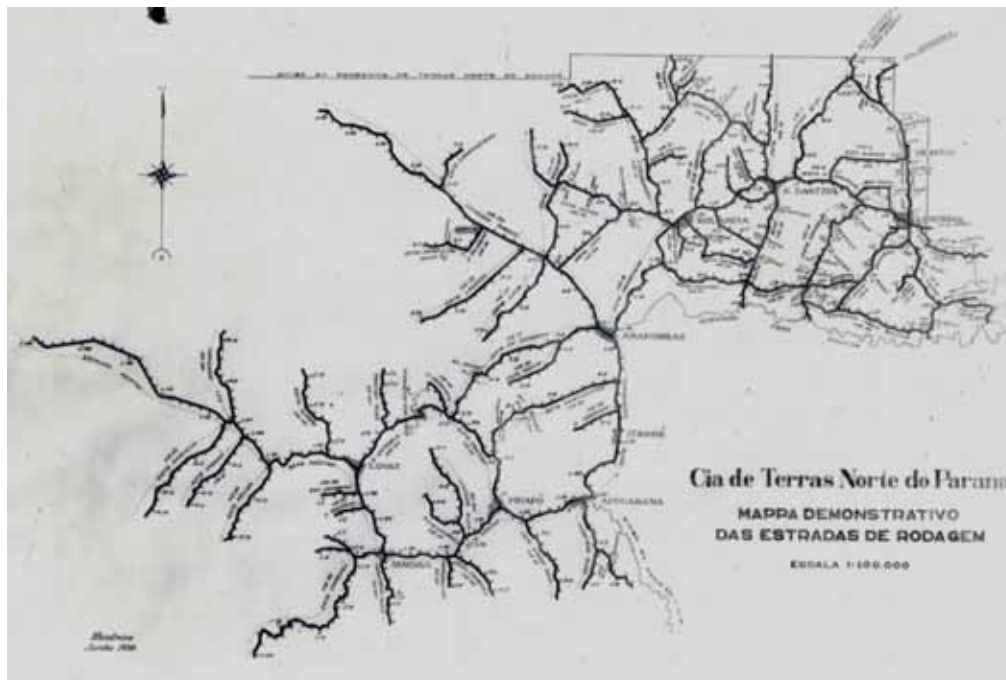

Figure 2. The cluster of nine towns founded by the British company in northern Paraná State. Attention should be drawn to the railway line connecting the urban settlements at small regular intervals. Source: Universidade Estadual de Londrina-Museu Histórico, 1938.

As one might expect, short regular intervals between train stops obviously favor water and coal supplying to trains; however, those regular intervals occurred only within the company's territory, and not along the entire extension of Parana Plantations' railway line. Therefore, traffic issues and settlements were closely combined in that regional planning.[23]

Furthermore, town and country were thought to be complementary. The short distance between urban settlements benefited the inter-relationship between town and country. Urban settlements formed a series of nodes that brought town and country together. The railway link assured not only transport for agricultural produce but also interaction among the population and exchange of services. Thus, the country area between towns acted as green belts.[24]

Garden City's green belt scheme intended not only to maintain but also to attract people to the countryside.[25] In fact, that scheme was perfectly adapted for a colonization project. Such a scheme would have

> 'the effect of reviving the agricultural industry in the district in which it is established, by bringing a market to the door of the farmers, providing security of tenure, establishing small holdings, promoting co-operation, and giving the laborer accessibility to the social attraction of the town'.[26]

Regarding physical forms, Parana Plantations' towns were carefully planned. Generally true, company towns have a practical, simple, grid-like urban tissue. In fact, an artistic aspect appears to be inappropriate for colonial towns entirely destined to be sold. From a commercial point of view the beauty of an automatic, regular, orthogonal, pattern seems to be evident.[27] Additionally, regular patterns and orthogonal systems seem to have been the prompt response to the task of planning and creating new towns: they readily serve the interests of property speculation and land distribution.[28] Moreover, railway towns normally existed for the interest of the railway enterprise and, therefore, urban land planning basically served the operating necessities of the railway company.[29] Nevertheless, this was not the case of Parana Plantations' planted towns (Fig. 3 and 4).

Firstly, Parana Plantations ran the land company and the railway company as well. The two subsidiaries coordinated their activities and were responsible for an integrated land-use plan. Land speculation as well as the whole colonization enterprise depended very much on the railway line which, in turn, was reliant on passengers and agricultural produce. As a consequence, a symbiotic relationship between towns' position, town layout, country parceling, road system, and railway line was strategically achieved. Then, Parana Plantations' towns did not present the strict functional regularity usually noticed in company towns' layout.[30] Parana Plantations town's layout was adapted the site. Thus, ridges, trains stations, the railway line as well as the topographic features conditioned the conformation of different urban forms, which nowadays would be considered as eco-friendly.

Straight streets, orthogonal grids, symmetrical conformations, well-defined town centers, and a symmetrical layout of institutional buildings were predominant in Parana Plantations towns' layout, like in the British colonial town model[31]; additionally, as in many British colonial towns, the street system was fitted to a one-square-mile urban area. However, some artistic intention can be noticed in Parana Plantations' urban forms. Formal motifs were eventually applied to streets layout and train stations' squares usually presented an artistically elaborated parterres' layout.
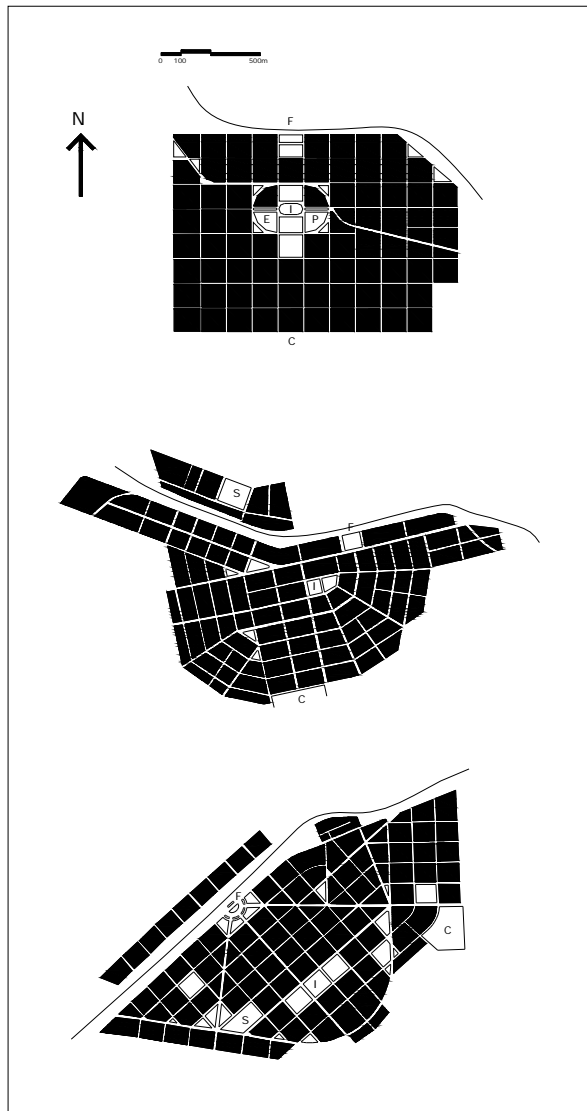
Figure 3. Parana Plantations' urban forms. From top to bottom: Londrina (1932), Cambé (1932), and Rolândia (1932). Town layouts were adapted to the site, thus different urban forms were achieved. F= train station; I= church; C= cemetery; S= sports court; E= school; H= hospital, and P= Town hall area. Source: the author, 2008.
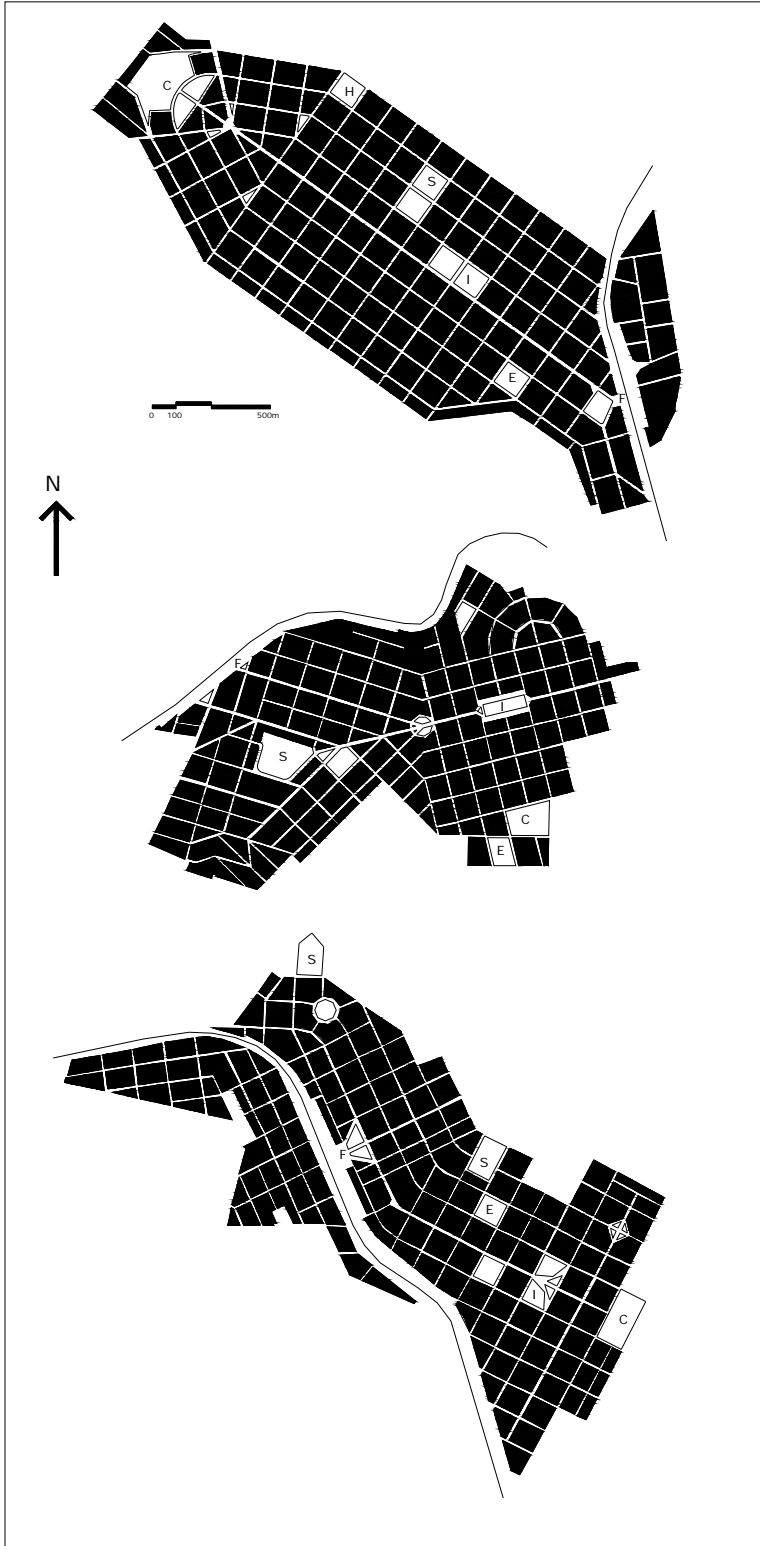
Figure 4. Parana Plantations' urban forms. From top to bottom: Arapongas (1935), Apucarana (1935), and Mandaguari (1938). Town layouts were adapted to the site, thus different urban forms were achieved. F= train station; I= church; C= cemetery; S= sports court; E= school; H= hospital, and P= Town hall area. Source: the author, 2008.

Finally, apart from their regional role, towns were designed to foster a sense of urban concentration. The town center was clearly established by an open public space in the central urban area. Institutional buildings were preferably displayed around it, while the Catholic Church was usually positioned in the main square. Cemeteries, sport courts and trains stations were located at the town boundaries. Thus, public buildings were strategically positioned in order to structure the urban space and act as spatial references.

Actually, train stations became the town entrance, usually placed at the north part of the town center, opposite the cemetery, which was located at the extreme south edge of the town. They were connected to the town center by a straight avenue. According to Garden City corollaries,

> 'long distance passengers' stations should be situated just outside the commercial area, as they need a more considerable area of land. They should, however, be closely related to the urban transport system, for ready communication with all parts of the town. It is desirable that a number of main streets should radiate from the plaza in front of a station in such a central position that it can form a unit of the Civic Centre, but it is often possible to bring it into architectural relation with the civic group by means of a straight avenue linking station and Civic Centre'.[32]

Now, following this clear, simple spatial organization, avenues and streets were hierarchically defined; streets layout responded to the cardinal points, as well as the urban lots. Bigger urban lots destined to industrial activities were reserved besides the train station, along the railway line, as a principle of zoning.

To sum up, it has to be added that private businesses were allowed within the limits of the company's property. Citizens were or could be the owners of the town lots. In addition, towns had their own public administration. However, the company was responsible for water and energy supply, for street pavement, and for the construction of public squares, leisure facilities, and certain public buildings. Besides, as Parana Plantations launched a campaign responsible for foreign immigration to the north of Paraná State, notably among Germans, the British company provided financial assistance for just-arrived settlers. Thus, the company stimulated urban life, which would end up improving their land business. To this extent, the company can be taken as a combination of private entrepreneur and welfare state.

As a result, that self-financed colonization scheme instituted a middle class rural society. It also proved to be an effective means of occupying the territory.[33] The consequent economic and urban regional development benefited not only the settlers but also the private entrepreneur itself and the State as well.

Conclusion

Parana Plantations Limited carried out a comprehensive land development project, despite being a land speculation private company whose main object was basically to sell rural plots to small holders. As a private investor, the British company constantly assumed that role usually reserved for public power, namely, the State. For State support seems to have been restricted to a minimum, whenever it occurred. Thus, within its territory, Parana Plantations became the agent capable of and responsible for providing public facilities and services. Towns, railway line, train stations, roads, parks, water and energy supply were provided. As a result, land price progressively increased, due to the implementation of public services and facilities. In fact, land price within Parana Plantations' territory was really higher than outside its limits.[34]

The private colonization company aimed deliberated urbanization and regional planning, as a step to their financial success. Thus, commercial, technical, social, and environmental aspects were equally regarded. Although towns were being progressively founded and each new town presented a different urban form, both the existence of a single town pattern and the maintenance of small regular intervals between towns confirm systematic colonization scheme as well as deliberated urbanization process.

Therefore, Parana Plantations transferred metropolitan, up-to-date, planning notions to their territory, similar to other British private colonization companies[35]. In general, physical planning notions were part of the overall economic and political context of colonialism. However, in that particular case, they cannot but represent a sort of public virtue.

Garden city proposal's corollaries were applied. As a result, a cluster of towns was created and town and country were brought together. This is a significant case of early transfer of Garden City ideas to Latin America and so it should be considered.[36] Also, town layouts drew attention to geographic conditions.[37] Context did matter, once particularities of the site were taken into account. Consequently, individuality[38] and identity[39] were achieved. Thus, difference became a positive spatial quality. Although orthogonal, practical, unsophisticated, Parana Plantations' town layouts were sensible; zoning and spatial organization can be noticed; public squares and leisure facilities were provided. Moreover, Parana Plantations' development project promoted a singular regional landscape in northern Paraná State. These historic cultural attributes of the landscape should always be taken into account when a new planning is thought.

Even though town and country planning have played a fundamental role in the regional development, the British development project for northern Paraná has been overlooked. The original rural landscape disappeared over the years. The railway line is not the main transport system anymore. Howard's idea of social cities and green belts seems to have been forgotten. Conurbation has already been noticed. Nevertheless, the remaining principle of a cluster of towns could be the real basis for a sustainable corridor of regional development. It is always a matter of mindful planning.

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Intra-urban social-occupational structure and unequal housing conditions in the Fortaleza Metropolitan Region

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Introduction

This article tries to appoint the results of a research in which the objectives were to identify the framed picture of the inequality of the inhabitations conditions associated to the intra-urban structure of the Fortaleza Metropolitan Region – FMR – defined according to its social-occupational characteristics. In the first part, we intend to present the FMR within the national context, as much as emphasize some aspects associated to its recent process of urban growth. Next, following a methodology commonly adopted within the research network, we propose the social- spatial structure, formed with seven different typologies, describing them in their social-occupational context associated to the urban elements which structure the FMR, as we have as main variable the density of the different social-occupational categories residing in each of the areas that compound the types. For last, we try to analyze the picture of the inequality among the referred typologies, regarding to the inhabition conditions, as well as the differences inherent to them, considering the parts of which it is formed, focusing on the spaces occupied by squatter settlements, opposite the presence of formal real estate enterprises and social interest inhabitational programs.

1. Elements of intra-urban infrastructure of the Fortaleza

Created in 1973, Fortaleza distinguishes itself in the set of the other Brazilian metropolitan regions because of its high degrees of disparity and for the intense rhythm of the demographic growth. Its long distance from the other national metropolis as well as the environmental conditions of its vast enclosed region lead to a process of urban macrocephaly, turning this urban conglomeration a convergence point for populational flows, in search for jobs, as much as for the urban services, as precarious as they are.

Recent scientific researches indicate that in the national scenario, Fortaleza presents the worse social indicators among the most populous metropolitan regions, which are: inhabitational lack index, rates of the population in poverty situation, percentiles of youngsters in extreme social vulnerability situation, marginalization risk, and relative inhabitational deficit, among others.

Data from the last populational count realized in 2007 indicate that the FMR already has more than 3,5 million inhabitants (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics – IBGE, 2007). Compound of 13 cities, among which there is Fortaleza, nowadays the fourth city in Brazil in terms of population with 2,41 million individuals, more than 70% of the total population of the metropolis. Anyhow, this rapid population increment has not been accompanied with investments on infrastructure and social equipments, the same happening with the job opportunities which hasn't been sufficient to attend the growing

demands. With this the scene of informality increases, whether in inhabitation, urban services or in the work relations.

Since its creation, the FMR had its political-administrative composition transformed as with the fragmentation of its original municipalities, through the emancipation of districts to municipalities, as through the insertion of new ones. From this we have a scene of conflicts regarding the integration of these cities, associated to the indefinition of their boundaries; remaining unsolved some questions regarding the metropolis as: the circulation of merchandises and of handiwork, the water supply and environmental sanitation, the provision of social housing, among others. In the absence of instruments for metropolitan planning and space management, as much as the inexistence of institutions in the political administrative level, we can verify the expansion of different kinds of problems which generates a series of incompatibilities among different patterns of land use and of the occupation of the territory, characterizing a model of the social production of the space extremely predatory and environmentally misbalanced. (Pequeno, 2002)

In the last decades, the FMR has seen a process of economical reestructuring, ruled by the spatial redistribution of its industrial areas, which is directly bound to the necessary infrastructures needed to the production flowage. Besides, we can verify the reorganization of its centralities, which gain new forms, assuming differentiated patterns that adjust to the social-economical disparities presenting the metropolitan scenario. The contribution to this picture of this disorderly increment comes from the presence of a real estate market that has been acting avidly over the metropolis, notably when it confronts the frailty of the instruments for planning and management in the cities level.

Once concentrated in Fortaleza, along sides with the road-railway axels to the West and in the Center-South, as well as surrounding the port sector, the secondary sector passed through reorganization in the last decades, migrating to the peripheral spaces of the metropolis, interfering directly in its social-spatial structure. These transformations could be decomposed into three periods: first, with the induced creation of industrial district in the 1970's; second, since the 1990's by means of the expansion of the sector in axel and districts alongside the federal and state highways, bound to the state policy to attract more industries; third, the creation of a port industrial complex in the West part of the FMR resulting from government projects still being implanted, revisiting the logic of the exogenous development, unbound from the regional vocations.

Fig.1 – industrial zones of Fortaleza	Fig. 2- Tertiary spaces in Fortaleza
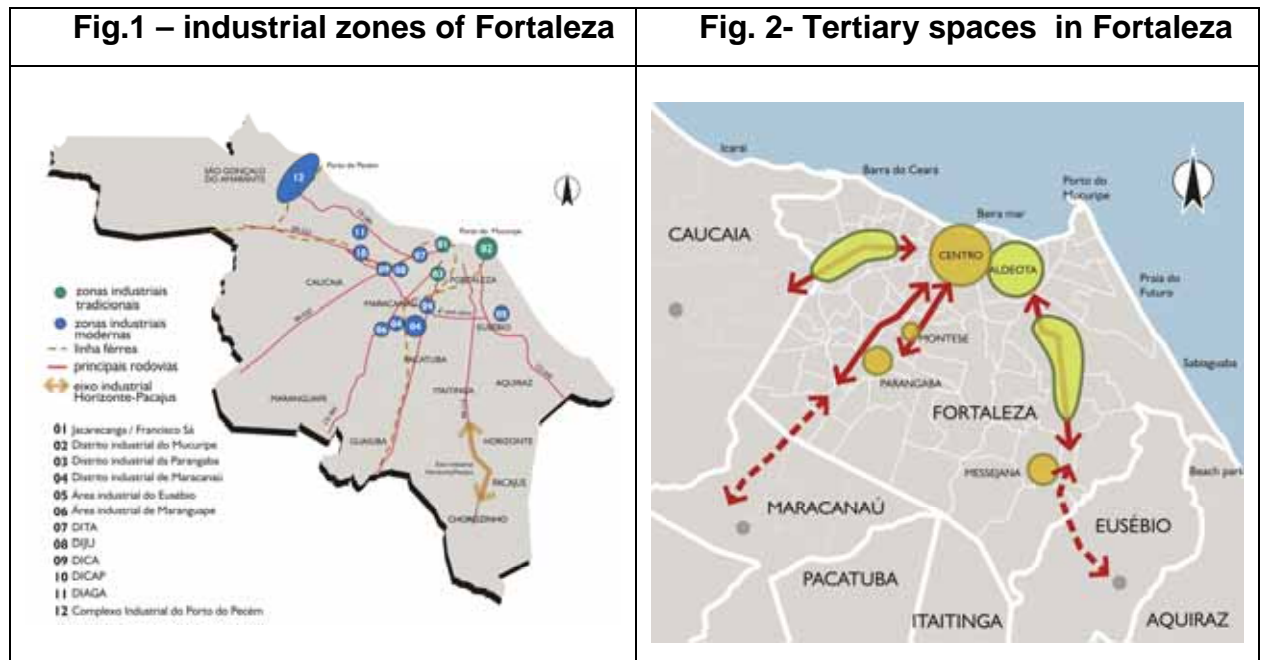
Source. Elaborated by the author

What refers to the tertiary spaces, we can observe its expansion in corridors, as well as its fragmentation in sub centralities which come to emerge in areas with greater urban growth. (Villaça, 1998) Collaborating with the axial configuration of commerce and services, we have the rising of the shopping malls, alongside the downtown avenues going to the East (see fig. 1). Strongly entailed to the real estate market, these areas come to redefine the distribution of the social groups with the higher purchasing power in the FMR. On its side, remaining in a state of disorderly growth, we have the traditional downtown, attending especially to the demands of the West part of the metropolis, under a strong impact of the informal economy. Unable to attend the whole demographic share of this part of the FMR, the downtown suffer with the dispersion of its tertiary activities through the ways with a greater flow, going West and Southwest. Besides, we can observe the intensification of the commerce in the center of the cities, assuming the function of sub centralities in the metropolis. (figure 2)

During this explosive demographic growth, the housing conditions were heavily transformed, fitting here its use as an indicator of changes of life conditions in the FMR, as a result of the presence of different players, holders of distinct roles and interests (Maricatto, 2001). We must observe the role of the public authority in the definition of policies for social housing, locating residential settlements in the peripheral space to the West and Southwest, shaping a process of redistribution of the population especially concentrated in the 1970's and the 1980's, running to a strong conurbation process.

Since its incapacity of attending the demands, there has been a proliferation of occupied areas as an answer from the excluded population to the decrease of the inhabitation offer. Assuming the condition of corridors of social-environmental degradation, the urban rivers and streams came to direct the squatting process (figure 3), more and more seen as signs of the absence of the urban and environmental

control. Reaching beyond the boundaries of the city of Fortaleza, since the 1990's, this process came to be an inductor of a new way of conurbation, contributing with the overflow of poverty and social exclusion to the surrounding cities. This way, are generated new patterns of inter cities integration, which came to indicate the need of implantation of metropolitan managing programs that emphasize the inter city cooperation.

Fig. 3 Squatter settlements in FMR	Fig. 4. Real Estate market trends
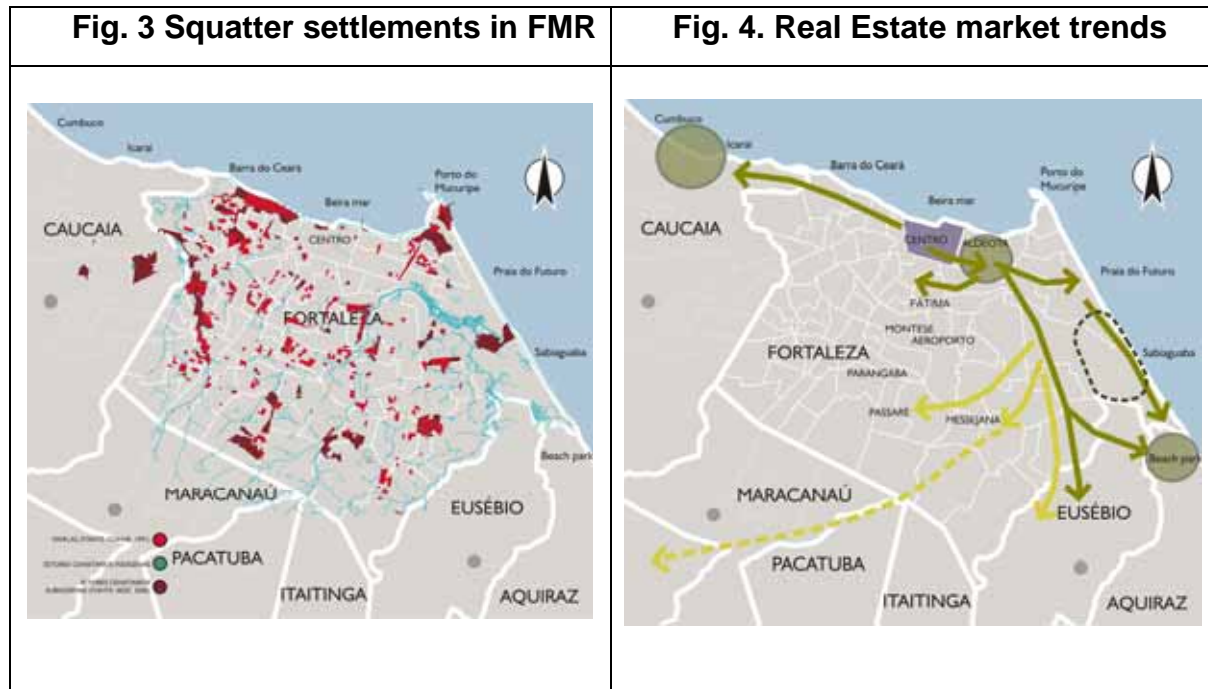
Source. Elaborated by the author

On its side, the actions of the real estate market also indicate changes in its social housing offers. Concentrated in few neighborhoods, the real estate sector shows itself tied together to the social groups that have in the residential segregation, a strategy of appropriation of the areas that are better attended by the infrastructure and urban services networks. In an intense and concentrated rhythm, we observed the substitution of the medium and large range residences for vertical condominiums, since the late 1980's, in the areas next to the East coast of Fortaleza. At the same time, occurred the expansion of the city in the Southeast way, where new neighborhoods were created, turning to the dissemination of the horizontal condominiums, establishing new patterns of social-spatial segregation in the metropolis. (figure 4)

Contributes to the understanding of the restructuring process of the metropolitan space, the spacialization of the touristic activities and its forms, which are directly associated to the real estate sector, interfering strongly in the land market of the FMR and contributing with the processes of social-spatial segregation, segmentation and social exclusion. We can observe that with the interventions in the road system at the regional and intra-urban levels, as well as the restructuring of great equipments, the progressive

appropriation of areas with greater landscaping value in this sector occurs, exacerbating the social exclusion in the FMR.

In short, we verify that in an integrated way, the different productive activities and the distinctive ways of producing dwellings, whether by the public authority, whether by the real estate market, whether by the excluded social groups; turn the metropolis into a diversified space in its social-spatial configuration, which is especially associated to the infrastructure and road system implantation.

2. Social-occupational structure in the FMR

To understand the disparities scenario present in a determined spatial frame, it is necessary to recognize the parts that form the whole, attributing criteria and establishing the variables that will allow us to distinguish between the compartments that will be considered as social typologies.

In the sense of limiting these social-spatial types, and therefore, formulating a social-spatial structure of the FMR, we used a methodology performed by the Rede de Pesquisa Observatório das Metrópoles[1], which uses as spatial unity of analysis, the areas of pondering of the samples of the demographic census (AED), from where are obtained the information related to the working population. As main variable, is used the main job of each individual, grouped in social-occupational categories (CATs) defined according to some differentiations such as: city or rural work, specialized or non-specialized, secondary or tertiary, modern or traditional technology, regarding superior or medium formation level, employee or manager.

Subdivided in 98 areas (AEDs), we obtained as main result the social-spatial structure compounded with seven different typologies, verifying the consistency graduation between the results obtained by the use of geostatistics software and the social-spatial processes of the metropolis. Following the qualitative and quantitative analysis procedures, we adopted in a first stage for further identification of social-spatial types: the density of each social-occupational category, aiming to confront and differentiate the several typologies and the percentile of the different categories in each typology, analyzing the composition of each type. As a qualitative analysis, we observe the relation of contiguity among the different areas that compound each typology, as well as the compartmentation of each one of them.

Furthermore, the social-spatial typologies were related to the urban development process in its transformations and tendencies presented to the FMR, specially related to the restructuring of the productive sectors and to the interventions in the structure of the dislocation of handiwork and the distribution of the supplies and of the production.

With all this, it is viable to identify the parts that compound the totality, which allow us to understand that the social space of the metropolis encircles differences, which interpolate among the extremities, granting a better comprehension of the social-spatial

dynamics, such as; the segmentation, the segregation, the exclusion, in the ways of how the groups aggregate, break apart, disband through the metropolitan social fabric.

In the FMR case, we identified seven social-spatial typologies denominated in a hierarchic way as: Superior, Medium-superior, Medium, Popular-proletarian, Inferior, Popular-peripheral e Rural. Using a factorial analysis, we obtained the social position of the different categories in the metropolitan space, observing the relations between the complementarities, juxtaposition and the opposition among the different occupational groups of the metropolis. Based in the extreme situations we observed that on one side, the category of the agricultural workers indicated the diametrical opposition between the rural spaces and the other parts of the metropolis. On the other hand, the occupations associated to the management, intellectuals and small employers indicated areas with larger concentration of groups with greater income, better education, such as with the best opportunities in the city (see figure 5). On the axial crossing where the intermediate position are predominant, we verify the grouping of areas characterized by the predominance of some social-occupational categories though juxtaposed and sometimes superposed indicating the social-occupational diversity and denying the plain dichotomy that generally subdivides the social metropolitan space between the rich and the poor.

Figure 5 – Final dispersion with all the individuals identified by typology
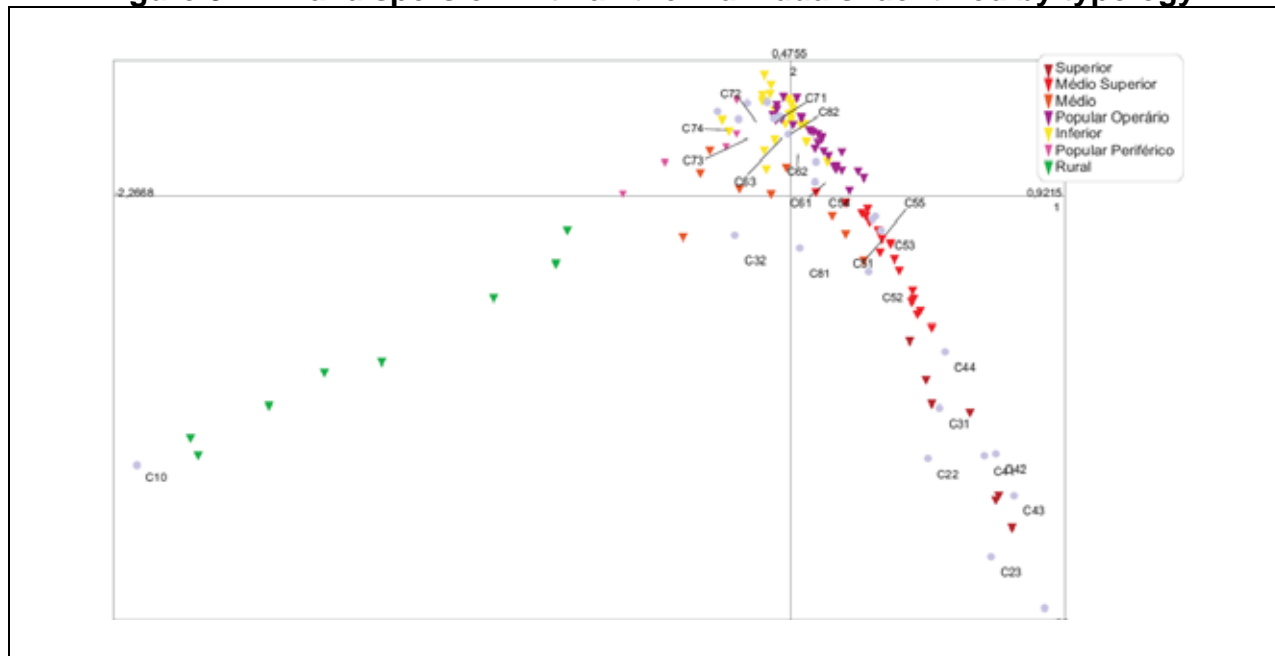
Source. Elaborated by the author

When compounding a set of social-spatial typologies, some aspects of the metropolis are clarified, such as: the populational concentration in the main city opposite to the rarefied occupation. The size of each typology also clarifies the recent courses and the segregation tendencies, differentiation, segmentation and social exclusion as we will attempt to present in a brief way. (fig. 6)

Figure 6 - Fortaleza Metropolitan Region – socio-spatial typologies
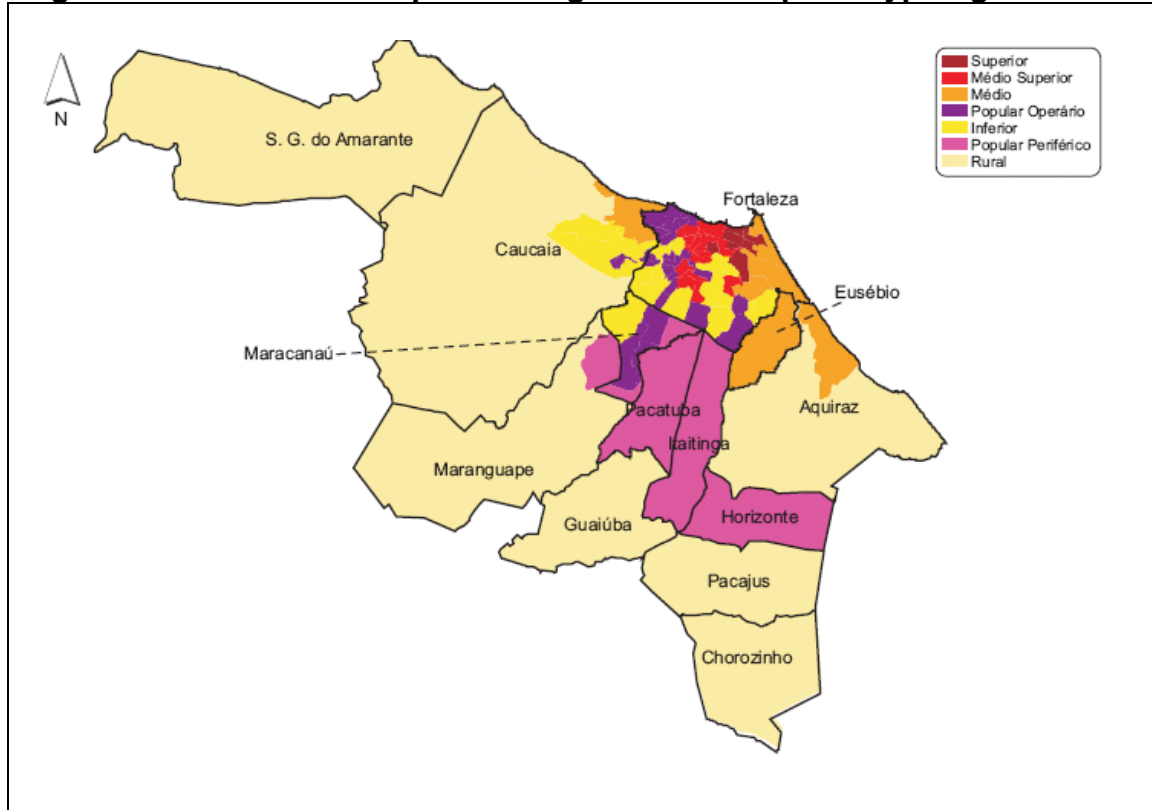
Source. Elaborated by the author

With the data shown in the tables 1 and 2, we intend to present a brief characterization of the typologies we identified, linked to the urban development process and to the tendencies that are present in the metropolis growth. We have to say that the values regard to the relative density of each social-occupational category by social-spatial typology related to the total in the metropolis.

Table 1 – Density of the CATs in the different social-spatial typologies – 2000

Social-occupational categories (CATs)	Social-spatial typologies (densities)						
	Superior	Medium superior	Medium	Popular-proletarian	Inferior	Popular-Peripheral	Rural
21 - great employers	7,01	1,15	1,11	0,27	0,25	0,26	0,26
22 – public sector managers	3,76	1,95	0,98	0,36	0,41	0,67	0,80
23 – private sector managers	5,82	1,30	0,96	0,37	0,32	0,40	0,55
41- autonomous graduated professionals	4,33	1,67	1,04	0,52	0,43	0,40	0,25
42 - employed graduated professionals	4,16	1,90	0,82	0,57	0,39	0,25	0,17
43 - statutory graduated professionals	4,40	2,26	0,94	0,40	0,23	0,31	0,19

44 - university professors	2,62	2,03	0,85	0,78	0,43	0,54	0,23
31 - small employers	3,42	1,65	0,86	0,70	0,46	0,43	0,56
51 - office occupations	1,11	1,60	0,67	1,13	0,76	0,56	0,40
52 - supervising occupation	1,91	1,43	0,82	0,97	0,65	0,90	0,58
53 – technical occupations	1,38	1,54	0,89	1,09	0,73	0,59	0,31
54 - medium occup. health & education	0,64	1,24	0,76	1,21	0,86	0,80	0,78
55- occupation security, justice & post	1,20	1,40	0,71	1,24	0,74	0,61	0,28
32 – occupations in art and similar	0,98	1,04	0,72	0,91	0,90	1,46	1,56
71 – workers in the modern industry	0,23	0,72	0,85	1,24	1,22	1,17	0,72
72 - workers in the traditional industry	0,20	0,64	0,57	1,29	1,07	1,92	0,90
73 - workers in the auxiliary services	0,22	0,70	0,68	1,14	1,13	1,91	1,11
74 - workers in construction	0,25	0,45	1,29	0,91	1,56	1,10	1,24
61- workers in commerce	0,74	1,05	0,91	1,13	1,07	0,79	0,63
62 – specialized services renders	0,47	0,82	1,35	1,10	1,20	0,84	0,69
63 – non specialized service renders	0,41	0,68	1,39	1,01	1,37	0,95	0,73
81 – house workers	1,68	0,93	1,55	0,68	1,06	0,89	1,09
82 – wanderers and garbage pickers	0,33	0,79	0,98	1,10	1,30	1,07	0,73
10 – agriculture workers	0,12	0,09	1,21	0,22	0,35	1,76	8,70
Total	**1,00**	**1,00**	**1,00**	**1,00**	**1,00**	**1,00**	**1,00**

Source: elaborated by the author / IBGE, 2000

Table 2 – Percentiles of the CATs in the different social-spatial typologies – 2000

Social-occupational categories (CATs)	Social-spatial typologies						
	Superior	Medium superior	Medium	Popular-proletarian	Inferior	Popular-Peripheral	Rural
21 - great employers	3,22	0,53	0,51	0,13	0,11	0,12	0,12
22 – public sector managers	0,87	0,45	0,23	0,08	0,09	0,15	0,19
23 – private sector managers	2,39	0,53	0,39	0,15	0,13	0,17	0,22
41- autonomous graduated professionals	5,49	2,12	1,32	0,66	0,54	0,51	0,31
42 - employed graduated professionals	9,22	4,22	1,81	1,27	0,86	0,56	0,37
43 - statutory graduated professionals	3,09	1,59	0,66	0,28	0,16	0,22	0,13
44 - university professors	4,19	3,23	1,36	1,25	0,68	0,87	0,37
31 - small employers	6,64	3,21	1,68	1,36	0,90	0,84	1,10
51 - office occupations	8,46	12,21	5,14	8,63	5,83	4,28	3,04

52 - supervising occupation	6,15	4,61	2,64	3,14	2,08	2,91	1,87
53 – technical occupations	6,39	7,12	4,14	5,04	3,36	2,74	1,42
54 - medium occup. health & education	2,79	5,38	3,29	5,24	3,74	3,47	3,38
55- occupation security, justice & post	1,99	2,32	1,18	2,06	1,23	1,02	0,46
32 – occupations in art and similar	1,39	1,48	1,03	1,29	1,27	2,07	2,22
71 – workers in the modern industry	0,84	2,69	3,17	4,63	4,55	4,34	2,67
72 - workers in the traditional industry	1,88	5,98	5,36	12,00	10,02	17,87	8,41
73 - workers in the auxiliary services	1,04	3,23	3,14	5,27	5,25	8,85	5,16
74 - workers in construction	1,74	3,13	9,08	6,37	10,97	7,73	8,74
61- workers in commerce	7,77	10,97	9,54	11,84	11,13	8,26	6,59
62 – specialized services renders	4,89	8,60	14,13	11,45	12,53	8,75	7,25
63 – non specialized service renders	1,99	3,32	6,82	4,96	6,71	4,66	3,57
81 – house workers	15,42	8,56	14,19	6,28	9,76	8,15	10,00
82 – wanderers and garbage pickers	1,78	4,23	5,23	5,90	6,97	5,72	3,92
10 – agriculture workers	0,39	0,28	3,97	0,72	1,13	5,75	28,46
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: elaborated by the author / IBGE, 2000

Superior Typology: This typology comprehends areas with greater homogeneity in its landscape, gathering the intensely verticalized spaces of the FMR. Concentrated in the coastal part East of downtown, and in the surrounding neighborhoods, this typology has in its form the juxtaposition of residential areas with better standards, articulated by roads that concentrate better services and commerce in the FMR. Holder of the best conditions of mobility and accessibility to services and the urban infrastructure network, this typology is the greatest target of the real estate market whether turned to the residential use of the dominant groups, as for enterprises in the touristic sector.

The social-occupational continents of the superior typology are marked by the greater density of the managers, intellectuals and small employers regarding to the other typologies. Extremely concentrated, these occupations represent more than a third of the total amount of working people in the typology in percentiles. Observing the social-occupational data for this typology, we can perceive the association between better opportunities of work and access to college to the social groups formed by the categories mentioned above, becoming evident their exaggerated spatial concentration, as well as the tendency to maintain and perpetuate this segregation. It is remarkable that the house workers also emerge in this typology for their bigger density, being as well the one with greater percentile related to the other categories, coming to more than 15% of the working population. The concentration of this category in this typology indicates, in one hand, the search to diminish the need of dislocation of the house workers, and on the other, the increment of the daily working hours, characterizing the continuance of the precarious forms of the labor relations. However, since there are new offers from the real estate market to the superior typology, we can conclude the tendency of dispersion of this category in the peripheral neighborhoods and in irregular

occupation next to the working place, including mass inhabitations, forming real tenements inserted in the slums. We can say that few occupations last long in these typologies, which were removed in the last decades due to management programs.

Medium-superior Typology: Includes areas located along side the road axels from the traditional downtown in Fortaleza, going to the West, Southwest and South of the FMR. Besides the residential use, it is clear to us the increment of the tertiary linked to the demographic condensation West of the FMR. Like the superior typology, we have here strong evidence that the accessibility to the urban services and transport also makes this type a preferential target of the real estate market. Among the transformations in process, we can notice: the increment of the offers to groups with purchasing power relatively superior substituting the late owners; the attending to a differentiated demand recently incorporated to the market, increasing in consequence the social segregation of those in the superior typology. The densities of managers and intellectuals, when compared to the other types, indicate that this correspond to a first alternative related to the residence location. However, differently from the superior typology, we can notice a greater occupational diversity, once the medium occupations and the workers of the tertiary sector specialized, present greater representativeness in the typology, grouping more than 50% of the working people. The proximity to the working place, as well as to the urban benefits concentrated in the superior typology contributes to the differentiated conditions of this type in its localization in the intra-urban of the FMR.

Medium Typology: Though it gathers few areas, we do not verify homogeneity in its composition, turning into a diversified landscape. The presence of vacant urban spaces, liable to the expansion of the real estate market, such as the occurrence of slums juxtaposed to condominiums and lots with beach houses contribute to this situation. In the case of the coastal areas of the East part, located in Fortaleza next to the superior typology, we can observe that the recent increment of slums opposes to the recent public investments made as circulation systems leading to that sector of the city. In other areas to the Southeast we have the presence of real estate investments as small condominiums attending to the emerging demands. Furthermore, in the areas located in the surrounding cities, where occurs an expansion of condominiums and hotels, we can verify a differentiation between the areas located to the East and to the West. Verifying the tendency of occupation of the eastern areas by managers, intellectuals and small employers, though in the other, we can see a disorganized process of occupation, such as the occupation of the former beach apartments as definitive residence.

The density of house workers and construction workers state the strong expansion of the incorporation market. Equally, the density of managers, intellectuals and small employers, when compared to the others, indicate this type to be one of the preferred in these categories, attesting the dispersion of these groups in the East outskirts of the FMR, where the condominiums represent the dominant way leading to the a conurbation of Fortaleza with the surrounding cities. The presence of medium and specialized tertiary occupations alongside the tertiary axels to the East and to the Southeast portrays the social-inhabitational diversity of this typology. The presence of inhabitational sets and lots from the 1970's, as well as irregular occupations in the

interstices of this typology attest this ascertainment. However, the implantation of the infrastructure and the diffusion of specialized services tend to drive these categories to more distant areas, as the popular spaces. We can also say that the proximity with the Port and its industrial sector, as well as the climate conditions lead the East coast areas to stagnation; having there been the expansion of the slums, predominantly occupied by people with non specialized activities. Associated to this, there is the seasonality of the tourism, once the greater attractions and leisure areas are in this type, turning the commerce and the informal services a surviving alternative to great part of the population.

Popular-proletarian Typology: it has as main characteristics the presence of huge social housing groups and illegal settlements associated to the greater industrial concentration, as for its proximity, as well as for the location alongside the great road axels between downtown and the outskirts where the secondary sector is settled. The best living conditions of these sets, compared to other popular areas, as well as the facilitated mobility to central areas and working places, is associated to the high percentiles of workers of modern and traditional industries, of the medium occupations and of the specialized tertiary, who are the greater part of people of this type.

When compared to the other typologies, we verify the greater densities for occupations of modern industry and of the specialized commerce in the FMR. Anyhow, we can observe that the traditional industry prevails over the modern one, regarding to the percentile of these categories in the typology, there being 12% of the working people in the traditional industries and about 4,6% in the modern ones. Once great part of the areas is located in Fortaleza, it is possible to appoint the preference of the modern industries for the peripheral cities of the FMR, which offer taxes advantages to the entrepreneurs of the sector. On the other hand, the traditional industries that remain without adopting any technological innovation in its production still have a good number of jobs, although with lower salaries. Besides the social-occupational diversity of the medium, tertiary and secondary categories, the social segregation scenario is evident, calling the attention to the little representativeness of the social-occupational categories of managers, intellectuals and small employers that together are a little more than 5% of the total of the working population.

Inferior Typology: This typology intertwines the central spaces of the metropolis to the outskirts, having the urban rivers as its structuring elements. Interpolating to the corridors of the popular-proletarian typology that link the production areas to the central spaces, this typology is subdivided into compartments with fragments of high density next to the center, opposite to others less dense in the outskirts of the FMR. Picture of the absence of policies for the urban environmental control for the margins of the rivers in the FMR, this typology indicates the interconnection between the precarious housing conditions and territorial exclusion. On the side of concentrating shanty towns at risk situation, presents the greatest densities of workers of survival, once some of these areas are known as the origin and the destination of routes of garbage-pickers, who symbolize the extreme situation of the inferior *circle of the metropolis' economy* (SANTOS, 1979). The occurrence of more than 10% of the working people in the

traditional industry and of 11% in the construction sector, both considered to be low income areas, characterizes this typology, which is characterized by the gathering of poorer groups, associated to the infrastructure needs and difficulty of dislocation. We can also detach the specialized tertiary and the house workers showing themselves in percentiles that are representative in the total of the occupations in the inferior typology.

Popular-peripheral Typology: This social-spatial type formed by areas outside the main city of the FMR presents in its composition wide areas that correspond to the total of the area in some cities. Strongly associated to the process of productive restructuring of the secondary sector, these areas lodge the periferization of the industry and the proliferation of the popular allotments occurred since the late 1990's. The foreseen road conveniences, as much as the low cost handiwork offer and the availability of low cost land, lead to the spatial redistribution of the population, forming a demographic growth vector in this direction. The presence of more than 30% of the workers in industries, associated to the greater densities of traditional industry and auxiliary services could be associated to the abandonment of the traditional industry corridors of the popular-proletarian type in Fortaleza.

Rural Typology: Because of its extended dimensions and its patterns for territorial occupation turned to the agricultural production, the rural typology appears as the less dense of the FMR. The percentile superior to 28% of the working population in agricultural activities justifies its denomination, which aggregates the field workers, as well as the fishermen on the beach. However, since its physical-natural aspects, we have a sub-division of it into two groups: coastal areas, target of lots for a second residence, which social-environmental reality of its traditional communities has been transformed by the predatory practices of the real estate market; extended rural zones subdivided into dry areas used by agriculture of subsistence and small farms in the mountain parts. Comes to the attention the presence of building workers, who are associated to the public works of infrastructure realized in these areas, as much as the expansion of the real estate sector linked to tourism. In the same way, we have that 10% of the working people are house workers, distributed among jobs in beach houses and in farms.

3. Social-spatial disparity and the housing subject in the FMR

Several are the possibilities to establish the inter-relations among the social-spatial typologies and the life conditions of the population, in the sense of characterizing better the social intra-urban structure in the FMR. Opting for secondary variables leads us to perceive other differences among the social types, as well as disparities among the fragments that from them. In this sense, we will adopt the housing condition as the variable that shows the inequality of the urban spaces, especially regarding to the following aspects: the inhabitational deficit; inadequacies of the residence; lacking of urban infrastructure; access to the urban land and the precariousness of the land market in the metropolis. Taking the data from IBGE/2000, we start with the questions: what is the regularity existent between the proposed social-spatial structure and the estimated inhabitational deficit? Is there an interconnection between the social division

of the space and the inequality of the distribution of basic sanitation services? How does the distribution of the areas considered to be subnormal happen, as well as the distribution of the inhabitation in precarious land situation throughout the social-spatial hierarchy? As a methodological resource to this phase we adopt as procedure: reading the data given by the tables that indicate the percentile for social-spatial type; the analysis of the thematic maps characterizing the FMR from the classification of the areas for the data ponderation as to the respective percentiles to each indicator we used.

3.1 Housing deficit

The Fortaleza Metropolitan Region presents a inhabitational deficit of 85.570 domiciles, mainly concentrated in the capital (75,8%) and in the most populous cities: Caucaia (6.5%) e Maracanaú (5,7%), which present processes of conurbations that area more consolidated with Fortaleza.

As characteristics that attest the deficit situation, we used: co-inhabitation, the improvised domicile made out of rustic materials and the residence in rooms that were lent or rented. According to table 3, the greater representatives of the deficit correspond to families that live together, with more than 92,5% of the total of domiciles. It is possible to assume that the inhabitational deficit presents lower intensity in the superior typology compound by areas in which we observe the greater density of working people as managers, intellectuals and small employers, where the real estate market is more consolidated. However, the inhabitational deficit is also diminished in the typologies formed by areas that are more distant from downtown: inferior, popular-peripheral and rural, with greater percentiles of working people in the traditional secondary sector, in construction, in auxiliary services, in agriculture, especially in those activities with lower incomes, leading to a lower presence in the formal real estate market.

Table 3 – Housing deficit indicators – 2000

Typology	Total of houses	Housing Deficit		Families living together		Improvised domiciles		Lent or rented precarious rooms	
		total	%	total	%	total	%	total	%
Superior	47680	4238	8,89	3598	84,90	272	6,42	368	8,68
Mediium-superior	112696	13888	12,32	12842	92,46	424	3,05	622	4,48
Medium	52790	6796	12,87	6028	88,70	346	5,10	422	6,20
Pop.-proletarian	222961	29752	13,34	27972	94,01	585	1,97	1196	4,02
Inferior	184830	20193	10,93	18618	92,20	820	4,06	755	3,74
Pop.-Peripheral	45959	5193	11,30	5022	96,70	83	1,60	88	1,70
Rural	56280	5508	9,79	5094	92,48	229	4,16	185	3,37
Total	723197	85570	11,83	79174	92,53	2760	3,23	3636	4,25

Source: elaborated by the author / IBGE, 2000

We observe that the medium-superior, medium and popular-peripheral typologies, which present the greater densities of medium and specialized tertiary activities, indicate the greater inhabitational deficit in percentiles, surpassing the average in the FMR. Turning in its majority from the condition of families living together, we point to aspects that deserve a better investigation: - the low offer of houses for rent; - the attempt of saving for a future investment in a better house; - the inability of paying the rent in the areas of the superior typology where there is a greater offer of residences.

Figure 7 – Housing deficit map in FMR
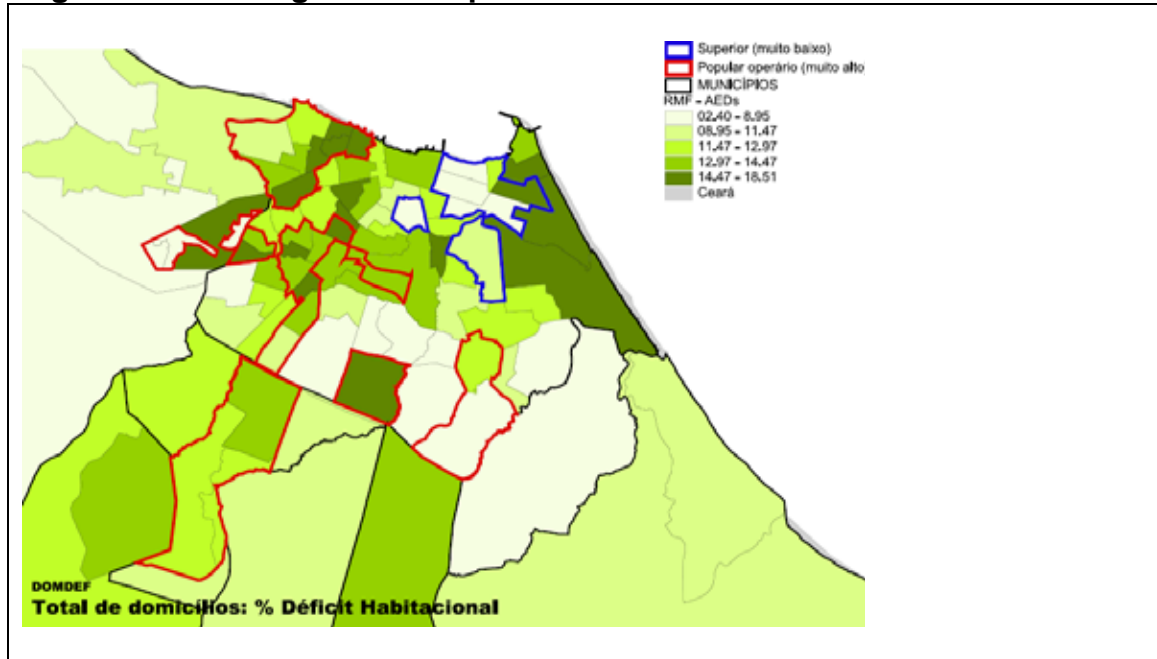
Source: elaborated by the author / IBGE, 2000

We have to say that these typologies regarding to the inhabitational provision, could be classified in two categories: - the medium-superior and medium typologies where the real estate market is expanding in a more promising way, whether substituting the rent, or attending to the demand for areas of expansion of the condominiums for the spatial segregation; - the popular-proletarian typology, where the public policies of social housing were more intense in the 1970's and the 1980's, as the infrastructure and the plot dimensions allow the expansion of the house, turning co-inhabitation a typical process in areas with medium, secondary and tertiary occupations.

Figure 7 presents the predominance of areas with a lower inhabitational deficit in the superior typology, where the real estate market has been even more present. On the other hand, we observe that in the case of the popular-proletarian typology, the concentration of areas with greater percentiles, especially in the areas next to downtown, with com predominance of the social housing sets, for this reason denser and with better urban infrastructure than the others.

Table 4 – Indicators for inadequate housing conditions – 2000

Typology	Total of houses	Domiciles with up to 3 rooms		Density superior to 3 people per room		Domiciles without bathroom		Inadequate urban infrastructure		Precarious land ownership	
		total	%	total.	%	total	%	total	%	total	%
Superior	47680	2561	5,37	5618	11,78	1120	2,35	10538	22,10	2874	6,03
Midi.superior	112696	13227	11,74	24248	21,52	5402	4,79	45833	40,67	8234	7,31
Medium	52790	11307	21,42	19076	36,14	13250	25,10	40387	76,50	13184	30,92
Pop.proletarian	222961	35337	15,85	75562	33,89	26905	12,07	139126	62,43	23250	10,43
Inferior	184830	43489	23,53	77991	42,20	35313	19,11	140413	75,97	30210	16,34
Pop.peripheral	45959	8893	19,35	17786	38,70	16806	36,57	33399	78,07	4820	10,49
Rural	56280	12122	21,54	21449	38,11	29884	53,10	35803	96,73	5197	9,23
Total	723197	126935	17,55	241731	33,43	128681	17,79	445498	63,58	87767	12,14

Source: elaborated by the author / IBGE, 2000

Table 4 has in its contents data that attests the domiciles inadequacies of the inferior, popular-peripheral and rural typologies, though they do not have significant inhabitational deficit. From this comes up the question if the ways of inhabitation used by the poorer people of the metropolis, though inadequate, could come to be disregarded of the demands, or even, if the inhabitational policies turn to have a better focus on the urbanization of these precarious lots, granting better housing conditions with the legalization of the land possession, the implantation of infrastructure and improvements in the residences. In this sense, the following topics try to discuss the condition of the urban infrastructure and of the land irregularity associated to the proposed social hierarchy.

3.2 Intra urban structure and the urban infrastructure inadequacy

When it comes to accessibility to the infrastructure networks, the analysis of the social-occupational structure of the FMR considers as main hypothesis the direct relation between the precariousness of the basic sanitation and the areas denominated popular or inferior, where the managing elite, the intellectuals and the small employers would not be concentrated. The same way, we try to find evidences of the possible expansion of the benefits of the urban services to the surrounding areas, verifying if there occurs or not a better condition for the access to the infrastructure network to the popular areas next to the superior and medium-superior typologies, comparing to the others, located in the outskirts of the FMR.

## Table 5 – Indicators of the inadequacy of the urban infrastructure, 2000

Typology	total of houses	Urban domiciles		Inadequate water supply		Inadequate sewerage system		Inadequate garbage collecting		Inadequate energy supply	
		total	%	total	%	total	%	total	%	total	%
Superior	47680	47680	100,00	3766	7,90	3134	6,57	829	1,74	827	0,08
Medium-superior	112696	112696	100,00	12954	11,49	22553	20,01	1908	1,69	1906	0,46
Medium	52790	52790	100,00	23685	44,87	25766	48,81	9207	17,44	9189	1,21
Popular.proletarian	222961	222842	99,95	43747	19,63	77046	34,57	7475	3,35	7472	0,50
Inferior	184830	184830	100,00	40802	22,08	100191	54,21	19101	10,33	19091	0,92
Popular.Peripheral	45959	42783	93,09	19417	45,38	22220	51,94	6902	16,13	6886	2,83
Rural	56280	37013	65,77	29460	79,59	27777	75,05	14623	39,51	14584	9,89
Total	723197	700635	96,88	173830	24,81	278686	39,78	60044	8,57	60036	1,51

Source: elaborated by the author / IBGE, 2000

The analysis of the chart of the social-occupational typologies as to the access to the infrastructure network of the Fortaleza Metropolitan Region, present in table 5, leads us to the understanding of a strong correlation between the inadequate conditions of sanitation and the popular-peripheral, inferior and rural typologies where we can verify the concentration of social-occupational non specialized categories of the industrial, commercial and services sectors, besides the agricultural occupations.

In the same way, we confirm that the adequate attending conditions to the superior and medium-superior typologies, bringing privilege to the managing and intellectual social-spatial categories which are concentrated there, such as the medium occupations. We have to make clear the strong interaction between the real estate market and the social-spatial hierarchy, differentiating the types as to the accessibility to the infrastructure network, the location of the FMR and the availability of areas for its expansion. The superior typology, though privileged, when concentrating the verticalization indicates the necessity of supplementary capacity of the urban infrastructure network, in the detriment of the areas that are worst attended to in the other typologies, favoring the land owners and the real estate speculation. We can certify that the real estate market in free expansion, comes to reach the areas of the medium-superior typology, where the infrastructure is already installed, enlarging its enclosure over the metropolitan territory, including new areas located to West of the traditional downtown with easy access by roads.

Figure 8 – Map of inadequate sewage system in Fortaleza
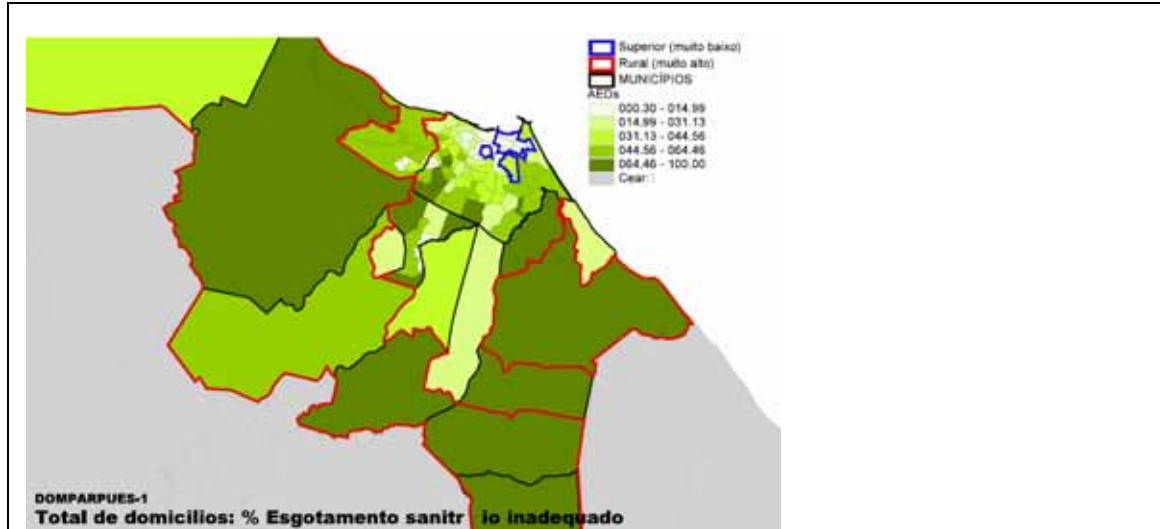
Source: elaborated by the author / IBGE, 2000

The popular-proletarian typology, though it has a predominance of the medium, secondary and specialized tertiary occupations, indicates very satisfactory values, surpassing the average of the metropolis. Some of its areas come even to surpass the rates of superior typology in the social hierarchy, especially the ones that had their origin in great social housing sets of the 1970's and 1980's, indicating the heterogeneity present in this social-spatial type. Even in the case of the medium typology, where we can verify the housing precariousness and the inadequacies of its infrastructure, it is clear that there is already a new pattern of attending, with decentralized sewerage treatment unities, in the dimension of the condominiums and hotels that are yet to be implanted, besides the benefits gained regarding to roads structure, increasing the land value and favoring social groups where determinate categories are not dominant.

Comparatively, we can perceive that the sanitation has its worse situation in quantitative terms, especially in the most peripheral typologies and with the gravest environmental situation. The farther from the central areas, and consequently from the social-spatial superior and medium-superior typologies, the worst will be the conditions of inadequacies of these urban services. The situation is even more critical in the case of the inferior typology, which has as predominant characteristics: excessive density, land precariousness, small domiciles and the lack of sanitary; is a more inadequate situation for the infrastructure network (see table 5). Considering the exponential growth of the areas at risk in the margin of the urban rivers, we can attest that the inferior typology needs greater attention in posterior studies.

It is possible to say that the areas of a typology have influence over the others, in an adjoining situation, as to the better adequateness of the infrastructure network. In the case of areas next to the ones best provided with the services, we can verify the extension of the attending to the surrounding areas, diminishing gradually the effect of

proximity as we get farther from the central areas. Anyhow, we can say that in the peripheral areas where the social interest inhabitational programs developed by the National Bank of Housing (BNH) and State Companies of Housing (COHABs) in the 1970's and 1980's, endowed with every infrastructure, exercise a positive impact over the adjacent areas, incorporating them to the demands attended by the networks and the decentralized treatment stations implanted in the past.

According to the figure 8, the sewage systems brought many benefits to the families of the superior typology, place of greater density of managers and intellectuals, as in the surrounding areas, where the same categories predominate. Besides that, we can verify a gradual decrease of the adequateness of the sewerage as we go in direction of the periphery, exception made to the social housing settlements that in the past contributed with the induction of the urban growth in that direction.

3.3 The social-occupational intra urban structure and the favelas in the FMR

Considering the social production process of the intra urban space in the FMR, the implantation of *favelas*, Brazilian name for squatter settlements, as one of its main phenomena, notably in the cities conurbed with Fortaleza. The impoverishment of the population, unable to pay the rent, as much as the permanent flow country-city has lead to an acceleration of this process in the last years, turning the risk areas the greater challenge of the institutions working on the housing issues.

When we analyze the location of the subnormal conglomerates identified by the Brazilian Institute for Geography and Statistics (IBGE), it is possible to verify a scenario of degradation of the natural resources and the migration to the peripheries of lower purchasing power people, who seek in the irregular occupation of the land the solution to their dwelling problem. To analyze the process of the beginning of the favelas in the FMR, will be used as indicators the percentile of families living in abnormal conglomerates and the percentage of domiciles that declared the ownership of the house without the ownership of the terrain. [2]

In terms of percentiles, we can observe that the medium typology presents the greater rates of subnormal conglomerates and of houses without the possession of the land, being in fact more than double of the total of the FMR. Considering that the composition of this social-spatial typology gathers the coastal areas and the Southeast areas in Fortaleza and in the surrounding cities, where the real estate market of condominiums and the touristic enterprises are expanding with great intensity, we can predict a conflicting scenario in the future. We believe that investments of urban developers directed to the categories of the managers and intellectuals will come to displace most of the larger and most occupied squatter areas, whose inhabitants have in the proximity with the working place an enormous benefit.(table 6)

Table 6 – Indicators of the land ownership precariousness

	Total of domiciles	subnormal conglomerates		Ownership house without possession of the land	
Typology		total	%	total	%
Superior	47680	3623,7	7,6	2874	6,03
Medium-superior	112696	8226,8	7,3	8234	7,31
Medium	52790	12142	23	13184	30,92
Popular- proletarian	222961	29431	13,2	23250	10,43
Inferior	184830	25691	13,9	30210	16,34
Popular-Peripheral	45959	0	0	4820	10,49
Rural	56280	0	0	5197	9,23
total	723197	79552	11	87767	12,14

Source: elaborated by the author / IBGE, 2000

The popular-proletarian and inferior typologies also present significant percentiles of subnormal conglomerates, surpassing the average rates in the FMR, indicating the presence of shanty towns in these social-spatial typologies, though in a different situation when it comes to the social-spatial hierarchy. From this we can ascertain the presence of favelas with better location and better opportunities in the metropolis than others, since the popular-proletarian typology has among other characteristics: proximity to working places; the best attending in terms of the infrastructure and urban mobility. The inferior typology, on the contrary, gather the most precarious squatter settlements, mainly those in a situation of environmental risk, that run along the margin of rivers and lagoons, finding themselves in precarious conditions of accessibility to the basic sanitation.

In the case of the superior e medium-superior typologies, we can verify values lower than the average rates of the metropolis, once they are preferential areas to the real estate market have been during decades the main target of urban control policies and of programs for the dislocation of favelas supported by the city and state governments and almost always associated to interventions in the road system. Even though, we can verify that some areas remain, though under the pressure of the real estate entrepreneurs furnished with public private partnerships.

Figure 9 – Map of sub-normal áreas – FMR
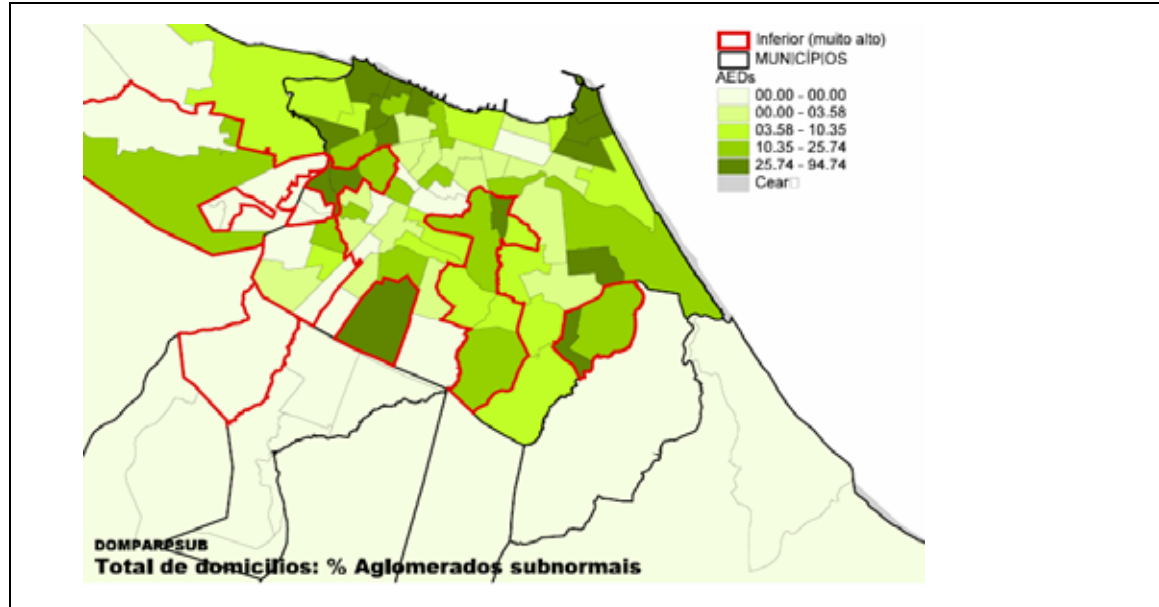
The discrepancy between the numbers associated to the subnormal conglomerates related to those inhabitants that do not own the plot of land, in the case of the popular-peripheral and rural indicate that the squatting process is already present in the other cities of the metropolis. This happens under the form of lines of shacks in the entrance of the cities, which associate with the migratory flows from the country to the city, as to the transposition of poverty originated in the main city.

As shown in the figure 9 above, we have in the inferior typology the greatest percentile of families in subnormal conglomerates. However, it is possible to observe the presence of areas with high rates of land precariousness in two blocks of areas out of the inferior type: - in the coastal sectors to the East, which belong to the medium typology, recovering the dunes next to the industrial port sector; to the West of the central area of Fortaleza, next to the areas with intense industrial activities, portraying a real corridor of social-environmental degradation alongside the coast. Both have in common the possibility of going through deep transformations due to the opening of landscape roads by the governments, as by the changes of the use forecast in the laws of use and occupation of the soil, substituting the industries with new enterprises.

A situation as grave as this can be ascertained related to the areas that are crossed by the urban rivers in Fortaleza, where lots of shanty towns are at risk of landslides and floods. Though it is partial, the presence of these communities in permanent preservation areas hinders its regularization, as its urbanization. While there is no alternative for a tenable occupation of the surrounding urban empty spaces, to be included in policies of social interest inhabitations and of urban development, we can

verify the greater proliferation of this kind of precarious settlements, which give shelter to more than 20.000 families.

Final considerations

In the scenario of the social-spatial disparities present in the Brazilian metropolis, the housing subject associated to the squatter settlements has been a special way to the comprehension of the problems associated to the historic unequal development. Fortaleza represents one more case, differentiated by the acceleration and intensity of the implantation of this process in its intra urban space. The proposition of a social-spatial structure to the FMR brings along some innovating elements regarding to the understanding of the dynamics of growth and development of the FMR, through the spatialization of the concentration of determinate social-occupational categories associated to the productive use of the territory and to the housing forms.

From the differences exacerbated among extreme social-spatial typologies, to the heterogeneities of the intermediary types, we can verify a strong link of the remaining types to the location of the productive activities in the metropolitan intra urban space, as the power of the real estate market associated to the tertiary activities and to the tourism. We dismantle this way the comprehension of the dichotomist division of the metropolitan space in only two parts, undoing the myth of the torn city: one very dense and poor to the West; and other less dense and rich to the East.

On the contrary, when we visualize the dispersion of determinate social-occupational categories in the metropolitan territory, we make clear the identification of new compartments, which justify the intra urban flows and the preferences for determinate location in the city, showing new spaces of social-spatial segregation and projecting areas of greater territorial exclusion. In the same way, from the density of the social-occupational categories, it is possible to recognize the representativeness and the importance of the productive activities that are predominant in the FMR, as well as the complementarities among them, through the recognition of heterogeneities present in the different social-spatial types.

The realization of the crossing between the proposed structure and some elements that characterize the housing issues in the FMR, as a way of investigation of the spatial disparities in the social hierarchy of the metropolis, lead us to verify a critical scenario regarding to the estimative of the housing deficit, to the accessibility of the infrastructure networks and to the state of illegality of land ownership.

The concentration of the dwelling deficit in the medium-superior and popular-proletarian types, areas with greater demographic density, could be associated to the lower purchasing power of its social-occupational predominant categories, in this case the medium, of the tertiary and of the secondary. On its turn, the predominance of these same categories at more peripheral areas, where the inhabitational policies were more positive, indicate the tendency of the appropriation of the lots by these social groups, substituting the original beneficiaries. With this, we can shape the hypothesis that has

been more and more propagated of the occurrence of pressure of the intermediary classes in these areas, resolving its incapacity of access to the formal market, using the appropriation of lots of inhabitations, as well as the evidences of the presence of informal market in these lots. New alternatives formulated by the National Inhabitation Policies, as well as the residential lease programs and the downtown rehabilitation programs for housing, tend to furnish in part these demands.

The emphasis given to the superior and medium-superior typologies in the provision of urban infrastructure confirms the supposition of a privileged attending to, most importantly regarding to the basic sanitation. The concentration of investments in construction in the superior social-spatial type, as well as the signs of new enterprises in the medium-superior typology, attests the combination between areas with the adequate infrastructure and the proposed social hierarchy. On its side, in the medium typology, facing the expansion of the touristic real estate sector, since the dispersion of its occupation, spreading the use of decentralized unities for sewerage treatment and water supply from artesian wells, and the costs are poured out to the customers.

In the peripheral spaces, exception made to the areas formed predominantly by social housing settlements inserted in the popular-proletarian typology, we can observe a picture which associates the lack of infrastructure and precariousness of the land. From this we can ascertain the importance of the formulation of policies for land regularization and sustainability, where the land ownership comes accompanied with the implantation of the urban infrastructure and services, as a way to diminish the social-economic disparity existent between the socio-spatial typologies of the FMR.

As to the popular-peripheral and rural types, composed only by areas of the municipalities of the FMR adjoining Fortaleza, we have a picture of occupation that is spread in the agricultural sectors, there being a greater demographic density in the centers and localities. We can say that the inadequate conditions of the urban infrastructures proves not only the differences of the occupation patterns of the land, but also, the low integration levels of these areas with the remaining areas of the metropolis. On its side, the recent industrialization of these cities, which are not well provided with infrastructure, indicate a preoccupying scenario due to the migratory flows, mainly with the certainty of the precariousness of the land situation presented here.

In short, face the reading of the social structure of the FMR; we can ascertain that its recent economical re-structuring associated to great public works, points to the urgency in the formulation of processes for regional planning, from where would be pointed development policies that would help to hinder the propagation of the problems that exist today in the peri-urban areas. As this being a question of a study in the metropolitan scale, we verify the importance that mechanisms of cooperation between the cities come to be established, in the sense of trying to diminish its impacts and to increase the institutional integration levels between the cities of the FMR.

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[1] The Rede de Pesquisa Observatório das Metrópoles gathers 12 different research settlements, which has been developing, since 1997, studies associated to the state of the inequalities and the management and govern problems in the Brazilian Metropolitan Regions.

[2] At once it is necessary to make an exception related to these indicators, since the IBGE considers only the settlements with more than 50 residences, and that not all the people interviewed admit the illegality regarding to the land possession, omitting the information. For a better notion of the discrepancy among this data, in the last slum census realized in Fortaleza in 1991, the results were the presence of 314 occupied areas, while the IBGE appoints a total of 154 in the last census.

The roles that government, private sectors & public play in the leisure space development in Hangzhou waterfront areas, China

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Preface

The word "leisure" in China holds connotations of urban residents' leisure, lie fallow, recreation and tourism. Leisure in China is now acting as a new city function to boost economy, to improve living quality and to promote city culture.

Ann Breen and Dick Rigby classified waterfront districts exploitation in the US into six kinds according to their functional uses: commercial, recreational, cultural & educational, history, residential and transportation port（Ann Breen, Dick Rigby,1996）. According to this classification, the first four functions all go to the leisure category. Spreading our insight on the waterfront area development in China, the mainstream is concentrating on the function of leisure. More and more people realized the importance of transferring waterfront area into urban public space. Based on these backgrounds, recreation space is becoming the majority part of substantial waterfront district development.

Four water territories in the city enable Hangzhou multiform waterfront leisure space

Hangzhou is a city with a gift of tourism: Qiantang River standing at east, the West Lake enchasing in the middle of the city, to the west there is Xixi wetland, and to the north is Beijing-Hangzhou Grand Canal. These waterfront spaces around Hangzhou with abundant deposition of historic culture provide a profound culture background to the developers. "Surrounding of four-waterfront territories" composes leisure space framework of Hangzhou water systam (Embodied Location in Fig. 1). 2006, World Leisure Expo was held in Hangzhou, and Hangzhou was elected to be one of three "Excellent Chinese Tourism City". In the same year, the entire investment appropriated to protect and renovate Grand Canal in integration is up to 28.4 billion(1st phase 6.5 billion, 2nd phase 21.9billion), which is conducting for applying World Cultural Heritage; Xixi National Wetland Park is the first national wetland park locating in the city; the new city CBD and citizen center are pullulated by the side of Qiantang River; the West Lake is taking the drive towards west for engendering "the new West Lake" etc. The Hangzhou government is striving to establish "International

Leisure Tourism City" and "Oriental Capital of Leisure". From the prediction, waterfront leisure spaces will become more exuberance till the completion of Grand Canal Protection and Innovation Project in 2010.

The interacted collaboration between government, private sectors (e.g. business individuals, planning institutions) and public is indispensable for the development of Hangzhou waterfront leisure space. During the whole procedure of development, various benefit and objective of both government and private sectors exert different effects and influences. Since the waterfront area has been the significant place where leisure activities occur in Hangzhou, where the city is embraced by four big water bodies, the development patterns of leisure space in the waterfront area of Hangzhou will be primarily focused on in this research. In addition, in order to unveil the roles the government, private sectors and public play in the leisure space exploitation, four waterfront territory leisure space developing background will be hackled and their characteristics will be concluded.

Hangzhou waterfront leisure space developing patterns based on diverse growing background

In order to conduct this research, we collected various information of the four waterfront area through relative websites, master planning and detailed planning etc. simultaneously we consulted Hangzhou Almanac to sort out the histories and analyze the developing process of the waterfront leisure areas. Afterwards the developing patterns of Hangzhou waterfront leisure space will be classified according to its background, prime origin and internal motivation (Background, attractor and cases in Tab. 1, the detail distribution in Fig. 1, photos in Fig. 2). The development process will also be described briefly (Tab. 2).

Tab. 1 Classification of developing patterns of Hangzhou waterfront leisure space: (case followed with "*" is under construction)

DEVELOPING PATTERN	BACKGROUND & INCENTIVE	ATTRACTORS	CASES
. Regeneration of Industrial Architectural Heritage	During the procedure of economy growing and the industries upgrading, the waterfront former function such as factory warehouse will be expected to be renewed and re-used.	By reforming the former industrial building, the structure continues to in function. Creative industry workshop, exhibition, catering, recreation and other new function will be endowed. The combination completed industrial heritage with history, culture and modernist life quality is popular.	Grand Canal Tiandi（LOFT Culture Park）[1] *
. Conservation & Exploitation of Historic Sites/ Blocks with Feature	The functional requirement of the city to conserve historic Sites in waterfront area; meanwhile, parts of waterfront area with characteristic of prominent location should be rebuilt and revitalized for usage.	Base on the attraction of culture and unique architecture of the historic legacy/historic district, leisure area is catalyzed by distributing museums and show rooms, assisted by surrounding features characterizing in unity with tourism, catering, recreation, shopping etc.	Gongchen Bridge Region [2];Xiaohe Street Historic Block; Qiaoxi Historic Block*; Fuyi Granary Historic Site Park*
		Located closely to famous tourism spot, Some blocks with feature will be rebuilt and afterwards branded with characterized architecture pattern and high quality life style. In virtue of abundant population addicted by fabulous tourism spot, these blocks often become recreation, shopping, catering and tourism functional RBD.	Hubin International Boutique Compound [3]; Xihu Tiandi; Xinyifang Commercial Street [4]

	The master plan accelerates the new CBD establishment and some new public facilities construction to provide space to host big events, promoting city modern image in order to attract social investment and collaboration.	The new public space would be dominant by distinctive city museums, exhibition halls, theater, international convention center, public square and other leisure equipments.	Qianjiang CBD [5*]、Xihu Culture Square
. New Town Center Construction			
. Eco-corridor/ Eco-park & Theme Park	Local authorities concentrate on ecological environment protection. With this incentive, waterfront space would be renovated and reformed by enhancing waterfront landscape and purifying the water bodies, which would also ascend resident life quality.	Excellent wetland and waterfront park, lake-side pleasant promenades and piazza, consist with proper catering, shopping and entertainment facilities.	Xixi National Wetland Park [6]; 21km landscape promenade and public parks along Grand Canal(Genshan Park, Qingsha Park, Beixing Park); public parks along West Lake (Hangzhou Flower Nursery, No.1-6 Park etc.), the "New West Lake"
	Furthermore, under the premise of environment protection, exotic investment would be captured to ensure waterfront vigor，diversity of tourism product and promotion of tourism economy.	Recreation space embodies theme parks, amusement park, resorts, sanatoriums and hotels.	Hangzhou Zhijiang National Tourist Holiday Resort (include Song Dynasty Town, Future World Amusement Park, West Lake International Golf & Country Club and other resort units)[7]

Tab. 2 Procedures of four kinds of developing pattern of Hangzhou waterfront leisure space:

DEVELOPING PATTERN	PROCEDURE
. **Regeneration of industrial architectural heritage**	Government organized factories relocation——Institute subordinates to government Planed and Design——Government invested to renew the factory buildings and environmental renovation——Company chosen by government——Company operates
. **Conservation & exploitation of historic sites/historic district/blocks with feature**	Government makes the historic sites and historic district conservation strategic plan——Planning institute is committed by government to implement detail planning——Government investment—Collegiums leagued by government——Collegiums operate relative district
	Government makes the distinctive blocks general developing orientation and strategic plan——Private business company invests and constructs——Operation company committed by private business company operate and manage the district
. **New town center construction**	Government makes general strategic plan and the planning conditions——Collegiums leagued by government——Professional planning institutes will be committed to manipulate detail planning by invitation of collegiums——Collegiums attract investment and collaboration, and carry out plan implementation
. **Eco-corridor/eco-park and Theme park**	Landscape Planning institute is committed by government to implement planning——Government investment—Collegiums leagued by government——Collegiums operate relative greenbelt/eco-park
	Private business company got the land use right——Private business company invests and constructs——Operation company committed by private business company operate and manage the project

Hangzhou waterfront leisure space exploitation: government predominates & private sectors supplement

From decades, waterfront leisure space is developed and exploited by both government and private investors to accelerate local economy rather than just meet the demands of public for amenities. In this process, different interest groups including government, investor, management committee/operation company and public play different roles and also interact on others. Regarding to Hangzhou, its domain of leisure space development manipulated by government planning is obviously sophisticated at functional position, while the private sectors as the minor role.

1. Incentives of Government in Hangzhou Waterfront Leisure Space Development & Social Impacts

After specific research on the leisure space of the-four waterfront territory in Hangzhou: West Lake, Grand Canal, Qiantang River and Xixi National Wetland Park, the incentives and their impacts on the city of the government's predominating in waterfront leisure space exploitation is embodied on five aspects:

(1) Preservation of history and culture and city image promotion

The-four waterfront territory in Hangzhou possesses of exuberant historic heritage, more than 60 historic legacies just for the amount around the West Lake, and mass of heritage also alongside the Grand Canal.   The policy of heritage preservation and collaborated with recreation and tourism industry development, is the pace step forward to be promine of historic characteristic and city image. In this way, some RBD (Recreational Business District) will engender. So far as it goes, compare with the other three waterfront territory, West Lake waterfront area, owing to its prime location in the city and long-time valued by the local authority, is the most advanced in taking full advantage of historic heritage, by protecting legacy and propagating culture, simultaneously developing leisure equipments and business. During the 7-day Chinese Spring Festival holiday, 2.3 million visitors have traveled along the West Lake (totally 3.09 million visitors in Hangzhou).

(2) City economy development

2007 Hangzhou has been issued "China's best tourist city" by UN World Tourism Organization, for definitely the government must support and spares no effect in establishing substantial tourism economy. The ascendancy of Hangzhou is spectacular waterfront landscape and historic heritage, the vital foundation and guarantee for that is to develop leisure and tourism industry. In the whole 2006,

Hangzhou had received 38.64 million visitors and achieved the gross income from tourism of 54.37 billion RMB, approximately 7.66 billion US dollar (Hangzhou Almanac2007). Simultaneously, In order to leverage the reputation of "UN World Habitat Prize cities", the relevant government authorities are striving to follow context of creating landscape-comfort city, intending to convey waterfront districts as places with blooming public activities, benign environment, and potential price-raise estate, and become catalyst for native economy to revitalize waterfront district potential development, then draw public attention, collaboration and private investment.

(3) Urban functional transformation and industries upgrading

Hangzhou is accomplished by water from ancient, envisage parts of waterfront districts subordinate to inner city with poverty, low life quality and demoded function of land-use is inevitable. Furthermore, by the impact of technological innovation of transportation, port town like Hangzhou, especially Grand Canal alongside, its transportation function is descending, while requirement of being multiplicity with high-grade integrated function is ascending. In addition, urban sprawl and industrial structure readjustment in land-use lead to manufactories external migration. The industrial architectural heritages like former factories, warehouses and docks are eager to be revitalized and re-used as the functional combination of office use and leisure activities. This revitalization pattern is at prevailing and has abundant successful foreign and domestic precedents, thus, the Hangzhou government intends to imitate and apply in the Grand Canal. Incidentally, the Grand Canal Tiandi（LOFT Culture Park）, under construction, is a maiden attempt for Hangzhou government, which certainly will set the pace for the remaining in the near future.

(4) Authority political achievement pursuit

Every session of governments desired to achievement through waterfront area development, which could improve city image and "window of the city", and normally being focused by public so as to win appreciation and to gain attraction from citizens and estate developer. Meanwhile, great amount of public facilities were equipped for promoting city impression, therefore "political achievement" would be kind of obvious. Moreover, for decision makers would alternate along with each session of government, the focus area of urban construction and development would adjust with concentration of decision makers. In consequence, the leisure space developing pace presents Hangzhou with continued transformation in spatial layout.

(5) Ecological environment protection and landscape restoration

The leadership of government embodies to the improvement, protection and surveillance of frail wetland, riverbank and others vital landscape, and the melioration

of urban ecological environment with daily leisure space enhancing. Moreover, the ascendancy of government execution is effective to monitor and prevent the myopic behaviors which private sectors might benefit from sacrificing environment. The research due to first phase of Grand Canal Improvement and Protection Project from 500 units household and 500 tourists indicates that, the approval to the environment improvement and open space construction in the first phase of the project is 99.9%, with 49.6% increased (Hangzhou Almanac2007).

2. Efforts by private sectors in Hangzhou waterfront leisure space & roles they play

Despite neither the dominant exploiter nor the main part users of leisure space which apparently serving society and public is private sectors, we could still observe during the whole planning and development procedure the objective and efforts of private sectors. Underlying roles act on numbers of waterfront development projects, private sectors would be classified as following:

(1) Planning design institute and Consultant Company

Recently, referring to specified waterfront area, Hangzhou city authority normally applies public bidding, invited commission and consultation for strategy planning and urban design. Besides native design units, foreign units would also take parts in this game, such as   OBERMEYER PLANEN + BERATEN GmbH which was invited for consultation for the master planning of the central district in Qianjiang CBD; the West Lake well-know waterfront area，Hubin region, was made urban design by SWA group. Analogy of design units conduct the waterfront leisure space planning with advanced design principle and planning conception, better regarding of user's psychology , which will be significant supplement to government. However, as the case stands, these design units are more influenced by the will of government. In other words, waterfront leisure space planning in Hangzhou seems even more like government planning.

(2) Private business investor

It is overwhelming that a direct investment from government to manipulate leisure space projects involved large public facilities, waterfront parks, green corridor and legacy conservation, however, few establishment of public leisure space would be bidden with estate , and the construction and maintenance on site also undertaken by private investor as premise for bidding. There are three reasons for private investors' eagerness to taking part in leisure space projects exploitation: first, waterfront environment and public service is improved by the real estate business investor enough to gain potential increasing profit from land value and house price ascending; second, investment in specified area in the city like Zhijiang National Tourist Holiday

Resort is apt to gain preferential financial policies from government, so as to reduce expenditure; third, exploiting some kind of leisure space projects with high quality to promote social image and reputation of private company. Incidentally, such as Song Dynasty Town, Future World Amusement Park and other theme parks, which fetch in abundant new recreational products, increasing selectivity for residents and visitors, are invested by private business companies. Moreover, the flexibility of private investors is remarkable to meet financial balance once government lack of capital.

(2) Private operation companies

In Hangzhou, private operation companies of some recreation projects are usually found and strategically controlled by private business investors. They take charge of project investment attraction and collaboration. With modern management mode and market-oriented, private operation companies are more efficient, flexible and independent. However, compare with the private operation company, another kind of operation organization, collegiums, are found by government normally, responsible for execution of leisure space planning, attracting investment. More importantly, it ensures the unity of project going direction and integrated urban planning with expertise consultancy. It become government substitute to supervise waterfront leisure space project processing and is another expression of government planning.

The baffle & suggestion to the interaction between government, private sectors & public

Analyzing the responsibilities undertaken by government and private sectors respectively in numerous projects of Hang Zhou waterfront leisure space development would be expedient to understand distinctive developing patterns of waterfront leisure space, and unveil the inner problem. Presently, to the waterfront leisure space development situation which regarding of government leadership and consisted with private sectors, suggestions are as following to the baffle of this phenomenon:

(1) Government Desire Transcends Market Requirement

Because of "political achievement" motivation and lack of marketing research, the leadership of government in leisure space exploitation might induce idealism planning, meaning government desire transcends market requirement. Once this circumstance actualized, parts of leisure space might be devoid of usage, and will be difficult to meet public appraisal. Such as Hubin International Boutique Compound, there are conflicts between district original plan and consuming requirement, consuming ability and consuming objective. The construction on best location did not achieve public consensus, in contrast, just became the image promotion by government desire.

(2) Myopic Behavior for Benefit in Some Private Business Developer

Parts of private business developer with myopic behavior for benefit, is short of long-term development schedule in integration, especially lack of realization of characteristic brand-building. The Xinyifang Commercial Street, by the side of Grand Canal, is the precedent which the developer overslaughed commerce admittance mechanism in the beginning, leaded to absence of nurturing district characteristics, attraction to local dwellers and travelers. Consequently, the operation of the commercial street became gloomy, the owner of the shop continued shifting or even closing for painstaking business.

(3) Seldom Private Business Developer Participates in the Industrial Heritage Vitalization Projects

Hangzhou government is the only planner, investor and builder in the industry heritage vitalization projects at present. However, our consideration for the projects of industry heritage vitalization would tend to be methods of cooperation, which means private developer would implement the project by planning, architectural design, investment and management with government surveillance and preferential policy. There are abundant practical experiences in china or abroad, private sectors could better estimate market trend, then the architecture design and commercial promotion might protrude characteristics of the industry heritage with more ample usage. Hangzhou government could take reference of the Bridge eight project in Luwan district in Shanghai, government accreditation and creation of private sectors transferred a 50-year-old car manufacturer building into life style center and gained the reputation of national paradigm of industrial tourism.

(4) The Extent of Public Participating in Urban Planning is Insufficient & Limited

As we know, China is under a rapidly constructing and developing background, because of which most of the public projects including leisure space projects would be likely to be implemented immediately after making the plan without publishing the plan to the public or enough consultancies.　This phenomenon always happens in lots of small leisure space projects relating to citizen's daily life, and only some large-scale projects will be published and public's opinion collected by the Urban Planning Bureau. In order to save time and expenditure, government-leaded leisure space construction does not give public the chance to join in planning, which will lead to less attraction and illusive reflection of the public demand.

(5) Suggestion of Establishing NPO (Non-Profit Organization)

In Hangzhou, as long as other cities in China, there aren't any real Non-Profit Organizations which could stand among government, private companies and public without any related-interest is existed. The introducing of NPO among the three benefit groups in the Hangzhou waterfront leisure space development will improve the public participation which is in a low level at present, increase the utilization of the recreation facilities and promote project operation efficiency (Illustration of NPO refers to Fig.3).

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1.   Grand Canal Tiandi (Loft Culture Park) is under second phase of Grand Canal Integrated Protective and Renovation Project. The construction began in 2006, comprising renewal of former industrial buildings and the erection of leisure park. Within 13 hectare area around canal bank, Lankongque Chemical Fiber Factory, Dahe Dockyard, Changzheng Chemical Plant and Hangzhou the 1st Cotton Textile Mill, approximately 30,000m^2 building area, protection and renovation to their warehouses and manufactory buildings would be conducted in progress. Meanwhile underlying on

architectural style to orientate industrial building into loft style office, catering leisure space, commercial space, serviced apartment. Incidentally, outskirt of the loft coenobiums, there is 6.8 hectare Canal Park open to public.

2.   Gongchen Bridge began to be built in 1631; it is renowned bridge on southern part of Grand Canal. Gongchen Bridge region as hinge of canal tourism and tourist service center is involved in the first phase of Grand Canal Integrated Protective and Renovation Project. Along with bridge remedy and riverside renovation, this project also facilitated water bus pier, canal museum, library, convention halls and adjacent 5.2 hectares multi-functional underground shopping mall included shopping, catering, entertament.

3.   In 2002, Hangzhou Hubin International Boutique Compound, which was upheld by Hangzhou government, was erected as focal project of international tourism city. After it's completion in 2003, it has won the prize of "Future Project" form MIPIM, France, and "Excellent Prize" from ULI, USA. It is located at prominent segment of The West Lake waterfront tourism area, which transits to city commercial area. Oct 2005, it opened to public; there is an assemblage of top 30 international brand stores, and has all the functions including catering, entertaining and recreation, orientating Hangzhou fashion center.

4.   Xinyifang Commercial Street locates in traditional economy and culture center alongside the Canal branch. Total building area is 30,000 ㎡, 11 low-rise commercial buildings with Chinese traditional style and commercial street is installed by the side of the branch, connected by bridges, protracting about 500m to review the scene of ancient market. Xinyifang Commercial Street was orientated to be integrated leisure recreational place, taking the principle of 'small but sophisticated, numerous then versatile' to satisfy multi-function required by urbanite. However, the shops in Xinyifang Commercial Street sequentially liquidated by years since it opened to public.
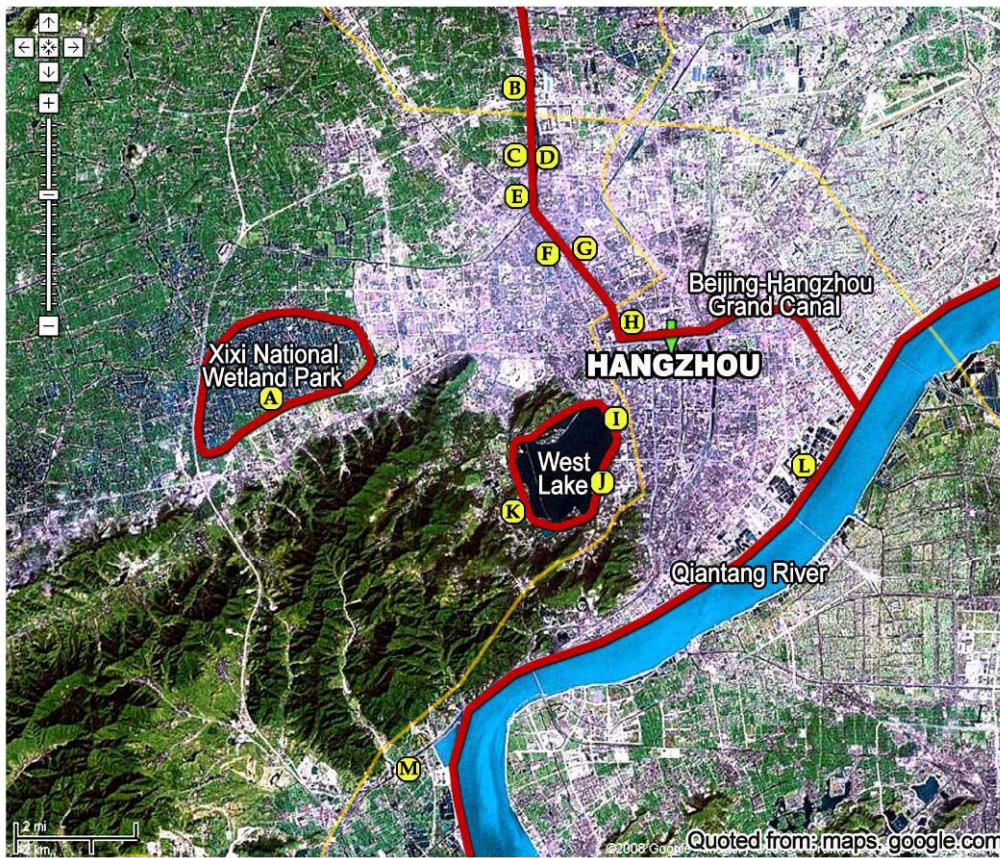
5.   For the protection of historic old city, Hang Zhou government proposed the urban area layout strategic policy of 'urban area migrates to the east, tourism moves to the west, develop by the riverside and across Qiantang river'. The government also decided to establish a new Hangzhou city center, Qianjiang CBD, at the center of northern part of Qiantang River. This will consequently transfer the long existing 'radiated space with the core of West Lake' into scattered space with axis of Qiantang River, and 'the West Lake era' will become 'Qiantang River era'. According to Qianjiang CBD master plan, the area of its core district is 4km^2. Some important urban public facilities will be built in the core district, such as Hangzhou Theater, International Convention Center, Citizen Center, Central Park etc. What's more, the biggest shopping mall in Hangzhou with the building area of 550,000 ㎡ and an investment of 4 billion RMB(approximately 560 million USD) and a great amount of business hotels will appear in a few years time.

6.   During the late 90s last century, for the reasons of urban sprawling and estate development, and lake reclamation for cultivation and poultry breeding by local peasants, Xixi wetland descended from 60km^2 to 10.08 km^2, along with the environment deterioration. Since 2002, Hangzhou government invested 4 billion for the protection and recovery of wetland by classifying 3 conservation area: ecology protection area, ecology recovery area, historic heritage conservation area; establishing ecological science showroom while protecting local custom. Xixi National Wetland Park was the first national wetland park which integrates protection with utilization in the city.

7.   Hangzhou Zhijiang National Tourist Holiday Resort was established as one of 12 national resort development district in 1992, with 50.68km^2 planning area, which involves three major projects of Song Dynasty Town, Future World Amusement Park and West Lake International Golf & Country Club. Other resorts, holiday hotels, rose garden leisure center are also being developed. Currently, flower expo, tennis court, ocean parks and others recreation units are still introducing to furnish Zhijiang National Tourist Holiday Resort.

Appendix

Fig1. Location of Four Water Bodies & Main Leisure Spaces Alongside

A: Xixi National Wetland Park
B: Grand Canal Tiandi
C: Qiaoxi Historic Block
D: Gongchen Bridge Region
E: Xiaohe Street Historic Block
F: Xinyifang Commercial Street
G: Fuyi Granary Historic Site Park

H: Xihu Culture Square
I : Hubin International Boutique Compound
J: Xihu Tiandi
K: the "New West Lake"
L: Qianjiang CBD
M: Hangzhou Zhijiang National Tourist Holiday Resort

Fig2. Photos of Main Leisure Spaces in Hangzhou Waterfront Areas

1. **Regeneration of Industrial Architectural Heritage**
   A: Plan of Loft Culture Park;   **B&C:** Loft Culture Park

2. **Conservation & Exploitation of Historic Sites/ Blocks with Feature**
   D: Gongchen Bridge Region;   **E&F:** Xiaohe Street Historic Block;
   G&H: Hubin International Boutique Compound;   **I:** Xinyifang Commercial Street;

A: Central Park
B: Citizen Center
C: International Convention Center
D: Hangzhou Theater

3. New Town Center Construction

J: Plan of Qianjiang CBD; **K:** Blueprint of Qianjiang CBD

4. Eco-corridor/ Eco-park & Theme Park

L: 21km landscape promenade and public parks along Grand Canal; **M&N:** Xixi National Wetland Park;

O: the "New West Lake"; **P&Q:** Zhijiang National Tourist Holiday Resort (Future World Amusement Park)

Fig3. Illustration of NPO Interaction among Government, Private Companies
& Public

Change and continuity in the creation of new gated communities in post-reform Beijing: a typo-morphological analysis

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1. Introduction

Since early 1990s, China has undergone a dramatic socio-economy restructuring from a socialist planned economy to a socialist market economy, which has changed the way of urban development and management through the 'privatization of the city' legitimated through the public and private partnership. As the results, the use right of previous state-owned urban land was transferred into the land market; developers and property management companies have taken over the main responsibility for providing neighborhood facility, infrastructure and service previously under the charge of the local government and the "work-units" or state enterprises; and since 1992 the market reform of the housing sector from a socialist welfare system into a market-provision system has stimulated the boom of real estate industry and produced massive commodity housing developments.

Commonly, these new commodity housing developments were produced with guarded gates, fences and certain facilities, and are often advertised as 'communities' in market rhetoric which response to the ethos of 'community building' initiated by government. Therefore they can be seen as the Chinese version of 'gated communities' which are originated in the USA as a form of private neighbourhood and now a global phenomenon.[1] In a political economy sense, a gated community can be seen as a kind of residential "proprietary community" which defines a "club realm" that "give[s] legal protection to the economic rights over shared neighborhood attributes". [2]

In Beijing, unlike the separated archipelagos of fortified enclaves in the US, gated commodity housing developments are the basic components or units of the newly master planned residential districts. The agglomeration of these gated residential developments is shaping Beijing into a 'gated city of tomorrow' proposed by Webster [3], which is "made up entirely of privately supplied communal space and local infrastructure – a patchwork of spatial club realms to match the patchwork of non-spatial club realms that have always characterized cities".

The rise of gated communities is often seen as a controversial alternative to conventional patterns of urban development, and has been received extensive debate from different perspectives. However, the current debate has mainly concentrated on the abstract social discourses with few on the overall morphology and design at the micro neighbourhood level and its links with the historical development and the broad social process. In considering this deficiency, the specific setting of Beijing, and the important role of planning and design in shaping the new cityscape and the patterns of everyday life, this paper aims to contribute to an understanding of the origin and nature of the creation of gated communities in post-reform Beijing through a careful

morphological investigation of the designs of a set of new gated community cases (hereafter GC cases) against the designs of a set of non-gated public produced neighbourhood cases of early socialist period (1949-1992) as baseline or benchmark cases. The specific question is: how and in what way is the morphology of the new private gated communities similar to or different from the morphology of the old public produced neighborhoods?

The locations and general plans of all the cases are given in Figures 1 and 2. For the nine GC cases, they are all located along the green belt of the inner suburb, and they were created by nine different developers and nine different design teams after 1998 (the end year of the old welfare housing system) and sold on the market in or since 2003 for the upper-middle and middle income families. In a general sense, these cases represent a new type of gated living at the urban edge for the rising 'middle class' in post-housing reform Beijing. Furthermore, the cases selected are all piecemeal developments within one leased tract or 'urban cell', which has a site area at least above 9 hectares.

In respect of the set of old public produced non-gated neighbourhood cases, they are usually called "*Xiao Qu*" or "small districts" (hereafter SDs) in literal translation, which has an origin in the Soviet idea: 'micro-rayon' or 'micro district', which in essence similar to the idea of 'neighborhood unit'.[4] According to the major urban building cycle and socio-economy changes, these SD cases can be further divided into two sub-sets. One sub-set represents the early small district planning experiments in Maoist period (1949-1978) of a socialist planned economy which emphasizes on production and constrains consumption, and a communist ideology which values an equalitarian society and communal living. These pre-1978 SD developments were usually built together with workplaces and were developed by several work-units for their own needs. The second sub-set represents the further experiments after economic reform in 1978 and before the start of the housing reform in 1992. During this period, modernisation became the priority of the socio-economic and cultural development. Meanwhile, with the government intervention, the project-specific planning of pre-1978 SD developments was replaced by comprehensive development carried out though more powerful city authority.

In the following five sections, the findings of the comparative morphological analyses based on the careful visual inspection of the figure-ground cartographic representations and the basic qualitative and quantitative examinations will be presented in respect of the major analytic elements or components of neighbourhood form, i.e. size, density, boundary, residential buildings, facilities, street system and open space. Meanwhile, the ideas and logics behind the changes and continuities in design demonstrated by the findings will be accounted. In the final section, the origins of the new gated community designs and the links between the morphological changes and the broad social process will be discussed.

2. Size and density

According to the *Code of Urban Residential Areas Planning and Design in China*, which was first proposed in 1993 based on the earlier experience of SD planning and design, there are three levels of residential developments which were defined based on facility-catchment population. The first level is called 'residential district', which accommodates a population between 30,000 and 50,000 which is similar to the population of a Howard's garden city; the second level is called 'small district', which accommodates a school catchment-population between 7000 and 15,000 which is similar to the population of a neighbourhood unit suggested by Perry; the third level is called 'cluster' which accommodates a population between 1000 and 3000 corresponding to the population-catchment of a residential committee.

With respect to this planning guidance, the majority of the SD cases can accommodate a population at the small district level; while for GC cases, the majority of them cannot accommodate a population at the small district level, and in one case it can only accommodate a population at the cluster level. In another sense, GC cases tend to not accommodate a school catchment population.

The drop in population size is linked to population density (i.e. persons per hectare or PPH). The comparison of average values shows a trend of an increase in population density from pre-1978 SD (498 PPH) to post-1978 SD cases (733 PPH), followed by a trend of a sharp drop in GC cases (324 PPH), which is similar to the value of an apartment unit proposed by Perry (326 PPH) and below the value of a typical London urban district (400 PPH).

Next in respect of another kind of density – Floor Area Ratio (FAR), it is a gross one which counts the floor areas of both residential buildings and non-residential buildings. The average value comparison shows a continuing increase of FAR from pre-1978 SD cases (0.71) to GC cases (1.57) through the leap in post-1978 SD (1.443). Further it is worth considering the slight continuing increase in FAR from post-1978 SD cases to GC cases with respect to the parallel trend of a sharp drop in population density. Two physical factors which contribute to this countermove between these two kinds of densities can be suggested: 1) the increasing living area for each dwelling unit coupled with shrinking household size; 2) the increasing floor areas for commercial facilities. Moreover, besides these physical factors, there exists an incentive of real estate developers to pursuit more profit by increasing FAR.

3. Boundaries

Commonly, the boundaries of all the GC cases and SD cases are defined by a hierarchical city thoroughfare network, which is like a deformed tartan grid. Therefore, the neighbourhood unit principle of boundary definition by arterial roads was implemented in both SD cases and GC cases. However, the surrounding arterial roads in GC cases tend to be designed with more sufficient width on all sides. Meanwhile, in half of the SD cases, the boundaries were partially defined by the combination of boundary arterial roads and municipal green areas. While municipal green areas are

also provided in three out of nine GC cases, it seems that there is a tendency to decrease the provision.

Having examined the boundary delimitation, the following will look at how the boundary frontage as the physical interface between the city and the neighbourhood was shaped. First, in two pre-1978 SD cases which were designed under the Soviet influence in early 1950s (i.e. S1, S2), their boundary frontages were mainly shaped by outward facing residential building frontages (Fig. 3a) in combination with a small proportion of institutional office building frontages. However, this kind of frontage was not survived in the following post-Soviet influence SD cases. In pre-1978 case S3 which was designed as a people's commune, its boundary frontage was transformed into an inactive one (Fig. 3b), which was formed by brick walls, the back and side of residential buildings, neighbourhood entry demarcation and gates of institutional office and industry building compounds. In the following post-1978 SD cases, residential building back and side were still the major form of their boundary frontages, and the similar neighbourhood entry demarcation continued to exist (Fig. 3c); while brick walls were transformed into simple wrought iron fences (Fig. 3d), and the gates of non-residential building compounds cannot be found in any case. Meanwhile, accompanied by the economic reform, active commercial frontage recurred in all post-1978 cases after its absence in all pre-1978 cases (Fig. 3e).

For GC cases, the most obvious change is the transformation of the neighbourhood entry demarcations into the guarded gates. Commonly, there is a guarded main entry gate formed by a gate house and other symbolic constructions (Fig. 3f), while the rest of the neighbourhood entries are usually smaller in size as secondary entries, which, in some cases, are more like checkpoints controlled by simple vehicle barriers and gate-posts (Fig. 3g). In fact, the distinction between main and secondary neighbourhood entry in terms of their sizes is also present in all post-Soviet influence SD cases.

In respect of the residential building back and side, they are not appeared in any GC case. Instead, residential buildings stand behind the wrought iron fence which are more varied in form and style and even installed with CCTV or infrared boundary detectors (Fig. 3h). Meanwhile, it is noteworthy that, in some cases, few residential buildings along the boundary are outward facing (Fig. 3i).

In respect of the commercial frontage, although it is present in the majority of the GC cases (Fig. 3j), it could be absent in certain cases which therefore have the similar inactive frontage of a people's commune. Finally, it is worth noting a new element of boundary frontage presented in two GC cases: an underground parking entrance which is open directly onto the surrounding boundary roads.

4. Residential buildings

In SD cases, in addition to the major private family housing, a small amount of social rental housing were provided at the periphery in the cases of the Soviet influence as 'bachelor halls' which were provided for single young people who worked in adjacent

workplaces and in post-1978 SD case as 'youth apartment buildings' which were provided for the special housing need of young people. In GC cases, the old social rental housing forms have been replaced by a private rental housing form: 'condominiums', which are provided with more complete facilities and services, and their market target is not only on young people, but also on wider social spectrum, such as city migrants and commercial travellers.

In considering the architectural style of family housing, in SD cases, the traces of modern industrial design are obvious (Fig. 4a); while by imposing the Chinese traditional architectural elements, they become less obvious especially in the Soviet influence cases (Fig. 4b). For GC cases, the traces of both the monotonous modern industrial design and the decorative Chinese traditional elements can not be identified any more. Instead, their styles become much more varied even exotic, such as the European contemporary architectural style directly transplanted by European architects (Fig. 4c), the faked European classical architectural style (Fig. 4d), North American contemporary design and Mediterranean traditional style transplanted by North American architects (Fig. 4e&f), and the styles which can be identified in the housing design in Hong Kong, Taiwan or Singapore (Fig. 4g). Moreover, not just the overall variation, two different styles can coexist in the same development, such as Mediterranean tradition versus North American contemporary. To some extent, the creation of style differentiation can be seen as a means of increasing the marketability of the new phases of their developments or the whole development by creating distinctive images.

Further, looking at the built form of family housing, multi-family apartment buildings with varied heights and shapes are the dominant form in both GC cases and SD cases. Meanwhile, a small proportion of single-family houses were built in one SD case of the Soviet influence in the form of row houses (Fig. 4h), and in one GC case in the form of row houses and detached houses (Fig. 4i) and a quasi single-family housing form in two GC cases (Fig. 4j), which basically is a four storey building structure with one two-storey maisonette over another one on the ground, which has its own accesses from outside. However, in SD case, single family houses were built as high standard welfare-housing for cadres who had high official positions within the work units; while in the GC case, they were built as high quality residence for who can afford them.

On closer examination of the built form of the multi-family apartment buildings, pre-1978 SD cases all take a mono-form: only low-rise apartment buildings (3 storeys) in the cases of Soviet influence, and only multi-storey apartment buildings (4-6 storeys) in the case of people's commune. For post-1978 SD cases, despite the continuing presence of the mono-form of multi-storey apartment buildings, the overall form tends to be diversified by mixing low-rise, middle-rise (8-16 storeys) and high-rise apartment buildings (18 storeys and over) with multi-storey ones.

In considering GC cases, first, the low-rise forms are not adopted. Second, the mono-form of multi-storey apartment buildings remains only in one case; while, there exists a new mono-form of middle-rise apartment buildings. Third, in the cases of a mixture of

different types, the proportion of the mid-rise type tends to become the highest one not the lowest one, while the proportion of multi-storey type tends to become the lowest one not the highest one. Overall, in GC cases, the middle-rise form tends to become more favoured than both high-rise and multi-storey forms.

Furthermore, in respect of the quality of the multi-family apartment buildings, some architectural means were used to raise the standard of apartment buildings in GC cases. The first one is to provide ground floor entry hall for each apartment unit; the second one is to equip the multi-storey apartment buildings with lifts; the third one is to reduce the number of dwelling units connected to lifts in middle-rise and high-rise apartment buildings; and the fourth one is to provide larger dwelling units or loft living.

On the whole, by using the distinction between single-family houses and multi-family apartment buildings, and the specific architectural means, a quality differentiation of family housing can be produced in the same development; and commonly the family housing of a higher quality are deployed in a central landscaped low density zone. The logic behind this commonality can be suggested as follows: 1) quality differentiation can broaden the scope of customers; 2) by bring customers of higher socio-economic status, the reputation of the developments can be raised and therefore the added value can be generated in the long run; 3) by building relatively higher quality housing close to the central natural amenities, there values will be further increased; 4) by concentrating the housing of different quality in a separated zone, the stage development and the provision of management or service at different level will be feasible.

Finally, looking at the layout form of residential buildings, an outward courtyard-type or street-block type arrangement is clearly present in SD cases of the Soviet influence. In the following case of people's commune, an overall linear row-type arrangement was generated due to the modernist functional considerations, such as light and ventilation. The linear row-type arrangement and the courtyard-type arrangement are continually present in post-1978 SD cases; however an new loose scatter form of arrangement was generated in respect of the idea of 'towers in a park' [5], and the outward courtyard-type arrangement was transformed into inward looking courtyard-type arrangement or 'clusters within clusters' in respect of the principle of 'defensible space' [6]. In GC cases, the inward looking courtyard-type arrangement, the linear row-type arrangement, and the loose scatter type of arrangement are all present to a similar degree. However, the courtyard-type arrangement tends to take simpler forms, and in the cases of a loose scatter type of arrangement, the idea of the 'towers in a park' can be transformed into the idea of the 'houses in a park'.

5. Facilities

Alongside residential buildings, five major facilities can be identified in both SD cases and GC cases: 1) community centre; 2) commercial facility; 3) neighbourhood shop; 4) kindergarten 5) and primary school.

First, a community centre is usually called "club house" in GC cases and is the most present facility in comparison with other facilities (eight out of nine cases). Functionally, it provides spaces for meeting and recreation, such as meeting rooms, a gym and an indoor swimming pool. For the pre-1978 SD cases of the Soviet influence, the equivalence is called "dining hall", which provides a space for welfare catering service and a large indoor multifunctional space for other social activities. For the Post-Soviet influence SD cases, the equivalence is called "youth activity station", which provides indoor recreation facilities especially for young people. In SD cases, the equivalent community centres belong to the semi-public realm; while in GC cases, the community centres were all initially designed as a club realm facility behind the gates and fences. However, in reality, a clubhouse could be converted into the public realm since the exclusive use might not be economically viable. In respect of the position of the community centres, besides the middle position (between the periphery and the geometric centres of the sites) without direct visual link from boundary roads in all pre-1978 SD cases, the near periphery position without direct visual link from boundary roads and the near centre position with direct visual link from boundary roads in post-1978 SD cases, a new periphery position is present in half of the GC cases. More exactly, their clubhouses are commonly adjacent to neighbourhood entries and visible from the boundary roads through the fences.

Second, in considering the commercial facility of the public realm, it was not provided in all pre-1978 SD cases due to the communist ideology and policy which valued production and constrained consumption; while it was provided in all post-1978 cases. In GC cases, although it was provided in seven out of nine cases, it may not be necessarily provided. Due to the periphery position of commercial facilities, in both post-1978 SD cases and GC cases, the boundary roads with the commercial frontages were shaped like shopping streets. In respect of the built form of commercial facilities, in post-1978 cases, the residential building annex is the most present form, the ground floor shop is the second one, and the separated commercial building is the least; while in GC cases, the ground floor shop becomes the least presented form, the residential building annexes and the separated commercial buildings, which have much larger scale and more mixed functions, tend to become the equally most presented forms.

Third, in respect of neighbourhood shops, they were provided in most SD cases as semi-public realm facilities; while in GC cases, they were provided in two third of the cases as club-realm facilities. In considering the forms and positions, the similar ground floor form and near entry position adopted in post-1978 SD cases were continually adopted in most GC cases; however the self-standing buildings situated near the centre in pre-1978 cases, which is not consistent with the neighbourhood unit principle, and building annex form presented in both pre-1978 and post-1978 SD cases can not survive in GC cases.

Fourth, a kindergarten as a semi-public realm facility was provided in all SD cases, however it may not be provided in two GC cases, or not built in the real site in one case. Meanwhile, although in most GC cases a kindergarten is a club realm facility behind the gates, it could be transformed into a public realm facility with its compound entry

opening directly onto the surrounding arterial roads. In respect of the forms and positions, the pre-1978 SD cases of the Soviet influence are common in having more than one kindergarten deployed separately near periphery in accordance with the sub-blocks divided by the neighbourhood through roads. In post-Soviet influence SD cases, usually one kindergarten compound was provided near the centre with a direct visual link from the boundary road. In all the GC cases, one kindergarten compound was provided. In three out of seven cases, the compounds are also located in a near centre position but with a deeper and less direct visual link from the boundary road; while in another three GC cases, their kindergarten compounds are located exactly at the periphery.

Fifth, a primary school as semi-public facility was provided in all SD cases, while it was only provided in five out nine GC cases. In respect of their positions, only in the first case of the Soviet influence is the primary school located near the centre of its site, which is consistent with the neighbourhood unit principle; for the rest of the SD cases and all the GC cases, primary school compounds were commonly located at the periphery. However, in respect of the sphere of service, the primary schools in SD cases are semi-public facilities which are accessed through the internal neighbourhood roads; while for GC cases, their primary schools are treated as either club realm facilities set behind the gates or public realm facilities with direct accesses from the surrounding arterial roads. In general, in GC cases, a primary school tends to be not provided, and tends to be treated more as a public realm facility. One reason behind this trend is the insufficient population size for supporting a primary school; the other one is that, accompanying the increasing choice and mobility, today a primary school with a good reputation seems to be more important than that a school can be reached by walking safely; and one more explanation is that provision of a primary school is not profitable and is difficult in its operation.

Finally, in addition to the five major facilities examined above, it is worth noting that in all pre-1978 SD cases, institutional office buildings were provided within the sites, while they cannot be found in post-1978 SD cases, which indicates the separation between living and work after the launch of economic reform in 1978. However, in third of the GC cases, office space has been provided within the mid-rise or high-rise commercial complexes as the leased workplaces for commercial organisations.

6. Street system and open space

In respect of the overall pattern of the street system (Fig. 5), GC cases are characterised by a miniaturisation of the local grid, and are more complex and contain less order in comparison with SD cases which have much coarser patterns. Meanwhile, a clear road hierarchy of the internal street system commonly identified in SD cases seems to be disrupted by the mosaic-like enlarged pedestrian areas and the curving pedestrian paths. Yet, another marked change in GC cases is the unanimous provision of parking spaces either uncovered surface parking or underground parking spaces. Looking more carefully, in three GC cases, the dominant form of parking is underground parking, while a few temporary surface parking spaces were provided for visitors or

guests. For the rest of the GC cases, it is a combination of underground and surface parking, and the surface parking spaces are usually deployed along the internal vehicular roads or in the form of concentrated parking plazas. In general, the dramatic increase in providing parking spaces is a response to the rising numbers of private car ownership, which can be indicated by the average parking coefficient at 1.021, which means each household is supposed to have at least one car.

In respect of the arrangement of vehicle access, a new logic of the vehicle access at the periphery is adopted in GC cases in addition to the internal vehicle access predominantly adopted in all SD cases. The result of this new logic is the creation of the periphery vehicle circulation or collector road along the boundary just behind the fences and the pedestrianized zones or blocks by separating the traffic from pedestrians. To some extent, this new logic is kin to the logic of the 'super-blocks' of the prototypical American suburban new town Radburn designed in 1920s, [7] which are characterized with cul-de-sac vehicle accesses from the surrounding arterial roads and with parks in the central area connected with the houses by a pedestrian network.

In addition to the means of the periphery vehicle access, there are two other ways to constrain vehicle access in GC cases. The first one which has been implemented in post-1978 SD cases is simply to reduce the number of neighbourhood vehicle access points. In most GC cases, one side of the boundary is usually punctuated only by one vehicle entry in the middle, although it could be two, and in two third of the cases, they all have at least one side of their boundaries without any vehicle access points. In contrast, in pre-1978 SD cases, one side the boundaries can be even punctuated by four or more vehicle access points. The second way to constrain vehicle access is traffic diversion achieved by using non-cross intersections (i.e. T, L or Y intersection) and curving or diagonal roads. These techniques can be identified in all GC cases and SD cases as well. However, it is notable that the first turns of the neighbourhood access roads in SD cases generally happen at a deeper position (probably near the geometric centre) than in GC cases.

Besides the functional ideas underpinning the arrangement of the street system, it is worth noting the formal design or Baroque elements imposed on plans – 'visual axes'. In six GC cases, there exists a long visual axis, which cannot be found in any SD cases, cutting through the site and linking two opposite neighbourhood entries. Another kind of visual axis is the visual penetration started from a neighbourhood entry and terminated somewhere inside. This kind of visual axis can be identified in both GC cases and SD cases. However, in GC cases, it is usually terminated softly into the landscaped areas (such as central park or artificial lake) not at communal buildings as in SD cases.

Having examined the street system as a network of continuous linear open spaces, what follows will further look at the other two types of open spaces: paved plazas and open green spaces. So far as the plazas are concerned, in pre-1978 SD cases, a few small plazas in front of the communal buildings can be identified; while in post-1978 SD cases, due to the provision of commercial facilities, the elongated shopping plazas along the arterial roads were provided. In GC cases, a similar kind of elongated

shopping plaza can also be found, however there exist a new form of corner shopping plaza. In addition to shopping plazas, two new kinds of plazas are present in GC cases: 1) neighbourhood entry plaza, which are provided behind the gates; 2) 'community plazas', which are mostly situated near the centre of the sites in connection with their clubhouses.

Finally, in respect of the open green spaces, they can be generally classified into two kinds: parks and small open greens, which were provided in both SD cases and GC cases. However, the parks in GC cases tend to be large, linear in form, extensive in covering, and tend to be dissociated from buildings as separate islands defined by pedestrian routes, and not necessarily deployed in a central position. In considering small open green spaces, they tend to be more sufficiently provided in GC cases, and the popularity of courtyard-like small open green spaces tends to be increased in GC cases.

7. Discussion

As demonstrated by the morphological analyses in previous sections, new GC planning and design is not revolutionary. In other words, the imprints of the old SD planning and design are identifiable. However, at the same time, new trends or features of change are also evident to different degrees. In general, it is a mixed picture of change and continuity.

In respect of the origins of the new GC planning and design, first, an important legacy of the Soviet design influence is the implementation of the principles of the planning paradigm 'neighborhood unit' originated in the US, while the outward facing street-block arrangement and the provision of multiple children's caring facilities were not survived in both post-Soviet influence SD cases and GC cases. In comparison, the neighborhood unit principles of the size of a school catchment population and the central position of institutional buildings were much less rigidly implemented in GC cases; while the principles of the boundary definition, the provision of open recreation spaces, the position of shopping facilities and the arrangement of the internal street layout were more rigidly implemented in GC cases. Overall, the imprints of neighborhood unit principles in GC cases tend to be even more evident.

Second, GC planning and design has its origin in modernist architectural paradigm, which is especially evident in post-Soviet influence SD cases. However, the implementation of modernist's design principles of "enclosure, hierarchy, and repetition" tends to be attenuated in GC cases. This is shown in the tendency to create a simpler form of courtyard-type residential building arrangement and to disrupt internal road hierarchy. Meanwhile, the 'towers in a park' model implemented in post-1978 SD case tends to be less favored in GC cases.

Third, new GC planning and design also has origins in design ideas which are new to SD planning and design. One is the idea of Radburn super block; the other one is the New Urbanism originated in the US.[8] The imprints of the principles of the New Urbanism

at the neighborhood level are evident in the creation of more pedestrianized and interconnected street system, imposing visual axes and the mix of different housing types. However, at the meantime, with an odd combination with gating, new GC planning and design tends to also against some principles of the New Urbanism, such as the promotion of the mixed-use and mixed-income neighborhood, and the open accessible street-block system with public transit stop at the centre.

While the morphological changes can be seen as the results of the change in planning and design ideas, they can also be linked to the broad process of the societal transition. In respect of economic globalization as one challenge to new Chinese cities, its impact at the micro-level of the creation of GCs in post-reform Beijing is via the foreign design cooperation and the wider western urban cultural influence, which has brought some new design vocabulary. More exactly, the impact is manifested in the direct architectural style transplantation by foreign architects, a marked increase of pedestrian areas, and the increasing provision of plazas of varied forms.

In parallel with globalization, 'marketization' as another challenge to new Chinese cities has profound social, cultural, economic impacts. In respect of the increasing social plurality and socio-economic stratification, they are reflected in the quality differentiation of family housing produced within the same development and across cases; while cultural diversity is manifested in more varied even exotic architectural styles. Meanwhile, the current economic prosperity has caused the increased wealth and consumption. Therefore, the increased residential space consumption combined with the shrinking household structure led to the trend of a decrease in population density in new gated developments. Yet as responses to the increasing private car consumption and use, the neighborhood unit principle of boundary definition by arterial roads tends to be fully followed in GC cases; there was a dramatic increase in providing parking spaces, specially the underground parking spaces; and the Radburn idea was adopted.

In respect of the impacts of the changes in the mechanism of urban development and management, first, the privatization of land use right provides the market the freedom to operate within leased tracts, therefore a perfect condition for the application of the Radburn idea, which however was not widely adopted in the US due to the constraints of the individual land ownership of a private lot. Meanwhile, it creates the condition for the tendency to create large freely formed and deployed community parks.

Second, the provision of urban service by private property management companies induces the intention to reduce the number of neighborhood access points and to detach residential buildings from boundary frontage in order to easy the management and to reduce the cost of maintenance. Meanwhile, the consideration of the feasibility of the stage development and the provision of differentiated management or service contribute to the tendency of deploying the family housing of higher qualities in a separate central landscaped low density zone.

Third, due to the private provision of mass commodity housing in a leased tract, the market logic in general and the developer's logic in specific have clear effects on

housing design. Therefore the profit-maximization logic of the developers has resulted in the trend of an increased FAR despite the parallel trend of a decreasing population density. In turn, like a kind 'market selection', middle rise apartment building form tends to become more favored than both high-rise and multi-storey forms due to its capacity to generate high FAR and to provide lifts which could be more efficiently used with lower cost. Furthermore, in order to increase the marketability of the different stages of the developments, there is a trend to create style and quality differentiation within the same development; and to increase the marketability of the whole developments, single-family houses and apartment houses as up-market products are produced in mix with other multi-family housing to yield mutual benefits, and to raise the neighborhood reputation and sales prices.

Fourth, the impact of the private provision of facilities is also via the logic of market or developers. Therefore, in order to produce economic exclusivity, the major facilities were mostly converted into the club realms; however they (such as primary school and kindergarten) could also be converted into public realms and may not be necessarily provided due to the concern of their economic viability in specific local conditions. Consequently, there is a rediscovery of the non-active boundary frontage of people's commune; the periphery position of facilities tends to become equally favored with near centre position. Moreover, in respond to the market demand for large scale commercial facilities and driven by the principle of the economy of scale, separated large scale commercial building complexes with linear or corner shopping plazas are created as a new form of the commercial frontage, meanwhile there is a rediscovery of office spaces as workplace for commercial organizations.

Finally, in respect of the impact of the private provision of environmental infrastructure, the most obvious manifestation is the creation of large scale artificial landscapes, specially the artificial waterscape due to the financial capability, the concern of marketability, and the specialization in landscape design. Also in order to increase marketability, interior street vistas in varied forms of promenades or avenues were created to explore the views.

Besides the impacts of the privatization, there are also the influences from the new demands of the consumer or consumer preferences which have a wider connection with the rising consumerism and changing lifestyle. Therefore, the need for security provides a further rationalization for gating and the installation of all kinds of security devices at the boundaries. Meanwhile, the desire for distinction was realized in the distinctive architectural styles and specially provided natural amenities in combination with marketing rhetoric; while the desire for prestige was realized in boundary demarcation and the provision of more luxury housing in the developments. Yet the demand for a better residential environment, which is associated with the image of the American dream, was realized in the decrease in population density, raised standard of multi-family apartment buildings by some architectural means, and the increasing provision of small open green spaces. Furthermore, the increasing mobility and choice combined with the concern of reputation makes it rational to not provide a community centre, a kindergarten or a primary school in a gated development.
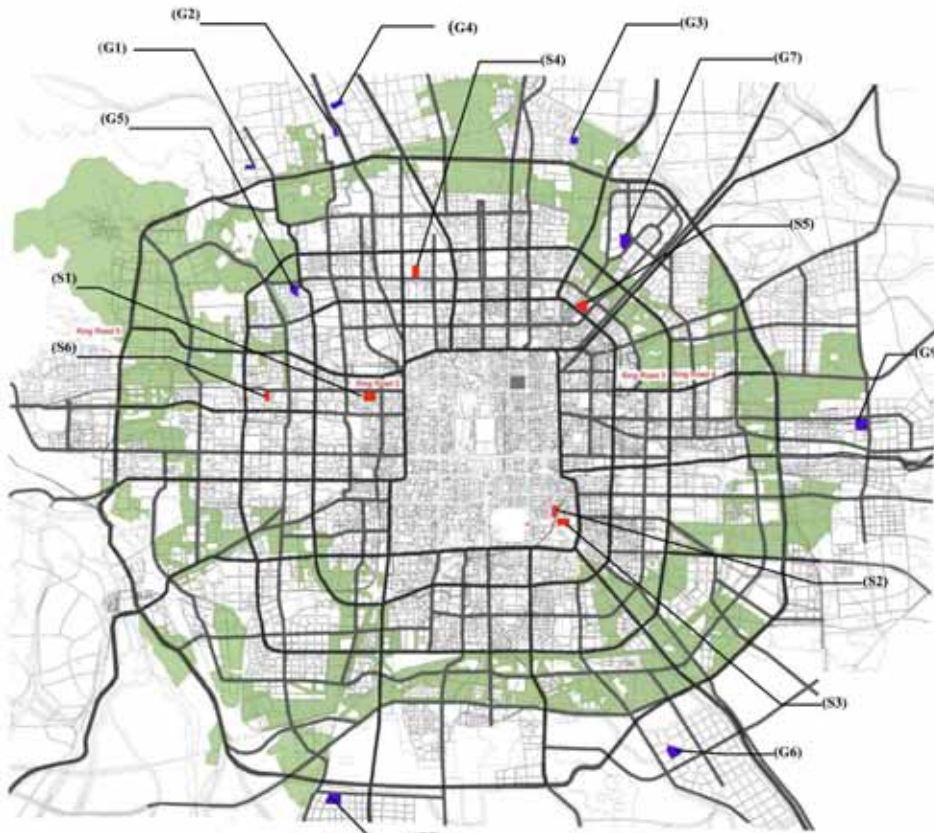
Figure 1 Beijing city map and scheme location.
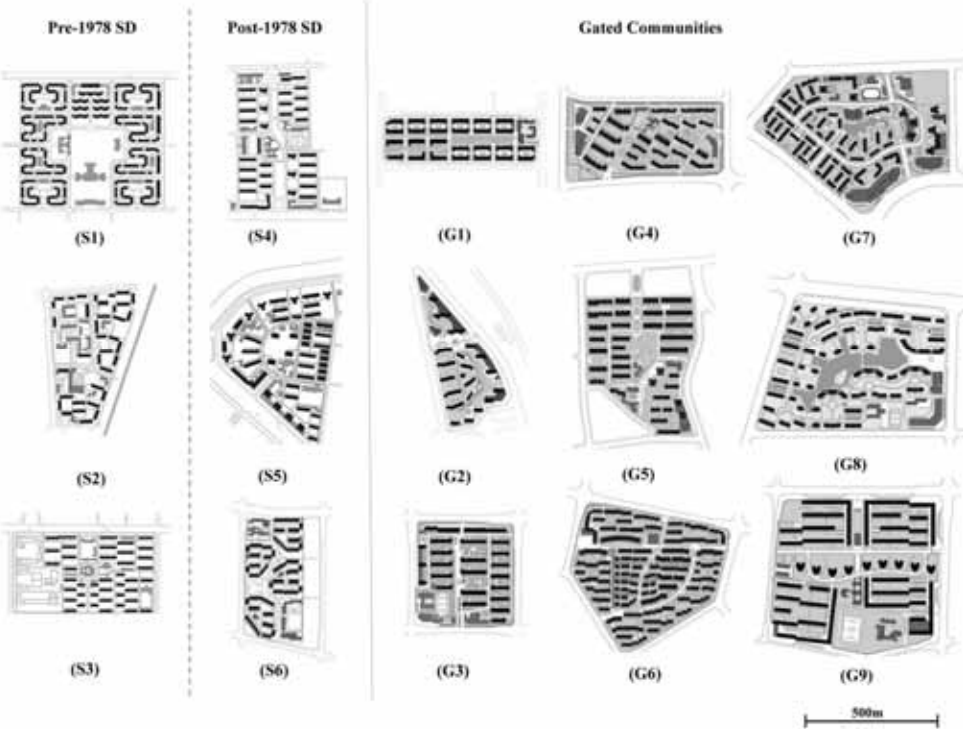
Figure 2 General plans presented at the same scale.

Figure 3 (a-j) Boundary frontage forms.

Figure 4 (a-j) Residential building forms.
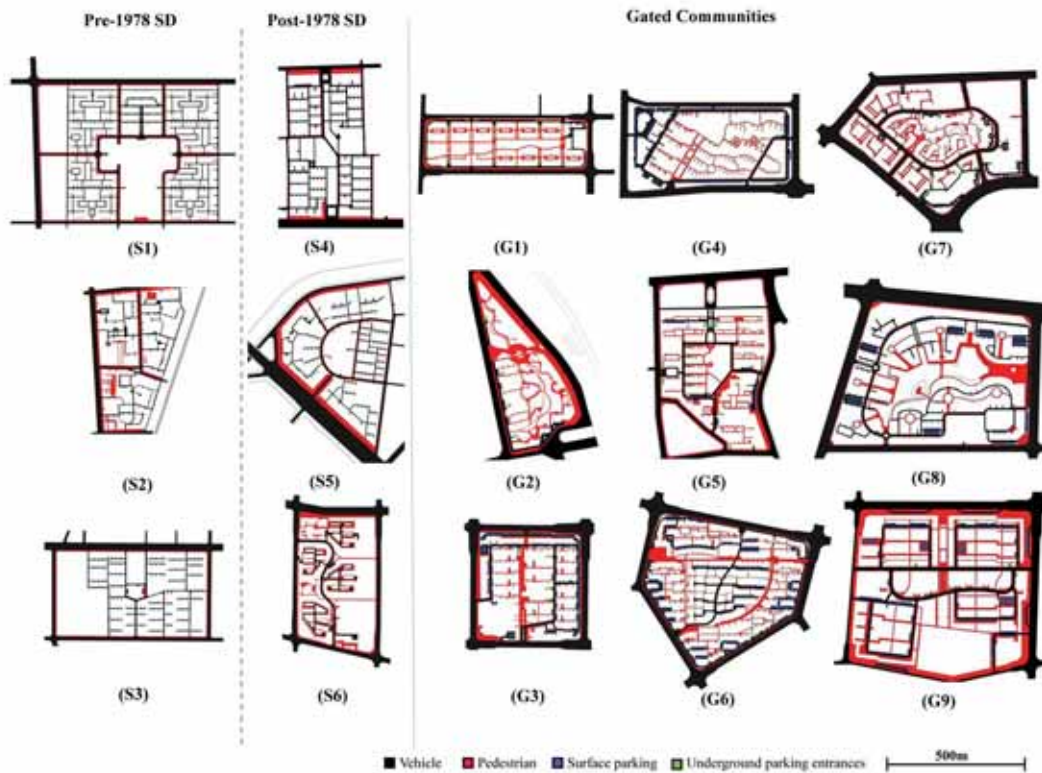
Figure 5 Street system maps presented at the same scale.

[1] Webster, C., G. Glasze, et al. "The global spread of gated communities", *Environment and Planning B* (2002), vol. 29, no. 3, pp.315-320.

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[4] Lu, Duanfang, "Travelling urban form: the neighborhood unit in China", *Planning Perspectives* (2006), vol. 21, pp. 380-382; C. A. Perry, *The Neighborhood Unit: from the regional survey of New York and its environs*, (Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 2003).

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Who wrote the plans? A traditional and revisionist view of post-war reconstruction in the UK

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During and immediately after the Second World War, about 200 'advisory' or 'outline' reconstruction plans were formulated for a wide variety of British towns and cities. Some had been badly bomb-damaged, others were little-damaged or even undamaged. In terms of British planning, this was a crucial period in the development of concepts and processes. Reconstruction spurred central government action (even, briefly, a dedicated Ministry) [1], and the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act specified the content of Development Plans, changing the character of published plans considerably by the early 1950s. Many of the plans were 'technocentric'.

There are several significant issues relating to 'traditional' planning history embedded in these plans and their processes of production and consumption. Principally, who developed the plans – and, in the case of outside consultants, how much did they know of the character of the places they were replanning? There can be little doubt that the activities of plan-making and implementation in this crucial but short period have had long-lasting implications for British towns and cities throughout the post-war period. Yet researching the personalities behind the decision-making is problematic. Little biographical work exists on British planners of the time, in contrast to contemporary architects. Gordon Cherry attempted to raise the profile of individual town planners, editing a volume of biographical contributions and producing a biography of Lord Holford (joint-author of the reconstruction plan for the City of London) [2]. Even the most prominent and prolific plan-authors of the period, Thomas Sharp and Professor Sir Patrick Abercrombie, have until recently merited little more than chapters in Cherry's book and entries in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The municipal employees who compiled many plans, and who co-ordinated the actual post-war rebuilding, have gone largely unrecorded; although Dagenais *et al*. have encouraged further consideration of the roles of urban services and agents in urban transformation and the 'municipal experience' [3].

It is hardly surprising, given the variety of places and the ambitions of their local politicians and administrators, that a wide range of approaches were taken to the production of plans. These include the employment of consultants, the use of in-house municipal staff, the formation of specific committees of elected representatives, the involvement of the local press, and the contribution of third parties, whether local organisations [4] or private individuals. It has been a surprising finding, given the focus of traditional planning histories, that the authorship of known plans is weighted more to local authority officers than consultants; plans by other types of author – ranging from private individuals to local societies – do exist, but are rare (Table 1). In most cases, the final 'plan' was a composite, showing influences of the nature of the commission, the professional approach or personal idiosyncrasies of the author(s), and even the interpretations of illustrators, photographers and model-makers. Most published commentaries have focused on the individual named

author, and particularly on the 'great plans' of the 'great planners'. This traditional planning history does obscure many stages and actors in the actual process.

Table 1: Plan numbers and types of author [5]

Type of author	Number of plans	Percentage
Consultant	98	37%
Local Authority	120	45%
Unofficial	48	18%
	266	100%

The selection of consultant authors

At the time, it should be remembered that the profession of town planning was young. There were relatively few professionally-qualified town planners; much planning was undertaken by architects or architect-planners.

> This raises the important question of the number of experienced town planners available for the work which will be so vital to our well-being after the war. There are not many of them, for although the professor himself [Abercrombie] must have had quite a number of able students under his tuition and guidance, few of them can have had much practical experience. Our best men are likely to be overworked [6]

This is borne out by examination of the credited authors of plans. A very small number of consultants were very active. Although most (Abercrombie, Davidge) were well-established professionals, several having served as President of various professional organisations, others were relatively junior and made their name through their plans (Sharp, Lock). Table 2 demonstrates this concentration of planning activity (although it does not consider those consultants who worked upon only one plan). It reveals some surprising names, including the great Edwardian architect Sir Edwin Lutyens who, with Abercrombie, took the commission for Hull in the final years of his life, when he was dying of lung cancer; Geoffrey Jellicoe, more famous as a landscape architect; and Clough Williams-Ellis, historian of the Royal Tank Regiment and owner-architect of Portmeirion. It also demonstrates some enduring professional partnerships, including Minoprio and Spencely, who were together at Harrow, Oxford and Liverpool and went into partnership in 1928; Richard Nickson, in architectural practice in the Wirral, who went into partnership with Abercrombie in mid-1945 with offices in London; and Hening and Chitty. Hening was educated as an architect but 'did not bother with exams', going instead into partnership with Chitty, formerly with Tecton, in 1937.

Table 2: Numbers of known plans by named consultant authors

Consultant	Number of plans
Sharp, Thomas *CBE MA DLitt MTPI FRIBA PPILA; TPI President 1945-6*	12
Abercrombie, Sir Patrick *MA DLitt FRIBA FILA; TPI President 1925-6*	10 (3 with Nickson)
Davidge, William R. *MTPI AMInstCE FRIBA FSI; TPI President 1926-7*	7
Chapman, W. Dobson *MA MTPI LRIBA FILA; TPI President 1943-4*	6
Lloyd, T. Alwyn *OBE Hon LLD FRIBA FILA FSA; TPI President 1933-4*	6 (3 with Jackson)
Chitty, Anthony M. *MA FRIBA AMTPI*	5 (3 with Hening)
Holden, Charles *LittD FRIBA MTPI*	5 (2 with Enderby, 2 with Holford)
Lock, Max *ARIBA MTPI*	4
Adshead, Stanley D. *MA MArch FRIBA; TPI President 1918-19*	4 (2 with Needham)
Jellicoe, [later Sir] Geoffrey *CBE RA PPILA FRIBA MTPI*	4
Edwards, A. Trystan *FRIBA*	3
Jackson, Herbert	3 (all with Lloyd)
Needham, Charles William Cashmore *FRIBA*	3 (2 with Adshead)
Nickson, Richard *MA FRIBA (Abercrombie's business partner from 1946)*	3 (with Abercrombie)
Thompson, F. Longstreth *BSc FSI AssocMInstCE PPTPI*	3
Williams-Ellis, [later Sir] Clough *MC CBE FRIBA MTPI PPILA Hon LLD*	3
Gibberd, Frederick *ARIBA AMTPI*	2
Hening, Robert *MBE*	2 (with Chitty)
Holford, [later Lord] William *BArch MA DCL Hon LLD ARA PPRIBA PPILA; TPI President 1953-4*	2 (with Holden)
James, Charles Holloway *RA FRIBA*	2 (with Pierce)
Lutyens, Sir Edwin *OM KCIE PRA FRIBA Hon LLD etc*	2
Minoprio, Anthony *BArch MA FRIBA AMTPI*	2 (with Spencely)
Pierce, S. Rowland *FRIBA*	2 (with James)
Spencely, H.G.C. *BArch FRIBA AMTPI*	2 (with Minoprio)

Nevertheless, despite the shortage of planners, this was the 'golden age' of British planning [7]: a period when, although planning as a profession was young, there was a 'belief in planning as an overall principle for ordering human affairs' [8]. As with other professionals, planners were seen as the informed experts: 'the planner, serenely sure of his technical capacities, was left to get on with his job' [9]. And, indeed, very few were female. Moreover, there was apparently a view of 'the planner as omniscient ruler, who should create new settlement form, and perhaps also destroy the old, without interference or question' [10]. While the new profession and new mechanisms, including a new Ministry, were fast developing, there was also a broad general consensus in favour of the activity of planning [11]. Turning to an 'expert' seemed natural, for towns as diverse as London, Macclesfield, Brierley Hill and Accrington.

Some of the established local authority officers, especially engineers and surveyors, made some strenuous efforts to resist 'outsiders'. A 1944 Ministry memo on the replanning of the Tyneside area noted that 'it is evident that Parr [of Newcastle] and Lewis of Sunderland, and probably Minders of Darlington as well, are determined to prevent an outside planner from trespassing on what they consider is their own domain' [12].

In a few cases it is clear that consultants – planners or architects – were selected because of their prior connection with a place and thus, inevitably, their development of good working relationships with either the local politicians or senior municipal officers (perhaps both). Abercrombie was approached to prepare a plan for Bath, damaged in one of the 1942 'Baedeker raids', by the Bath and District Joint Planning Committee. He had been employed as a consultant by the Bristol and Bath Regional Planning Committee since about 1928, and as consultant town planning officer by the Bath and District Joint Planning Committee since March 1935, and so was well known to at least one of his co-authors, H.A. Mealand [13]. The three became 'something like a secret society who had been working since July 1943 on a plan for the future of Bath' [14]. Likewise the architects C.H. James and S. Rowland Pierce were engaged to produce a plan for Norwich, which had also suffered a 'Baedeker raid'. They had designed its City Hall (in 1930; built 1938) and were commissioned to extend it in January 1945. Some were simply 'on the spot': W. Dobson Chapman's practice was based in Macclesfield and, in the inevitable downturn of work in wartime, but at a point when he was elected as the youngest President of the Town Planning Institute, he acted as Honorary Consultant to produce the short but graphically striking Macclesfield plan, which was 'the result of two years' work at odd hours' [15].

In some cases where no direct personal relationship existed, local authorities seem to have worked on a word-of-mouth basis. There is one very striking example of this in the West Midlands (although, sadly, detailed records are virtually non-existent). The Cardiff-based architect-planner T. Alwyn Lloyd, a senior professional who had been President of the Town Planning Institute in 1933-4, produced several reconstruction plans in a very sharply-defined geographical cluster during a very short period. These included Brierley Hill (1943), Bromsgrove (1943), Bilston (1944), Dudley (1944) and Stourbridge (1945), some in conjunction with the Birmingham-based Herbert Jackson. This cluster seems to originate in his being invited to report 'as to the practicability of engaging upon a

comprehensive planning scheme' for an area of Bilston in early 1944, two and a half months before the press report of his Bromsgrove commission. By October 1943 he had been invited to design two major housing estates in Bilston, and by June 1944 to prepare a Borough-wide plan in which his estates were integrated [16]. However, his Bilston plans were not implemented: the then Town Clerk noted 'I wrote to Lloyd yesterday and did my best to make our change of heart appear not too unkindly. I like Lloyd. This business of planning however is quite ruthless ...'[17].

In yet other cases, local authorities sought advice directly from the professional bodies: the Town Planning Institute or Royal Institute of British Architects. Although their letters were almost invariably addressed to the Presidents of these institutions, the responses came from various officers. A pre-war comment by Charles Reilly about Edward Carter, then RIBA Librarian and editor of the *RIBA Journal*, sheds an interesting light on the influence of these officers: 'I feel Carter is already a power behind the scenes who will do much to steer the Institute, largely without its realizing it, into the key position it must now take up. He knows all the young men and sympathizes with their work, and better still, helps them to get positions and influence' [18]. In unbombed Warwick, the Borough Surveyor was 'instructed to approach the Town Planning Institute to enquire whether it is possible to engage a Town Planning Expert for the Borough' [19]. A list of names was reported on 9 March (unfortunately this has not survived). Abercrombie appears to have been the first choice, for he had visited the borough with an assistant before early June, when he wrote stating that he would be 'willing to accept the position of Town Planning Consultant at the usual fees, namely about £500' [20].

There remain some traces of unsolicited approaches, usually by younger or less-successful consultants. For example, I. Massey LRIBA, describing himself as a Chartered Architect and Quantity Surveyor, wrote to Coventry shortly after its major raid: 'It may be that I could render you some assistance at some date in re-designing your City and Buildings' [21]. No such approach is known to have been successful.

However appointed, the working relationships between consultants, local officers and politicians were not always easy. Evidently there were problems between Sharp and Exeter for, discussing forthcoming work at Oxford, H.C. de Cronin of the Architectural Press wrote to Sharp, 'Ought we not to start taking photographs this summer, to avoid the Exeter trouble? ... what sons of bitches that Exeter council is composed of – don't let them get you down' [22]. (Sharp was an indiosyncratic character: an outspoken loner who never hesitated to speak (or write) his mind [23]). Some consultants had low opinions of local officers, typified by Charles Reilly's conflict with Bertie Robinson, Borough Engineer and Surveyor of Birkenhead. Reilly did not mince words on the ineptness of his 'typical' housing designs [24] although he seems to have made an exception for Manzoni [25]. Max Lock had similar problems with the Borough Engineer at Middlesbrough, despite the Housing Subcommittee's instructions that they should collaborate; he wrote to the Borough Engineer that 'I was very disappointed to hear from you ... that you could not consider discussing any amendments to either of the schemes in such a way that we can present a combined scheme to the Housing Committee' [26].

On the other hand, a successful and unusual arrangement was developed at the end of the reconstruction planning period for W.G. Holford and H. Myles Wright (later Professor Lord, and Professor, respectively) acting for Cambridge.

> A consultant of the first order [Holford] was appointed for Cambridge Borough under what I believe is a unique arrangement, namely, that he used the staff of the county planning department, and was represented locally by a partner [Myles Wright] who during the preparation of the report gave his whole time to the work and worked inside the department, not in an office fifty miles away. It is believed that in this way continuity will be preserved and the consultants' proposals will not become just another seven days' local planning wonder [27].

The contrast with other working practices (see below) is noteworthy. Another advantage of engaging a consultant is also explained: the relevant planning officer (the County Planning Officer, at this point) was not the plan author and could therefore act independently, especially if amendments were deemed necessary; however the experience of those who worked on the plan preparation was retained within the Department.

The use of in-house professionals

The work of the consultants, where these were engaged, would have been much more difficult without the co-operation of existing in-house staff. Bradshaw who? had advised Worcester that, although the Town Planning Institute operated a fixed scale of costs, 'much would depend ... on the amount of assistance which could be given by the authority's own department' [28]. Yet there were also significant cost implications of using in-house staff. In 1943 Manchester Corporation appointed 29 temporary planning assistants, at a cost of at least £7,000 per year, most of whom were employed on the City or the Regional Plans [29]. Suitably-qualified professionals were often as expensive per year as consultants: when F.H.C. Maunder ARIBA was appointed City Planning Officer and Reconstruction Architect for Portsmouth City Council in 1944, his annual salary was £1,250 [30].

Indeed, many consultants' reports were produced in such close so-operation that the relevant chief officer is cited as a co-author. Abercrombie's reports for Plymouth, Bath and Edinburgh are examples. In the case of the 1949 Edinburgh plan, the Town Planning Officer, Derek Plumstead, is credited as co-author. Plumstead had been appointed as a temporary town planning assistant at Plymouth, then became involved in the Hull plan after the death of Abercrombie's co-author Sir Edwin Lutyens – bring described by Abercrombie (in the Edinburgh plan) as 'resident planner' for the Hull plan – but it is unclear whether he was ever directly employed by Abercrombie.

Some reports bear only the names of the chief officer. Many of these are now virtually unknown, although a few were prominent in their professions, and their experience was such that no thought was given to bringing-in expensive consultants. Amongst these would be counted Herbert Manzoni, the long-serving City Surveyor and Engineer of Birmingham [see Note 25]. He was a very powerful figure within the municipal structure: 'it was through

him that the rebuilding programme was accomplished, and through him that it had the character and qualities that it did'. Even after the appointment of a City Architect in 1952, 'major decisions and the real power remained with Manzoni' [31]. Likewise J. Nelson Meredith FRIBA, Bristol's City Architect, was well-connected, and served as editor of the journal *Official Architect*. He was deeply involved with Bristol's replanning, writing several conference and journal papers about it [32]. Even officials of much smaller towns could be well-connected in professional organisations: M.E. Habershon OBE MEng MIM&CE, Borough Engineer and Surveyor of Walsall, spoke on the replanning of central areas (his diagrams were a very thinly-disguised Walsall) to the Institute of Municipal and County Engineers [33]. Neither Birmingham, Bristol nor Walsall employed consultants for their reconstruction planning [34].

However in these cases, even more than with the consultants, it is plain that the actual plans were the result of many hands. Percy Parr OBE BSc MTPI, City Engineer and Planning Officer of Newcastle upon Tyne, is named as the principal author of the city's plan, although the acknowledgements thank several staff, and a title page suggests that it is actually a Report of the Town Planning Sub-Committee [35]. The substantial number of new staff recruited by Manchester Corporation has already been mentioned. The prevailing bureaucratic tradition of all departmental work being credited to the senior officer was roundly criticised by Reilly, writing about pre-war architectural practices:

> When ... the real author of some municipal building, as so often happens, is an anonymous, unknown young architect in the Borough Surveyor's or Borough Engineer's office, with one of those officials signing his drawings and taking to himself the credit for his work, it is not to be wondered at if, after a while, he loses his enthusiasm and initiative ... This fraud as regards architecture ... on the part of the Borough Engineers and Borough Surveyors of the country, is a thing which needs hammering at and exposing [36].

Again, little information survives on how junior staff were recruited. The experience of Percy Johnson-Marshall at Coventry is instructive. He refers to Donald Gibson's appointment as the first City Architect in 1938, and the impact on young radical professionals. Johnson-Marshall himself was left-wing, indeed a card-carrying member of the Communist Party certainly in the 1940s (when working at the Ministry and the London County Council: his membership cards survive) [37].

> Donald had to accept some handovers from the City Engineer's empire, but also advertised for his new men. It was the moment for which we had been waiting, and I applied immediately I saw the advertisement. I was fortunate to be appointed out of a shortlist of over 500. It was a big moment, and I shook the dust of London off my feet without any qualms ... a group of us went from London to Coventry ... We thought a small city might present an opportunity as a test case [38].

The young radical staff almost immediately set about replanning the city centre, and exhibited their proposals even before the major air raid of 1940. Thereafter, Johnson-Marshall became the Senior Architect responsible for the city-centre reconstruction.

Some problematic personalities

The local level

There are some examples of tension between consultants and local officers, and indeed between officers themselves. In Dover, where Abercrombie was appointed as consultant by 18 May 1945 [39], it is probable that most work was carried out by his new partner, Richard Nickson. Yet the final report, accepted by the full Council on 29 January 1946, carried the sole name of P.V. Marchant, the Borough Engineer and Surveyor. It was noted simply in the press that 'Frequent consultations have taken place between Professor Abercrombie and Mr Marchant' [40]. The Norwich plan more directly betrays an uneasy relationships between the consultants and the locals. This is even seen in the Foreword, where the Chairman of the Town Planning Committee begins 'Town Planning in England is a new science', while the second paragraph of the main text begins 'Planning is no new activity'. The tone of the main text seems to be that of the consultants and, although H.C. Rowley, the City Engineer, is credited on the title page, his only clear contribution is in the form of a forthright Appendix, 'Reservations on report by City Engineer' [41]. This has recently been described as a 'crude plan' which 'was, of course, much more destructive' than the consultants' 'sane and conservative approach' [42].

At Southampton there was a complex relationship between consultant, officials and politicians [43]. The city had a Town Planning Assistant, H.T. Cook. He was regarded by the deputy leader of the local Labour group, experienced in planning issues, as 'a first class man' but

> handicapped by his subordination to the Borough Engineer and by the prevailing attitude of Council members to any drastic planning proposals. That is why the appointment of an eminent Town Planning consultant is essential. But in addition to this the Town Planning work of the Council should be constituted either as a separate Department, or Mr Cook, as Town Planning Officer, be given special status [44].

An eminent consultant was called in, apparently on the recommendation of the then Minister, Lord Reith [45]. This was Professor Stanley Adshead who, although then at the end of his career, had been the country's first Professor of Town Planning at the University of Liverpool and then the University of London. Cook was promoted to head a new Town Planning and Development Department. A city-wide plan was speedily produced [46]. Following its consideration by councillors, Cook was then asked to prepare a revised plan with H. Bennett, appointed as Borough Architect in 1943 (Adshead's contract was not renewed), and a new Reconstruction Committee was set up. But Cook found difficulties in working with Bennett, writing that 'you prefer to work out your own scheme independently' [47]. A newly-appointed Borough Engineer, F.L. Wooldridge, sided with Bennett; although his own proposals were criticized by the Ministry of Town and Country Planning. Nevertheless, the Council accepted Wooldridge's proposals as the way forward in January 1946, and Councillor Matthews noted that 'Where experts differ the layman has to make a decision ... and having made it the officers must loyally accept it and get to work on the

details so that the reconstruction of the central area can proceed rapidly' [48]. Cook did not 'loyally accept' the decision and resigned, instead joining a local business association which fought the Council's plans as far as the Public Local Inquiry in September 1946. Shortly after he left, and probably caused to a large extent by the breakdown of personal and professional relations, the city's Town Planning and Development Department was disbanded.

National-local relationships

Not only were relationships within individual authorities sometimes problematic, but those between authorities and central government were often poor. The Ministry in its various guises, and indeed the various Ministers themselves, could be autocratic. The first Minister with responsibility for reconstruction was Lord Reith, who forcefully encouraged towns to 'plan boldly', causing some confusion [49]. W.S. Morrison, the first Minister of the new Ministry of Town and Country Planning formed in 1943, was equally forceful in pushing the City of London Corporation to abandon the plan produced by its own staff, and engage consultants. His senior staff felt that 'an entirely new plan prepared by a competent planner was required' [50]. In the early years of reconstruction, of course, building material was rationed, and controlled by the Ministry; so the aspirations of individual authorities were frequently dashed. All reconstruction plans had to be approved by the Ministry and the processes of consultation and approval were often extremely lengthy, as Coventry in particular found, having drafted its master-plan in February 1941 but received no formal comment until 1947: the Regional Planning Officer noted that 'the officials were disturbed to receive our comments on their scheme so long after its preparation and submission' [51]. Furthermore, all plans concerning housing design or layout had to be approved by the Ministry of Health. Such approvals were largely to release grants or loans. The impact of such refusal on purely financial terms is shown by Bilston's problems with housebuilding and its consultant Reilly's dramatic personal intervention with the Minister [52].

Communications from the Ministry could also be terse and dismissive. Max Lock, Middlesbrough's planning consultant, wrote in April 1944 seeking the Ministry's advice over the Borough Surveyor's continued submission of plans despite Lock's appointment. He received from George Pepler a two-line response: 'To a Ministry a local authority is supposed to speak with one voice' [53]. In belatedly commenting on Coventry's plan, the Ministry's report noted that 'the plan of the proposed redevelopment is badly presented and indefinite ... the statement in support of the application is little more than a description of the redevelopment plan', bemoaning the fact that the proposal would have been far better if Coventry had complied with the forthcoming guidance notes (as this was essentially a 1941 plan, this criticism seems unreasonable, especially as the guidance was not finally made available until 1947!) [54].

Ministry officials were also not averse to writing equally dismissive internal reports and memoranda, such as the Note by H. Gatliff, Assistant Secretary at the Ministry, that 'Generally, it seems to me a tragedy both for Hull, Sir Patrick Abercrombie and planning generally that he ever went near the place, and the sooner Hull gets away from his

wilder ideas and faces up to the practical job of replanning ... in a sound, decent, ordinary way the better' [55]. Sometimes these comments were very personal, such as Wells's comment of 14/3/44 that 'the City Surveyor [of Exeter], Mr Dymond, is not very imaginative but confesses to his own limitations' [56], and Hughes's comment of 16/8/49 that H.T. Hough, City Engineer of Liverpool, 'is rather a weak character' [57]. Indeed, the Ministry seems to have held low opinions of most local borough engineers and surveyors: the Surveyor of Welshpool, for example, presented 'the usual rather amateur attempt at a planning scheme [which] serves no useful purpose' [58]. The comments from THS (the Permanent Secretary) to the Minister about Great Yarmouth are not only personal but patronising: 'They are not a good Council and their professional officers are weak. The Town Clerk is quite a good young man in his way but is not, I suspect, really interested in town planning' [59]. There are equally dismissive comments about Yarmouth's Planning Officer, K.K. Parker; ironically, he joined the staff of the Ministry in August 1945. Gatliff also wrote acerbically of the West Sussex County Clerk in the case of Sharp's plan for Chichester: 'one cannot write chatty human letters to a mummy which is about what the County Clerk seems to be, though he is an exceedingly courteous one'; and this memo has a manuscript PS, 'or should we say an embodied rubber stamp' [60]. Ironically, the architect S.E. Dykes Bower, then working for the Ministry, wrote in a report on Carlisle that 'it is important, in reports of this kind, to avoid any appearance of being critical and still more of trying to dictate how a local authority should plan' [61].

Although Cullingworth's official history exhaustively reviews the development of policy prior to the 1947 Act, and Cherry and Penny discuss Holford's contribution within the Ministry, there is no clear rationale for this extremely critical perspective from the centre – 'Headquarters', as the Ministry's London office referred to itself – of the individual local authorities, their officers and consultants [62]. No-one, however experienced, seemed exempt. Perhaps the senior Ministry staff were more imbued with a civil service mentality? Although the Regional Planning Officers were all members of the Town Planning Institute or Royal Institute of British Architects by 1947, the Regional Controllers certainly were not [63].

Conclusions

This, fundamentally traditional, exploration of plan authorship sheds new light on a period of unparalleled activity in British planning. More towns and cities were replanned in a shorter period than ever before, and this involved the widespread introduction of radical new concepts of architectural and urban form, and a technocentric, scientific approach to planning. The view of the planner as independent scientific expert was nurtured in this process. But the traditional view has tended to prioritise the expert consultant planner at the expense of other 'authors'.

The wide range of plans produced through the 1940s and into the early 1950s suggests that the actual process of reshaping urban form was very different. Who did the planning – principally local official or consultant – depended more on local politics and spheres of influence than objective assessment of plan-making abilities or experience. Advertising for

consultants, competitive tendering or searching interviews – in short, an open and transparent selection process – played only a minor role and in only a few cases. People were selected because of who they knew (or who knew them), or because of press coverage of their work. Owing to the small pool of suitably-qualified people, 'who knew them' was often determined by their place of education. The University of London and, most particularly, the School of Architecture and Department of Civic Design at the University of Liverpool generated high numbers of reconstruction planners, with Professors Abercrombie and Reilly active in promoting their former students or, indeed, employing them directly.

However, the plan production process was often shaped by personal, political or professional tensions. These operated at a local scale, with Reilly's experiences at Birkenhead being perhaps the most overt political clash, and the problems in Southampton between Cook, Bennett and Wooldridge, and also in Coventry between Ford and Gibson, being both professional and, the written evidence suggests, personal conflicts. Both Donald Gibson and A.G. Sheppard Fidler (Birmingham's City Architect) resigned in 1955 and 1964 respectively, in what might be termed demarcation disputes over the implementation of reconstruction schemes. Similar tensions also existed between local authorities and the Ministry's civil servants at both regional and 'headquarters' level, with the Ministry files and correspondence in the National Archives being littered with disparaging comments such as that about Abercrombie's involvement in Hull. Even the most experienced consultant, commissioned repeatedly by the same Ministry for some of the largest-scale regional reconstruction plans, was not immune from vitriolic criticism, of which he was presumably unaware. Although some recent histories have revealed such conflicts, they are usually minimised or absent in many histories, particularly at the local level [64].

Professional publicity and self-promotion, traditional planning histories and standard bibliographic conventions have tended to represent many plans as being the sole product of just one or two people – especially consultants and, with perhaps only one or two exceptions, male. This is a far from accurate view of the range of activity and contributors to these plans, and planning histories need to take the broader range of contributions to the plan-making process into account. For example, the pioneering sociological contributions of Ruth Glass to the plans of the Max Lock Group, fully acknowledged in the printed versions, seems too often forgotten. The plans were truly the products of many minds. Planning solutions emerged from a labour-intensive Geddesian process of survey and analysis, often undertaken largely by junior staff [65]. They were filtered through consultation with the local politicians, local officers and, surprisingly often, displayed for comment and "criticism" to the wider public [66]. They were often further interpreted for communication purposes by artists, photographers and modelmakers [67].

In short, the numerous British reconstruction plans of the immediate post-war period have proved a fertile source for the consideration of plan authorship; reassessing the processes of plan production and consumption, and challenging the myth of the post-war planner as wholly objective scientist. New perspectives on this period, these planners, and these plans, are also beginning to dig deeper into the relationships between people and the

process of production, and the conception of plans [68]. This period of radical urban reshaping owes far more to the influence of human behaviour, including politics and personality, than is commonly credited. Those who replanned our cities were all too human and suffered all of the foibles of humanity.

Notes

1.   Cullingworth, J. B., *Reconstruction and Land Use Planning 1939–1947* (London: HMSO, 1975).
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3.   Dagenais, M., Maver, I. and Saunier, P.-Y. (eds), *Municipal Services and Employees in the Modern City: New Historic Approaches* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).
4.   The role of local voluntary planning groups is unresearched, although two commissioned professional planners to produce their plans (Chelmsford, formed 1935, employed Minoprio, and Sudbury, formed 1944, employed Jeremiah). By 1950 the virtues of such local groups and plans, using the example of Beckenham, were being praised by Whittick, A. 'Planning and the voluntary organization', *Town and Country Planning*, **18** (1950) pp. 504-8.
5.   Larkham, P. J. and Lilley, K. D., *Planning the 'City of Tomorrow': British   Reconstruction Planning, 1939-1952: An Annotated Bibliography* (Pickering, UK: Inch, 2001), as amended by ongoing research.
6.   *Architect and Building News* (1942) Comment, *Architect and Building News*, 20 February, p. 140.
7.   Mandler, P., 'New towns for old: the fate of the town centre', in Conekin, B., Mort, F. and Waters, C. (eds) *Moments of Modernity: Reconstructing Britain 1945-1964* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1999).
8.   Ward, S.V., *Planning and Urban Change* (London: Paul Chapman, 1994), p. 114.
9.   Hall, P., *Cities of Tomorrow*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), p. 357.
10.   Hall, P., *Urban and Regional Planning*, 3rd edn (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 61.
11.   Stevenson, J., 'Planner's moon: the Second World War and the planning movement', in Smith, H.L. (ed.) *War and Social Change: British Society in the Second World War* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1986).
12.   National Archives file (hereafter NA) HLG 71/1205.
13.   Lambert, R., 'Patrick Abercrombie and planning in Bath', *Bath History*, **8** (2000), pp. 172–96.
14.   Mealand, quoted by Lambert, 2000, p. 182.
15.   Chapman, W. Dobson, *Towards a New Macclesfield: a Suggestion for a New Town Centre* (Macclesfield, UK: Macclesfield: Borough Council, 1944).
16.   Minutes, Bilston Development and Reconstruction Committee: Wolverhampton Archives and Local Studies.
17.   A.V. Williams to C. Reilly, in Reilly's archive at the University of Liverpool, file D207/4.
18.   Reilly, C. H., *Scaffolding in the Sky: a Semi-Architectural Autobiography* (London: Routledge, 1938), p. 310.
19.   Minutes, Housing Inspection Sub-Committee, 12/1/45, Warwick County Record Office (CRO).
20.   Minutes, Public Health and Housing Committee, 8/6/45, Warwick CRO.
21.   Coventry Record Office file CCD/CE/7/1.
22.   Letter dated 25/5/45 in Sharp archive, University of Newcastle, UK.
23.   Stansfield, K., 'Thomas Sharp 1901-1978', in G.E. Cherry, G.E. (ed.), *Pioneers in British Town Planning* (London: Architectural Press, 1981); Cherry, G. E., *Thomas Sharp: the Man who Dared to be Different*, text of Sharp Memorial Lecture (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: University of Newcastle, Department of Town and Country Planning, 1983).
24.   Potter, L., 'The Woodchurch controversy, 1944', *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, **150** (2003), pp. 145–69.
25.   Reilly, C. H., review of Watson and Abercrombie's 1943 Plymouth plan in *Building*, July (1944), p.182. Herbert Manzoni CBE MICE MIM&CE, later knighted, was the City Surveyor and Engineer of Birmingham from 1935 to 1969.

26. Max Lock Archive file 17.4, University of Westminster, UK.
27. Orbell, W., 'The new planning system in Cambridgeshire', *Town and Country Planning*, **18** (1950), p. 323.
28. Minutes, Planning and Siting Sub-Committee, 27/8/43: Worcester CRO.
29. *Architect and Building News*, News item on additional Manchester Corporation employees, *Architect and Building News*, 3 September 1943, p. 139.
30. *The Builder*, News item on Maunder's appointment to Portsmouth, *The Builder*, CLXVII (5294), 21 July 1944, p. 42.
31. Higgott, A., 'Birmingham: building the modern city', in Dekker, T. (ed.), *The Modern City Revisited* (London: Spon, 2000), p. 152.
32. For example, Meredith, J. N., 'The reconstruction of Bristol', presentation at the Housing Centre, 30 September, briefly excerpted in *Architect and Building News*, 10 October 1941, p. 19.
33. Habershon, M. E., 'Replanning of central town areas', *Proceedings of the Institute of Municipal and County Engineers*, **LXIX** (1942), pp. 312–20.
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35. Parr, P. *Plan – Newcastle upon Tyne 1945*, report of the Town Planning Sub-Committee (Newcastle upon Tyne: Newcastle City Council, 1945).
36. Reilly, 1938, p. 304.
37. From correspondence and autobiographical notes in the Johnson- Marshall collection, University of Edinburgh Archive.
38. Archive boxes FR38 and FR30, Johnson-Marshall collection, University of Edinburgh Archive.
39. Minutes, Dover Planning Committee, East Kent Archives Centre, Dover.
40. *Estates Gazette,* News item on Dover plan, *Estates Gazette*, 21 June 1947, p. 445.
41. James, C. H., Pierce, S. R. and Rowley, H. C., *City of Norwich Plan* (Norwich: City of Norwich Corporation, 1945). Rowley's contributions are pp. 126–30.
42. Stamp, G., *Britain's Lost Cities* (London: Aurum, 2007), p. 153.
43. Hasegawa, 1992, chapters 5 and 7.
44. Councillor Matthews, private note, Southampton Record Office D/Mat/10/4.
45. *Southern Daily Echo,* News report of appointment of Adshead to Southampton, *Southern Daily Echo*, 12 August 1941.
46. Adshead, S. D. and Cook, H. T., *The Replanning of Southampton* (Southampton: Council of the County Borough, 1942).
47. Letter, 7/4/44, Southampton Record Office SC/EN/13/5/4/2; see Hasegawa, 1992, p. 148, note 68.
48. Quoted in *Southern Daily Echo,* News report of Councillor Matthews's views, Southampton, *Southern Daily Echo*, 28/9/45.
49. It is interesting that Reith later wrote that 'I told them that if I were in their position I would plan boldly and comprehensively, and that I would not at that stage worry about finance or local boundaries. They had not expected such advice … but it was what they wanted and it put new heart into them' (Reith, J. C. W., *Into the Wind* (London: Hodder & Stoughton,1949), p. 424); and that his successor in 1947, Silkin, was trying to encourage progress in rebuilding the bombed cities, and said at a conference, 'Whether you plan boldly or timidly, and I sincerely hope you will plan boldly ...' (typescript speech, 18/9/47: NA HLG 71/34).
50. Quoted in Hasegawa, J., 'Governments, consultants and expert bodies in the physical reconstruction of the City of London in the 1940s', *Planning Perspectives*, **14** (1999), p. 129.
51. Ministry of Town and Country Planning, Minutes of the 57th Technical Meeting of Regional Planning Officers, 23/10/47: copy in Johnson-Marshall archive, University of Edinburgh, box SR4.
52. Larkham, P. J., 'People, planning and place: the roles of client and consultants in reconstructing post-war Bilston and Dudley', *Town Planning Review,* **77** (2006), pp. 557-82.
53. Letters, Max Lock files, University of Westminster Archives, London.

54. Ministry of Town and Country Planning Reconstruction Areas Technical Examination Committee, report on Coventry's proposals (undated, probably 1946): copy in Johnson-Marshall archive, University of Edinburgh, GB 0237/PJM/CCC/A/1/1.
55. 14/2/46; NA HLG 79/226.
56. NA HLG 71/1284.
57. NA HLG 79/307.
58. NA HLG 79/810.
59. 26/11/46; NA HLG 79/202.
60. Gatliff to Walsh, 6/10/50, NA HLG 79/875.
61. Report to Hughes, Regional Planning Officer, 28/7/44; NA HLG 79/95.
62. Cullingworth, 1975; Cherry and Penny, 1986.
63. See, for example, the list of Regional Controllers: Ministry of Town and Country Planning, *Circular 30* (London: Ministry of Town and Country Planning, 1947).
64. For example in the treatment of Manzoni in Birmingham on his retirement and death (Larkham, *Replanning Birmingham*, 2007, pp. 11-12 and Appendix 3. This contrasts with his vilification by some, especially more recent, authors such as McKenna, J., *Birmingham: the Building of a City* (Stroud, UK: Tempus, 2005, p. 125)
65. For example Abercrombie's junior colleagues in his admittedly small office: Derek Childs's role in the Warwick plan is an exemplar (see Larkham, P. J., 'Professor Sir Patrick Abercrombie and the replanning of Warwick, 1945–1949', *Midland History*, **29** (2004), pp. 124–38. Sharp was unusual in undertaking so much of the work himself.
66. Lilley, K. D. and Larkham, P. J., *Exhibiting Planning: Communication and Public Involvement in British Post-War Reconstruction* Working Paper 4 (Birmingham: Faculty of Law, Humanities, Development and Society, Birmingham City University, 2007). However the extent to which any such 'criticism' resulted in the modification of plans is still uncertain.
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Urban transformations in Bom Retiro (São Paulo): building new territories, social networks and identities

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1. Introduction: social networks

Bom Retiro neighborhood can be analyzed as a special case study in Sao Paulo (Brazil), due to its migration process, considering that, in different times, many national and international migrants have established themselves in this city's neighborhood. In the following research, we intend to understand the immigrant's contribution to the construction of urbanity, as well as the social and economic relationship established there. Several ethnical groups, such as the Italians, Jewish, Arabians, Turkish, Greeks, Hungarians, and since the eighties, the Koreans and the Bolivians, that lived or are still living there, playing an important role to sociability, integrating those residents with a communication network that has not only connected this place to others in the city, but also gave some visibility and form to the culture of popular urban classes.

Although our main study aims at analyzing three different periods, as listed below: from the end of the nineteenth century towards the thirties, from the post-war to the seventies, and, from the eighties up to nowadays, the present communication will emphasize the last one, focusing on the Koreans and the Bolivians, that have changed, since the 80's, this neighborhood's face. Our approach will report to the first network studies such as those developed by the German sociologist Georg Simmel, in the end of the nineteen century, followed by the French anthropologist Marcel Mauss, among others.

The science that analyzes the networks has its origins in the idea that the main sociologist's task is related to the understanding of social structure, or better saying, the distinct patterns that connects some human members to a group. They try to describe these patterns and use their descriptions to learn how networks structures constrain social behavior and social change. The descriptions are based on the social network concept of ties linking nodes in a social system: ties that connect persons, groups, organizations or clusters, as well as persons. This emphasis on studying the structural properties of networks informs different ways in which analysts pose questions, organize data collection and develop analytic methods[1]. .

Wellman summarizes his network methodology as following: "I view network analysis as a broad intellectual approach and not as a narrow set of methods". Networks analysts search for deep structures, this means, regular network patterns beneath the often complex surfaces of social systems. Also, Mark Granovetter studies' are extremely important since he considers that "the analysis of process in interpersonal networks provides the most fruitful micro-macro bridges". In one way or another, it is through

these networks that small-scale interaction becomes translated into large-scale patterns, and these, in turn, feed back into small groups. In his paper, "The Strength of Weak Ties", Granovetter[2] (1973) analyzes rather limited aspects of small scale interaction - the strength of interpersonal ties - and intends to show how the use of network analysis can relate this aspect to such varied macro phenomena such as diffusion, social mobility, political organization, and social cohesion in general. This analysis is essentially qualitative.

Following his procedure, we will discuss the internal links from the Korean and the Bolivian communities, plus their respective connections. According to Granovetter, the strength of a tie can be defined as "(…) a combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding) and the reciprocal services which characterize the tie". Each of these is somehow independent of the other, though the set is obviously highly intra-correlated. For the current purpose, it is enough, on a rough intuitive basis, whether a given tie is strong, weak or absent. Included "absent" are both the lack of any relationship and ties without substantial significance, such as nodding relationship between people living on the same street or the "tie" to the vendor from whom one can normally buy a morning newspaper.

The hypothesis is made plausible also by empirical evidence that the stronger the ties connecting two individuals, the more similar they are in various ways (Berscheid and Walster, 1969; Bramel, 1969; Brown, 1965; Laumann, 1968). On the other extreme, the weak ties would be those where local bridges create more and shorter paths. "This means that whatever is to be diffused can reach a larger number of people, and traverse social distance (i.e., path length) pass through weak ties rather than strong. This means that more people can be reached through weak ties".

Granovetter (1973) says that "strong ties form a dense network and weak ties a less dense one". In a weak sector, not only will ego's contacts not be tied to one another, but they will be tied to individuals. Indirect contacts are thus typically reached through ties in the sector. Such ties are then of importance, not only in ego's manipulation of networks, but also because they are the channels through which ideas, influences or information socially distant from ego may reach him. The fewer indirect contacts one has the more encapsulated he will be in terms of knowledge of the world beyond his own friendship circle. Thus, bridging weak ties (and the consequent indirect contacts) are important in both ways. "Those to whom we are weakly tied are more likely to move in circles different from our own and will thus access to information different from that which we receive".

From the individual's viewpoint, then, weak ties are an important resource in making possible mobility opportunity. Therefore, weak ties play a role in effecting social cohesion. Under the point of view of community organization, as Granovetter (1973) remind us, it is desirable to deal with a unit of analysis larger than a single individual, as adopted by our research. This author describes several experiences based on the dissemination of information in some specific communities, like the Italians in Boston, for example.

He shows that if there is "a strong relationship between two individuals, the network tends to be more limited, as well as the flood of information, ideas, influences, that becomes concentrated inside this relationship. On the other hand, weak ties expose individuals to an indirect contact, with more and more people, from different circles than their own ones". He also lists the importance of weak ties in mobilizing some communities towards common objectives, whereas others are unable to obtain resources even in difficult times or for a clear purpose.

He concludes his explanation, by indicating that individuals with very few weak ties are definitely excluded from getting information from other groups. They are, then, restricted to their closely relationship information and opinions'. As they get involved only with their own partners, they do not envisage other opportunities further than those presented to the group. He also points out that strong network ties seem to be related to economic uncertainty plus a lack of social services, both aspects identified in Bom Retiro's Bolivian community, as it will be examined along this paper.

In another article, entitled *"The strength of weak ties: a network theory revisited",* Granovetter[3] (1983) reviews his theory, mentioning some studies about poor communities networks'. He shows the importance of strong ties for surviving strategies, as well as intense interchange and reciprocity among neighbors, hypothesis verified in Brazilian poor communities. This author insists, nevertheless, that considerable investment should be done in such communities to avoid the perpetuation of poverty. Weak ties, on the other hand, allow indirect contacts among a larger number of people that belong to different and varied groups. This fact contributes to a more diverse and diffused set of information. This is exactly what happens to Bom Retiro' Korean community, that even though keep some strong ties, also have an unlimited weak ties, responsible for the creation of new opportunities and perspectives.

Working networks are expressed in Bom Retiro, nowadays, through two main nationalities; the Koreans and the Bolivians. Cheap labor is done by the Bolivians for the Koreans, most of them shop owners from the Garment Industry, the main commercial activity of this neighborhood. This type of work can either occur at home or at sewing practices', both in unhealthy working environments. They are based on old working practices that dates back to the beginning of industrialization, according to the *'putting-out'* process, where the worker produces as many pieces as he is able to. All of these is directly associated to a type of production based on the flexibility of capital. It is also important to observe that the Koreans have been responsible for an intensive urban renewal that has produced new buildings in Bom Retiro. Moreover, Bolivians have introduced new cultural habits, such as celebrations and open air markets that have completely changed this neighborhood face.

Therefore, our research is concerned about obtaining information related to social relations of these two groups and their network structures'. Our main interest is, hence, connected to multiple cultural expressions, the complex working relationships and the building diversity.

2. Historical and current aspects of Bom Retiro

Bom Retiro is a traditional neighborhood of Sao Paulo in terms of cultural and architectonical heritage. It concentrates many institutional buildings of Sao Paulo, such as: Pinacoteca do Estado de Sao Paulo, Sacred Art Museum of Sao Paulo, Portuguese Language Museum (established in Luz Station), Estação Pinacoteca (another fine art museum) and the old building of Sao Paulo Polytechnic University. Also, Julio Prestes Station is another important reference, considering that it holds the famous Symphonic Orchestra of the State of Sao Paulo (OSESP). However, in spite of all these public equipments and its favorable location (close to two underground stations), nowadays this district presents many low income inhabitants, some of them living in slums.[4] According to a national research, the total estimated population of this neighborhood was around 26.596 inhabitants, with monthly income average of R$1.358,39. This is the second largest oriental neighborhood, due to the Koreans' presence, followed by Liberdade, where many Japanese descendents live.

According to Sao Paulo Major's site, "nowadays Bom Retiro is practically a Korean neighborhood. They represent nearly 70% of the 1.200 business, as documented by the Câmara dos Dirigentes Lojistas (Bom Retiro Shop Owners' League). The Koreans have modified the physiognomy and the spirit of this region, but not its soul[5]". Its entrepreneurship in economic activities is reflected through some rough numbers. Currently, Bom Retiro holds 4.000 approximately business places, distributed as listed below: 1.663 in industry, 1.325 in commerce and 949 in services. This corresponds to 16.021 working places in the industrial sector, 6.520 in commerce and 9.909 in services, based on IBGE data (1996-2000). However, Bom Retiro is losing its population in the last decades, like other Sao Paulo's central districts. Nevertheless, this central neighborhood was not always oriental (Korean) from its origins. It was the place for several migrants and immigrants along the centuries.

Located in a flooding area near Tietê River, close to the city center, Bom Retiro[6] began as a recreational and leisure place of Sao Paulo. This neighborhood was originally composed by some country houses, one of them that gave its name. Another one, belonged to an English family called Dulley. Some significant parts of land where property of another immigrant, named Manfred Meyer. Due to an increase in immigration during the coffee economic cycle, it is observed that this land was divided in small parts in order to supply housing demand. Similar process was noticed in other neighborhoods, such as Barra Funda, Bras, Bexiga, Pari and Mooca. Several factors have collaborated for the establishment of immigrants in this area, mainly Italians, after 1890. Among them, we can consider the opening of Luz Station (1867), as well as the introduction of many cultural and institutional types of equipment nearby[7]. Immigrants' presence is noted from the very beginning through the names of some streets, like Immigrant Street (nowadays, Jose Paulino Street) and Italians Street[8].

Some statistics point out that at least one third of the immigrants that arrived in Sao Paulo, between 1890 and 1920, stayed in the city, introducing new socioeconomic and

cultural aspects[9]. This *'Italianization'* process has been largely discussed by literature through its architectonical and constructive aspects[10]. Few studies have tried, nonetheless, to analyze Bom Retiro since its origins. A first approach shows, however, that the Italians' participation to civil construction was very important[11]. The Italians also changed long term established social and economic relationships, by introducing new habits, previously inexistent. It is commonly verified that some economic activities, like services and commerce, are straightly linked to housing, something that will appear very often in Bom Retiro. From another point of view, some indicators show that the Italians created particular mechanisms to expand their own culture, i.e. schools, newspapers and others. Nevertheless, not everything was Italian[12].

In the twenties, many European Jewish have found in Brazil the right place to live. Some of them came with their own financial resources. Others have the support of private international organizations (Hias, Ica, Emigdirect)[13]. In Sao Paulo, they have established themselves in popular neighborhoods, like Bom Retiro. In the very beginning, housing conditions were not desirable, obliging many of them to live, either in slums, or in a rented place from an Italian owner[14]. During this period, it was very common to observe an intense experience interchange between the two groups. Italians mainly worked in services and formal commerce, whereas Jewish people introduced a new type of deal: door to door informal commerce[15]. Some worked in industry, on the other hand[16]. Social integration was not very easy, particularly because of language, but slowly, due to capital injection[17], some urban transformations are identified. The Jewish bought the old Italian made houses and tried to improve housing conditions. They have introduced as well some new products in the market, such as plastic made ones and others.

In parallel to the verticalization process[18] that took place in Sao Paulo, since the thirties, some specific urban transformations were observed in Bom Retiro. The first high building made of concrete, with more than three floors, named Palacete da Luz, appeared there. The Jewish contribution is inserted in the transition of a brick made town to a concrete made one[19]. These immigrants, therefore, constructed new buildings using contemporary techniques. They became the new properties' owners, considering that a gradual ethnical substitution occurred in this period. Most enriched Italians moved out to more prominent places[20], close to Paulista Avenue. Stimulated by this rapid change, the old Immigrant Street definitely assumed its commercial vein, partially because of the installation of prostitution zone in the area. New buildings emerged in order to attend Jewish traditions. Synagogues and schools appeared after the Second World War, a period characterized by the arrival of new immigrants.

Capital accumulation, which begun since the Jewish arrival, and an immediate demand for housing helped to improve this neighborhood urban structure. New high residential buildings became visible, most of them made by Jewish constructors, like Carlos Kusminsky, Max Stuhlberger, Jonas Gordon, Eurico Soicher e Samuel Belk. Most of these buildings were made in a Modern Architecture language that took place between the sixties and seventies in Sao Paulo City, introduced by other notable immigrants, such as Jacques Pillon, Lina Bo Bardi, Franz Heep, among others[21]. Also, Tietê River

canalization encouraged new urban configurations for the neighborhood's lower areas, opening place for one floor housing. Since the fifties, Bom Retiro became also a place for other ethnical groups. Like Greeks, Arabians, Turkish, Hungarians and others. Literature commonly tends to consider the substitution of one culture from another[22], which is not always true. A clear example are the Greeks, that will share commerce activities with Jewish. Those two groups will have more common points that are still due to be analyzed.

Since the eighties, many changes have been taken place in Bom Retiro. This period coincides with the Asians arrival, specially the Koreans ones'. It is also correct to say that they have been in Sao Paulo before that time, in other neighborhoods such as Bras and Pari, but it is during the eighties that they will establish themselves in Bom Retiro, changing for good, economic, housing and cultural aspects of this place. Koreans also contributed to urban renewal. There is a huge coincidence in this time, because most Jewish were leaving the neighborhood, as well as their commerce activities. They went to better residential areas, like Santa Cecilia, Higienópolis, Jardins, Perdizes and Pinheiros, in parts because most of their descendents do not want to continue in this type of business. The building stock was, therefore, completely renewed and adapted to global capitalism needs through the Koreans initiative. This included physical innovations of many shops, located at Jose Paulino Street (former Immigrant Street), Aimorés, César Lombroso, Italians and Ribeiro de Lima Streets. These transformations are also reflected in a new type of production (just in time) that characterizes the nineties[23]. Cheap labor working force and imported garment industry resources was the tonic of that period. The new demands for textile and garment industry claim for new production modes based on flexible production in world scale. Informality became more evident, in order to avoid the strict working class laws[24]. In Brazilian terms, this is presented through Bolivians and other Latin arrivals'.

It is been observed, in Developing Countries, that millions of people look forward a better life in richer countries. Statistics are quite inexistent, because of many factors, particularly illegality. These immigrants suffer a lot, they earn less than what they should, travel illegally, which increases the risks for bad treatment. According to World Bank, there are 74 millions of immigrants from 'south to south', expression normally used to describe people that move from one developing country to another. The same bank estimates that they send back home quantities between US$18 to US$55 millions per year. These immigrants notice that moving from one poor country to another is the best they can achieve. Because of severe migration policies in the Developed World, it is more likely that migration tend to increase inside the Developing Countries. Patricia Wiess Fagen, University of Georgetown researcher, points out that are those poor people that send money to even more poor people, covering rural areas where money cannot reach. In general, these immigrants work hard in change for low salaries, and they have their private rights frequently violated. Sometimes they are discriminated because of their skin color and they are afraid of the police[25].

In Sao Paulo (Brazil), since the fifties, the first Bolivians students started to arrive, stimulated by interchange programs between Brazil and Bolivia. After the end of their

studies, many of them remained in the city. In a second moment, during the eighties, Sao Paulo offered better working opportunities in garment industry, a sector that did not need previous qualifications. This segment was very attractive due to the salaries, especially for the young ones that hoped for a better life. Informal sector is another one that employs Bolivians, mostly irregularly. Some authors[26] consider that the first moment of the migratory cycle is characterized by the salary marginality. These authors emphasize that this entrance through work is established in their country of origin, before arriving Sao Paulo, by their own *'brothers'*. Consequently, the most serious question related to these immigrants is connected to their illegal documentation.

During the intensive Bolivian migration period, the Foreign Migration Policies, dating from 1980, only allowed the entrance of either specialized working force, or entrepreneurs. There were only two paths to overcome these laws. The first one was by getting married to a Brazilian. The second one was by having a baby born in Brazil. Only recently, in 2005, Brazil and Bolivia signed an agreement related to this, especially after the fact that the media has noticed that approximately 60.000 were in an irregular situation[27]. However, in order to become a regular citizen it is necessary to pay several taxes and fees, sometimes corresponding to 100 illegal lived days in the country. This regulatory process also does not guarantee that the worker will have its rights secured.

Firstly established in neighborhoods such as Bom Retiro, Pari and Brás, the Bolivians will be responsible for producing most of the pieces in the garment industry[28]. Mercosul integration will also stimulate migration for some Latin-Americans in search for a better life. Statistics are not very clear about the number of immigrants that live in Sao Paulo[29]. It is very common to observe that this group is highly discriminated due to its skin color. They occupy, therefore, the lowest ethnical point from a large spectrum. Nevertheless, some of them are moving out from central areas due to some income increase. Since the 2000, it has been noticed that Bolivians are living in other neighborhoods, like Vila Nova Cachoeirinha, Limao and other municipalities, like Guarulhos. In those places it is possible to buy a place for living and working as well. In this sense, Bolivians are a quite an isolated group, compared to others. Their culture is occasionally shown in some events[30]. Their illegal situation plus some internal social difficulties restrict somehow social relationships, with a strong value to strong ties, this means, ties limited to their own group.

In this global context, Bom Retiro is still a very interesting case study, where several social links are established. Survival and/ or the substitution of cultural and ethnical traditions are, consequently, the last challenge that reflects the new contemporary urban areas demands[31].

3. The eighties: social and working

3.1 Koreans and Bolivians

The first Korean immigrants arrived in Brazil between 1963 and 1974[32], although many of them came in the nineties[33]. Nearly 90 per cent of the Korean community is

concentrated in Sao Paulo. From these, a substantial amount lives in Bom Retiro[34]. Since the eighties, Koreans have contributed to change commerce and garment industry. By working in a familiar basis, they have substituted most of the Arabians, Greeks and Jewish that used to work in this sector[35]. Differently from other immigrants, Koreans had a former education from their country of origin, which allowed them to grow up socially. Part of this economic raise was due to the low-cost working force, mainly Latins or others. Hence to informal sector practices, they could achieve good prices for their products in a 'just in time' based mode.

The Koreans have a similar model of financial credit as the Jewish in previous times, named Kye, that has a very important role in helping new immigrants to establish themselves in a foreign country. Thanks to this community network, some of them have been able to improve themselves economically, as well as to move to better neighborhoods. In social terms, the Koreans show themselves as a more reserved community, not so open minded to occidental traditions and behaviors[36]. Other ethnical groups that live in Bom Retiro understand that this procedure blocks somehow the communication among them. Cultural and language difficulties are also some of the problems that do not allow a proper interchange between Koreans and other communities groups'.

When we talk about the Bolivians, statistics may vary enormously. According to Bolivian Consulate, it is estimated that nearly 34.000 Bolivians are living legally in the country. At least the double number is composed by illegal immigrants. Some people suggest from 60 to 80 thousand immigrants in total, according to numbers from Pastoral do Imigrante. More than 40 per cent are illegal[37]. They come to Brazil in search for better opportunities[38]. Most of them live and work in Sao Paulo, mainly in the garment industry, almost always in exchange for food and bed. Bom Retiro is one of the neighborhoods that they have chosen to live and work[39].

In addition to the exploitation that is established between Koreans garment shop owners and Bolivians, it has been observed another type of exploitation. Some Bolivians, in general the owners of small sewing establishments exploit their own people by asking for a heavy labor week journey[40]. Informal work has, as well as bad working and living conditions have allowed the occurrence of serious diseases, such as tuberculosis[41]. This happens because most of them work and live in the same place. They also work between 14 to 16 hours in inadequate and unhealthy environment[42]. Parallel to this fact, they do not have a proper food diet.

In the few free moments, Bolivians like to eat typical food such as *empanadas* and *salteñas* or try a haircut in an open air hairdresser. The main entertainment point occurs in Kantuta Square, in Pari, a nearby neighborhood that attracts approximately 2.000 people every Sunday. Also in Anhaia Street, in Bom Retiro, several Bolivians meet on Saturday evenings to have some fun, to exchange information about work or even to date. Bolivians concentrate four irregular radio stations[43]. This communication system is a very important link for the community because it helps immigrants to search either for

a new home or a job. Furthermore, it is a way to keep in touch with their own country and traditions.

4. Urban Renewal, Architecture and Public Space

This Sao Paulo central neighborhood reflects the city urban evolution by itself. In the end of the nineteenth century, huge land portions gave place to a working class housing. Many Italian immigrants have settled down there, contributing to improve architectural building stock. Very few buildings remain from this time, with the exception of some industrial plants and social housing. In the first decades of the twentieth century, with the European Jewish migration Bom Retiro faced another urban transformation. Some two or three floor buildings started to appear. During the fifties and sixties, following the same tendency that took place in Sao Paulo, Bom Retiro began to verticalize. Modern architecture was in vogue and spread out all over the city. Many of these buildings are still not completely identified, but they evidence, however, a plastic intention similar to the one developed by the International Modern Movement. Some other buildings represent a singular and unique architectural heritage, including from cultural associations to synagogues[44].

Currently, Bom Retiro is seen as 'Women's Disneyland'. This happens because six of its most important streets concentrate 2.700 shops that attract women for shopping. Price is quite reasonable. Nevertheless it is not the only reason for catching their attention. Since the eighties, the neighborhood is facing an intensive urban renewal, especially in its commercial segment in order to improve its image. Part of it is due to the Koreans intervention. Old businesses have been completely renewed and can be compared to sophisticated shops situated in New York, Paris or London. Some wholesale shops, located in Professor César Lombroso and Aimorés Streets accelerated the process by introducing a clean and innovative layout. Slowly, this change has touched Jose Paulino Street, the main commercial street of this neighborhood. "The special care with the product and the establishment has reached high luxurious levels in some examples". Some of them include the participation of renowned architects, such as Isay Weinfeld, that developed a project for two Koreans in Jose Paulino Street, 400. The discourse of a worker translates the importance of Koreans in urban renewal: "If it was not for the Koreans, most of the shops would have been like in the past: with simple furniture and layout. They have changed Bom Retiro completely".

In this sense, Bom Retiro can be seen as an 'open air Shopping Mall'. The change in its architecture also shows a trend to sell fashion instead of clothes. Therefore, it is very common, more recently, to send people abroad, particularly stylist designers (to Paris, London or New York) in order to improve fashion design. All these visual changes have reflected to an increase in rental prices[45]. It has been suggested that the rent of a 750 square meter shop could cost around 27 million reais for a 4 year contract. However, some additional money is asked (around US$ 300.000). In other places, such as in Lombroso Fashion Mall, prices can be extremely high. Some of the best valued streets include Jose Paulino, Aimores, Cesar Lombroso, Ribeiro de Lima, among others. "(...)

the koreans have change this place, affording for architectural projects compared to the best world shopping places. Nowadays, nearly 2000 commercial places are very disputed. The square meter can cost 25.000 reais. More than 70% are occupied by Koreans".

But it is not only the fashion segment that things are changing in Bom Retiro. Thanks to the Koreans, churches, schools and cultural associations are been developed. One example is Polilogos School, located in Solon Street[46]. Developed by the well-known Biselli e Katchaborian Architects, this school is administrated by Brazilian Association of Korean Education. It dates back to 1997. The concrete made building is an example of Contemporary Brazilian Architecture and reflects the continuity of Sao Paulo's Modern Movement. Another prominent recent building is the Catholic Korean Church, in Matarazzo Street. Its white architecture is an enormous contrast for the industrial plants that surrounds it. In old times, there were many synagogues spread out in Bom Retiro[47]. Nowadays, they divide space with protestant churches as well as hotels and flats developed by Koreans. Some of them also include golf training place among their facilities.

According to Bastenier and Dassetto (1993) migration cycle concept, it is possible to argue that Koreans are in a third level, where they are definitely stabilized. It is not only related to their social rights but also to their relationship in the society where they live. It is not only a demographic acknowledgement, as classified by the authors, but the future impact of the immigrants. In this stage, it is important to notice that this population becomes a permanent part of the public space, what they call social and political co-inclusion.

Latin-American communities that live in Bom Retiro have not collaborated to rebuild urban place, mainly because they do not have economic power for doing so. Nevertheless, it has been observed that private initiative is starting to get some interest in this area. Some new stock building is being developed thanks to public transportation proximity and other facilities. Therefore, in order to think about Bom Retiro architectures' and its urban renewal through centuries, it is necessary to understand continuity and interruption reflected by the buildings there localized. In this sense, these processes show, for example, a strong link between Luz Train Station, that used to bring immigrants, and social housing, between shops and streets, between garment industry and housing, between restaurants and religious places. Bom Retiro building's are a testimony of its past. They are also current actors, where one can attribute new values and significances.

Public space is used in different ways by all these communities as verified in multicultural Bom Retiro. Because of this, this neighborhood is considered to be a very important legacy due to its diversity and cultural expressions. Streets are the most important place for sociability. It is very common to observe interaction among long established communities, such as Greeks and Jewish. On traditional Shabbat Saturdays, Orthodox Jewish walk next to Greeks and Italians, mainly Catholics. Also

Koreans have a very specific mode of using the public space. They are very often seen next to their Korean shops and groceries that sell typical products from Korea.

Streets remain an important place for recreational and leisure activities. Soccer has its origins directly associated to this area, when English immigrants brought the first ball. Nowadays, this sport is played by Bolivians and others[48]. Nonetheless, some problems and conflicts are quite evident among some Bom Retiro communities'. Considered by others as the '*poor brothers'*, Bolivians do not mix with other people, mostly due to illegality and irregular working conditions. Although their language (Spanish) is very similar to Portuguese, it is noticed that they only interact among themselves. Somehow Koreans do face the same language and communication difficulties. However, in this case, it is being observed that new generations are becoming more occidental than before. The dialogue between Koreans and others is changing gradually, particularly imposed by commercial and educational needs.

However, it is been a long time since Europeans, such as Jewish, Greeks, Italians and also, Arabians and Armenians, used to share street corners' to discuss about politics and their respective cultures. Bom Retiro that was shown in a famous movie, nominated for Oscar 2008, entitled *'The year that my parents left for vacation" is* not really the same as now. At that time, not only there was cooperation among different ethnical groups, but also there was more intensive public space utilization. In global times, what is seen is that social discrimination is more intensified than ever, as well as a spatial segregation. Consequently, Koreans and Bolivians live in the same neighborhood, but they do not interact as they should. Economical distance, cultural and language barriers, plus working exploitation, in parallel to urban violence have practically excluded minimum possibilities of interaction among immigrants in Bom Retiro.

5. Conclusion

In the beginning of this year, it has been noticed by the media[49] a campaign to reduce informal work as well as Bolivians exploitation. This meeting took place in Superintendência Regional do Trabalho, where Bolivians, Brazilians and Koreans, plus members of more than 15 entities met, for the first time, in order to discuss about possible solutions for immigrants exploitation in garment industry. Three different commissions were created: the first one, related to bureaucracy in legalization process; the second one, related to informal work and businesses responsibilities to this, and the last one, about the lack of orientation for foreigners. Bolbra President, Cultural Bolivia-Brazil association that represents Bolivians suggested that entrepreneurs do not employ irregular employees. He also asked them that employees' salaries were paid in cash, and not in 'food and bed'. Korean Consulate asked for the distribution of manuals for the foreign entrepreneurs containing Brazilian laws as well.

This initiative congregated on the one side Koreans and, on the other, Bolivians. Nevertheless, it was not a mutual decision. Mainly Brazilian authorities, plus Bolivian diplomatic entities started this process. Information, firstly presented by media (television, newspapers, magazines) and others (academic researches, human rights

organizations, and foreign office, detected the subhuman living condition that Bolivians were submitted to. Therefore, Brazilian Government has to undertake some measures. It is interesting to observe that Korean Consulate asked for the printing of Brazilian working laws manual, as if they did not know anything about this type of exploitation. Bolivians, alone, linked by strong ties, would not be able to give the first step in order to break this exploitative chain, reinforcing Granovetter (1983) theory that there is a need to invest in poor communities, as a strategy to avoid the perpetuation of poverty. However, this measure alone does not guarantee that this situation will end soon. But there is not doubt that a first step was done.

In the collective imaginary, exile and exclusion walk side by side. This exile is, though, voluntary. However, what happens in Bom Retiro, with Bolivians, is that in spite of social exclusion, there is also exploitation that deeply affects these people's dignity. We strongly believe that this process, mobilized by public and media initiative will help to increase the reaction against irregular working forms. Regarding Koreans, as similar as what happens to other nationalities that inhabited the neighborhood and obtained some success, it is being observed that they are moving to other places, such as Aclimação, Higienópolis, and others. However, they are still linked to their social, economic and political contacts placed in Bom Retiro. This means that they somehow continue to develop their productive and leisure activities there, and also some irregular ones, as noticed recently by newspapers[50].

Along the centuries, Bom Retiro reflects its origins as an immigrant neighborhood, made by different foreign groups, plus Brazilians. It is the place for many small industries, commerce and housing, especially social interest one. As it was presented in this paper, it also places several cultural equipments with some particular characteristics. That is the reason why National Historical and Artistic Cultural Heritage Institute (IPHAN) is revaluating Bom Retiro's importance due to its multicultural aspects as well as its historical buildings. Luckily, up to now, Bom Retiro is still not a full target for gentrification, as it has happened to other Sao Paulo's neighborhood. Its gentrification process has only reached its commercial area, in spite of the land value increase and the proximity to the city center.

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[36] Adriano Park, a young photographer says in an article that, for Koreans, it is very important to be more reserved people than to show of. In general, Koreans do not appreciate popularity and tend to work in background (Veja Sao Paulo, 2007: 44).

[37] Some people estimate that there are nearly 200.000 Bolivians living in Sao Paulo. Pastoral do Imigrante suggests the following numbers: 60 to 80 thousand Bolivians, 40 thousand Paraguayans, 15 to 20 thousand Chileans and 14 to 16 thousand Peruvians (http://www.etni-cidade.net/bolivianos_saude.htm).

[38] Bertolotto (2007) says that most of the Bolivians are between 20 and 24 years old (nearly 87%) and they are not so qualified in terms of education. In general they stay between one and two years in Brazil before going back to their country of origin (http://noticiais.uol.com.br/ultnot/2007/12/26/ult23u859.jhtm).

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[44] For example, Israeli Cultural Institute, developed in 1945 by Ernest Mange, Hélio Martins de Oliveira e Carlos Engel; Prudente de Morais State School, dated from the late forties, by Hélio Duarte; Kehilat Israel Synagogue, Israeli Synagogue of Sao Paulo and Bom Retiro Commercial Centre by Lucjan Korngold (Brito, 2007: 23).

[45] Rents have an average increase of 60% in the last three years (http://www.estado.com.br/editorias/2006/12/04/eco-1.93.4.20061204.5.1.xml).

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[47] Although many Jewish do not live in Bom Retiro anymore, there are still 9 synagogues in this neighborhood (http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha/cotidiano/ult95u53007.shtml).

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[50] Folha de São Paulo, 1/3/ 2008. "20 sul coreanas presas em um bordel". South Korean prostitutes were arrested in a luxurious hotel, named Safari. They integrated a prostitution network and were illegally in the country. All of them did not speak Portuguese and were sent back to Korea. This place was visited by South Korean men that live in Brazil.

Public space or private planning? Trends and tensions

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1. Introduction

Contemporary urban territorialities bring about new questions to urban environment. Challenging the tensions between domains, legalities and practical uses they promote new interpretations in the relations between urban morphologies, social fabrics, conceptual behaviors and constructions - beyond the models and concepts instituted in Architecture, Urbanism and Social Sciences.

Due to its public condition, diverse and hybrid morphology, any investigation of the contemporary city must be carried out under a particular theoretical framework, observing emerging urban tissues and its referential universes culturally implemented. Although contemporary urban tissues and territorialities are (still) mainly culturally determined, the contemporary thought confronts itself with the totalizing tendency of the capital upon the culture. In a global scenario where the contemporary culture is related to consumption, 'new' urban planning rules, aesthetic theoretical constructions and practices of a contemporary urban model produce strategies of the tertiary in an aesthetic city of gentrification processes that, once associated to the private capital of great financial and industrial conglomerates, lead to "new" urban structures of social segregation fostering a profound cultural and spatial reorganization (for instance, the territorialization and de-territorialization phenomena in relation to its spaces, sceneries and urban actors).

New urbanization processes produce "new" urban spatialities determined by the association of global economy and information technology that broaden (or confront) the classical conception of public space. Therefore, investigations about the spatiality of the contemporary urban space must observe that the public scope has to deal with a global capital market and a new socio-technical reality of a mediatic society.

"New" spatial patterns of 'new' urban tissues are determined by a cultural and economic context that promotes the logic of social and spatial segregation of private spaces in a fragmentary urban city. "New" morphological patterns representative of cultural, functional and economical specialization of urban processes that, based on the understanding of urban space as a ´commodity´, produce segregated urban environments and thematic urban landscapes.

2. Contemporary city: a private product

Although contemporary urban spatiality presents emerging ways of urbanity the contemporary city finds in the aesthetization and spectacularization phenomena a powerful mechanism of symbolic control of production of the urban landscape and occupation of its spatiality. Cities are composed by urban structures determined by

conflicts of different natures, objects and actors. However, these constitutive elements have been transformed in the last few decades in its socio-cultural dimensions, social and public aspects, its transformation processes and its permanencies. Despite the conflictive possibilities of urban concrete spatial situations related to multiple dimensions of its context and product, consensus have been articulated in a kind of artificial form, more or less fabricated, but not less efficient, that frame and base urban conceptions, images, interventions and proposals in multiple scales.

In the superabundance of the 'post-city' we can notice the transformation of the urban landscape into a product, an object of consumption, legitimizing a new sense of urbanity. Urbanity that not only promotes the deflation of public urban sphere, but also answers mainly to sectors of the market, formalisms in vogue, aesthetical experimentations and media codes instead of to the complex articulation of the daily uses of the urban life. Urbanity related to the transformation of the private/public relation, the continuous erosion of the public realm and the promotion of a particular spatiality of social segregation in a fragmentary privatized space.

The idea of city as a universal public asset, a public good, conformed by a public / private relationship, place of an heterogeneous conviviality is nowadays being questioned by another idea. One that do not take into consideration that consensus and conflict are two basic configurations of constitution or destitution dimensions, of elaborations of the public and private dimensions that constitute the classic grammar of the urban life. In this process, the urban space loses its social meaning allowing for a de-territorialized urban form: cities not as cultural artifacts to be experienced, but, as a result of consumerism and commercialization, a fake object of space-consumption of an aesthetic empty form.

It is a shuffled grammar based on a strategy of social control and reproduction of an established order where the history sense has been reduced in an appearance game (imitation/simulation). A grammar that leads to an experience of a different sense of urbanity that, passing from the modern form and function to a post-modern fiction spectacle, transfers civic activities to private spaces and promotes new spatialities of global pre-determined imagery in so called 'new public spaces'– to a certain extent, an example of Sorkin´s 'ageographical cities'.[1]

On one hand, the contemporary thought confronts itself with the totalizing tendency of the capital upon the culture and with an ever growing aesthetization process of the life circles. On the other, it (the contemporary thought) claims the acknowledgment of a plurality of social practices. Similarly, on one hand, contemporary culture encompasses both a unifying global meaning and the appreciation for meaning differences, on the other it is associated to consumption, and its practices to a mediation of the capital circulation rather than to the social context.

In the urban contemporary spectacle, the production of culture, attached to the system of production and consumption of goods, is related to the production of a space-landscape of saturated images; in it, the goods, in seductive image forms, become the constitutive principle not only of the organization but also of the relations of social

practice; in it, the existential dimensions are strongly reduced to the production of exclusive and fragmentary spaces of controlled access. Spaces where the public life occurs according to daily previously defined rules.

In this scenery, the production of the contemporary urban space answers primarily to the necessity to keep alive the circuit of production, circulation and consumption of goods in a mercantile world. These transformations, with its proper codes of ethics and functional behavior, not only weaken the urban identity and make secondary the dialectic urban fabric/ social fabric but also determine an ample series of activities that integrate the urban fabric of the contemporary collective life in the city drawing (or designing) of dissociated urban fragments: a city where the cultural capital has an important role in the definition of its physical and social transformations. However, a transformed city of an spectacle based on cultural goods.

The city as a spectacle is the place and the way of reception a new urbanity based on the aesthetical social relationships of contemporary culture. An urbanity reduced to a particular process of production / reproduction of a globalized and homogeneous imagery. What we are more and more observing is not anymore processes of urban space transformations based on the notion of commodity, but the continuous interchange between brand and commodity, commodity and space. In this context, the experience of the visual consolidates itself as a mediator element between the landscape and the geography, between the city and the territory, between the individual and the space, becoming the reproduction environment. An environment that reduces the sense of the context and the relations of the everyday life to the appearance-immateriality condition

Contemporary urban tissues may still be mainly culturally determined, but it is necessary to understand properly under what conditions they are so. In the global age scenario, one which 'place-specifics' urban landscapes offer life-style choices and amenities based on local symbolic culture, one which knowledge and identity are submitted to an homogeneous cultural and economic context, we experience an urban space that promotes new ambiguities and social territorialities representative of the so-called innovative landscapes.

Creativity (whatever it may means) has become a decisive factor on the agenda of city managers, development agents, urban planners, and architects, as they search for new urban forms that may promote the link between a range of new technologies and the development of new urban structures. Due to a strategy of control and reproduction of an established new economical order (public-private partnerships), the so-called innovative landscapes of a creative class economy do not necessarily articulate with each other. In globalized scenarios of an ever increasingly privatized urban space, these so-called vanguard urban landscapes promote the logic of social and spatial segregation of private spaces in a fragmentary urban tissue, social and spatial segregated thematic cities within the real city.

The making of the contemporary city materializes in a polarized city that loses identity and meaning, becoming more and more difficult to be noticed as a public object - even

in historical cities based on local symbolic culture that should be representative of historical values. Cities where urban structures are not conceived as a public realm that results from the overlap of social, cultural, economical processes and historical times; cities where the identitary disputes and appropriations of the past are not anymore the counterpoint between the constructed and/or official memory and other versions of the social memory. On the contrary, breaking up specificities, the so called 'place-specifics' urban landscapes that offer life-style choices and amenities of private interests.

Cities not as cultural artifacts to be experienced, but a fake object of space-consumption of an aesthetic empty form – in fact, a-topic non-places of human alienation. In a time of estrangement before the world, of an alienation based on the individual experience of dislocation and detachment, that becomes the common pattern of an architecture that easily transforms the city into an empty form, the urban space loses its social meaning allowing for a de-territorialized urban form.

3. Contemporary urban spatialities

Nowadays we observe a city, that operating in a differentiated social-cultural context, is permeated by unknown urban fabrics. It questions interpretations, ways of use and appropriations of urban landscape (in its materiality and in its practices) and, in this way, the possibilities of configuration of the urban space.

In the contemporary urban space different realities, products of different times, and people of different origins live together. In the urban space, heterogeneity, which is intrinsic and necessary, is at the same time fostered and crushed by the overlapping of coexistence. As a consequence from a collage of social assemblages and urban forms, only possible in a society of mass production and communication, where a kind of 'inflation' of products and information reigns. the contemporary society creates new proximities and explicitates distinct material, political, economic and ethnic landscapes - they promote new ambiguities of the urban space that, strictly speaking, articulate and exclude themselves. In the contemporary city we observe transformations related not only to the materiality of space, but also to its permanency, ephemerality and de-territorialization (temporal substractum).

In many ways the current city represents the maximum point of the process of disenchantment of the modern world. As a critical process of knowledge, Modernity is deteriorated, being characterized more by the certainty and arrogance of one 'ism' than to the interrogation and self-understanding critics. However, despite of the criticism to the rationalism and the reduction of the modern movement, the contemporary city, although new forms of cultural expression and social communication open unexplored fields of investigation of urban and spatial structures, is translated more and more in a beautified and simulated urban landscape.

In the society of super-modernity (Augé)[2] an emergent city is evidenced in distinct (different) ways, either mapping out and questioning the emergency and transformation of new conflictive processes around the classic and contemporary axis of structuration and appropriation of the urban space – urban housing, urban services, forms of

resistance and contraposition to the intervention forms -, or in contemporary urban forms that can or cannot dislocate old demands, substituting and/or overlapping them. However, it is questionable to what extent, the contemporary city, submitted to significant processes of social and technological transformations, and conditioned by a privative speech and the standardized message of the media, explores these possibilities.

Muñoz (appud Solà-Morales 2005)[3] points out that the logic of the 'containers' (understood as elements of capital accumulation and economical, cultural, touristic and social reproduction) is already present at the contemporary urban space: traditional typological elements as streets, squares, public and institutional spaces has been transformed in containers-objects, thematically reduced to a set of urban functions of a controlled space. A space of idleness and consumption characterized for models and similar standards of intervention in the production of an urban environment to be visited intensively in partial time. A space that produces a-territorial landscapes characterized by the economic and functional specialization of the territory - in every places landscapes of nowhere. As such, the urban tissue is not anymore a result of the processes of elaboration and/or reception of conceptions and urban intervention forms that are constructed around consensus that are spread in a transversal way in the global political specter.

The investigation of the contemporary city, requires the revision of concepts and action plans regarding its spatiality, particularly about the processes of transformation of its territory and its urban landscape (as physical as social). It is true that we must deal with a new socio-technical scenario of a heterotopic, multi-referential and mediatic society, but, as already mentioned, we must also question to what extent the so-called innovative landscapes of a creative class economy of the global age appropriately respond to new forms of enunciation of the spatiality of the contemporary urban space; or, to what extent the spatiality of new urban tissues are not submitted to a homogeneous cultural and economic context that promotes the logic of social and spatial segregation of private spaces in a fragmentary urban city.

It becomes necessary that we search for alternatives for the distinct enunciations that allow theoretical constructions relative to the contemporary urban environment. The contemporary city, to be representative of new contiguous and ambiguous symbolic interpretations in relation to its landscape, demands investigation of the spatiality of the public scope of the urban space.

On other question to be considered, in attention to the indicators that evidence the semantic displacement between culture and urbanistic productions, it is necessary to observe the relation architecture/city being not only in the paradigm text/context, but also in the textualities of the multiple dimensions of today's city. These questionings require knowledge and action reinterpretation, particularly in relation to the project /projectuality aspects of the contemporary city and social appropriation. It is all about crossing the own course of the events, where the spatialities of the public and the private, the appropriations of the places, the formal references of identities, practices and the urban habits can be inquired and be interpreted as a phenomenology of the

diversity - a diversity that recognizing influences reveals differences. The study of the spatiality of the contemporary city requires a different approach to the (re)meaning of the notion of public space and the investigation of processes and procedures related to the conformation and configuration of its urban structures.

4. Final observations

The model of the city as a spectacle in thematic urban landscapes has been constantly present in recent urban renewal proposals. In these proposals, the role of architecture moves from a vehicle of modern urban reform utopias to the production of urban spectacles – ones that simulates images of urban landscapes in a fragmentary city. In fact, we can say that these fragments, once reduced to urban appearances of isolated pictures, are cenographical spaces of visual consumerism, urban interventions representative of gentrification processes, which not only generate social expelling and exclusion but also reduce the complexity and heterogeneity of the urban environment to an aseptic vernacular landscape of security and civility.

As a result, a city built by simulacra of urban spaces that disregards the importance of the place. Vectors of the creation of privatized fortresses ruled by isolation and claustrophobia – as in recent projects of New Urbanism, like Celebration - they set aside the urban space and create a fictional city ruled by the interiorization of functions of the 'old city'. In this 'ageographic' city of huge containers, of historical uniform gentrifications, of homogeneous urban renewal proposals of the private capital, we observe urban spaces of temporary occupation and anonymous confluence, flexible space-time contexts without identity, designed for the client, not for the citizen

If we intend to conceive a view of the contemporary city, we must understand that it is necessary to develop intervention strategies consistent with an attempt to generate a place - one which is representative of the present urban phenomenological environment. The intersection between past/present time-cultural flows should go far beyond the (re)production of a new global paradigm of thematic urban configurations.

According to Boyer[4], the urban representational model of the contemporary city envisages the city as a spectacle that corresponds to the global capital in constant flux. The image of the city of the spectacle, without territorials and physical specificities, represents an urbanity and urbanization processes more and more privatized. Representative of an increasingly stronger relationship between culture and capital, a contemporary urban model (related to a global economy and the electronic communication world web) do not create representations of a social world. On the contrary, this urban model simulates and promotes urban environments that disregard any physical or social references.

The contemporary built environment is representative of a new universal paradigm: an 'everywhere-nowhere' architecture based on a model of production of the contemporary urban space completely based on the capital, local or not. A model that, as a result of a pre-established imagery, looks for legitimacy arguing for the superimposition of a "global

and modern matrix" over the archaic and uneven city. A model that does not understand that the loss of reality in urban life is the other side of the coin of a city that is unable to show anything but an image (void of stimulus and knowledge), and vice-versa, in the conformation of the urban environment and its collective spaces of public domains.

Any attempt to understand the urban experience as a multifaceted reality calls for a redefinition of the conception and perception of architecture, in case we are willing to overcome what has been questioned by a global hyper-mediatic society of the pos-industrial era. In the complexes pathways of contemporary culture, it is necessary to rethink the topology of the construction of the place, in the instituted space or the emergent one, in the city of discursive stratifications or in the city of another genealogical ´topos´ (where concepts, forms and spaces mark events) considering the manipulation of heterogeneous and complex elements, unique ones or not. Since this perspective, the urban typologies, the standards of social behavior, the normative and norms of planning, as well as the traditional distinction between public and private are not enough to answer, adequately, to the events of a city whose paradigms have been unstabled by undetermined and diffuse territorialities.

The distinction between public and private has always been one of the main investigation aspects of the western urbanistic thought. The notion of public space appears in the utopist belief of a capitalist society of the XIX century, when the concept of private property and the institutional definition of collective rights (transformation into public rights) appeared. However, this classic distinction between public and private became obsolete[5]. Today, the distinction between public and private is anachronistic and restrictive, and does not respond anymore to the demands of the contemporary social plurality, for it limits the legitimate universe of contestation and promotes the appearance of pseudo public spaces of surveillance, control, and consumption. Such obsolescence results from extremely limited definitions of the concepts of space and public, which derive from insisting on the unity, the desire of fixed categories of space and time, or for having notions of public and private rigidly pre-conceived.

New reading keys to understand contemporary urban space transformations are necessary in a scenario of a heterotopic society where: urban centralities are determined by great physical structures and/or by gentrificatory proposals of urban renewal; we observe a dislocation from the bipolar notion of center/periphery of the model of industrial city to diffuse and undetermined territorialities where the monocentrality of the city opens the way to territorial pluricentrality; the phenomena of demographic explosion and customs implosion entail new patterns of urban morphology and force us to (re)think the city in today's multifaceted reality (associated to a new semantic of terms such as flows, dispersion, decentralization, and networks); there is not only the chronological or linear sequencing, once replacing the synchronic space-time of the mnemonic landscape we observe an asynchronic time, not serial, of "pass-see-pass" that mirrors the images of sporadic appearances and form a landscape of "pass-time" images.

Far from assuming the failure of the public space, its degradation in a diversity of intermediate situations, we argue for the change, multiplicity and contestation that form

its real nature: an understanding that is based not on loss, but on the possibility of constantly reinventing the urban place. If it is true that any investigation about the spatiality of the contemporary city must come to terms with new aspects of its configuration (to a certain extent result of new social and technical realities of a strongly mediatic society), it is also true that public spaces must be representative of public and social aspects - the urban locus of a new neo-existential approach. Places that do not only reflect a cultural order based on current social relations, but also enable its continuous (re)valorization, making way to aleatory space – space of indetermination, contestation - and not spatial forms of appropriation of public space, prepensely neutral. It is crucial that collective spaces be participatory, representing urban life and collective memory, and that they become elements of a multiform urban web: transfunctional spaces[6], hybrid and multiple.

In our understanding it is more meaningful to search for new ways of producing urban structures - which recognize the nature of collective urban space as a space for experimenting, even if it proves wrong - than lead us through to nostalgia and the brooding over conditions that no longer exist. Any investigation of contemporary spatiality must observe, among its hypotheses to be developed, that:

- once the present city shows itself as a complex diagram, which articulates plural connections between the historical matrix and the multiplicity of matters and fluxes, a better understanding of the transformations operated on it requires transdisciplinary investigation of its multiple dimensions.

- the analysis of the configuration of the public/private relationship in possible new spatialities demand an answer through narratives of multiple natures based on the notion of domain – spaces of transversal differences of the urban, physical and social fabric.

- new territorialities of public domains substantiated on collective memory of a multi-referential social plurality, in opposition to the obscurity and devaluation of collective memory[7] of frozen fragments of a valued and official history – as we more and more can see in an urban of pre-defined imagery - can enable "urban places" and their distinct representations.

The search for solutions that respond to the current spatial demands of urban and territorial reelaboration of the city requires an approach without any 'a priori', based on the diversity and singularity of a particular understanding of collective spaces structured on the notion of domain. A urban strategy that observe where and how to act. It is a matter of weaving places, conexions and interstices; revealing and highlighting contrasts, contradictions, and complexities of urban confrontation. Therefore, this heterogeneity opens the way for the richness of the city and its urban voids. It is necessary a notion of collective spaces, public or private that may promote a better understanding of the osmotic and conflicting overlapping of domains, of territory demarcation and collectivization of the private space.

We understand that in architecture there are not 'semi' or 'almost' spaces. Spaces are and exist; they are concrete and ambiguous, not dubious. Therefore, we do not recognize any classification that uses the roots 'semi' or 'almost' - as, for example, semipublic or semiprivate - since this use leads to intentionally dubious concepts. We also understand that what is relevant is not an analysis of the functional specificity of collective spaces - since they are transfunctional - but an analysis of its modes of use. This analysis should underscore the notions of domain and plurality, leaving aspects of hierarchy and dominance as secondary, and consider the notion of equipment inadequate (once dictated by a semantic fad that reflects something functionally determined).

	PROPERTY	DOMAIN	MODE OF USE	ACCESSIBILITY	SPATIAL CONTINUITY	HIERARCHY
COLLECTIVE SPACE	Private	Privatist	Individual	Nonexistent	Nonexistent	Determined
		Particular	Collectivized	Determined	Undetermined	Determined
		Publicized	Collectivized	Controlled	Variable	Variable
	Public	Particular	Privatist	Determined	Undesired	Variable
		Privatized	Collectivized	Controlled	Variable	Variable
		Public	Collective	Free	Existent	Undetermined

It is necessary to search for other types of urban collective spaces different from the ones representative financial dogmas. Ambiguous spaces of (re)invention of the urban locus, the public and social one, producers of knowledge of new spatialities that can offer new connections within the city and today's culture. On one hand, considering economical issues and the impact of information technology on urban spatialization, on the other, avoiding the development of a techno-aesthetic urban views (urban spatialities) of alienation from the social context. Only this way will it be possible to long for something else than a private urban architecture; one that is transformed into a technocrat, technicist and economicist product of a supposedly global technological vanguard, which believes in itself as a pretense innovative means - in fact, innovation as mere commercial (re) production.

This search, in a world that is not alone and which does not present only one truth, must aim at   dissolving the non-contaminated magic of the obsolete and substituting it with the reality of urban life, and not the realism of an empty efficiency. Instead of rationalizing over reality, it values time and space experimentation, the rediscovery of sensitivity and poetic characteristics when redefining urban space.

New territorialities of public domain built up on collective memory of a multi-referential and heterotopic society are still to be developed. Urban landscapes must be representative of social urban tissues. Therefore, must be based on the contemporary social plurality, glocal and not global ones. Public urban landscapes, and not private thematic ones, that observe: that permanencies are strongly associated to cities' historical construction and its collective memory; local identity, social cohesion and dynamic urbanity; 'spacing' in terms of acting to place people and establishes activities

(places, not spaces, matters to local culture), instead of global 'urbanilization'[8] processes of functional and economical spatialization.

In order to avoid building cities through simulacra of reality - globalized fac-similes of empty and aseptic forms -, it is mandatory to approach the construction of urban environment, on the basis of today's society, by means of creating social and political urban spaces. Collective transfunctional spaces based on the notion of domain, which can promote the exercise of citizenship in its full potential - not as one more label of a product – and allow for citizens practicing their civil and political rights.

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[1] [Sorkin, M., 1992:pg. 12]

[2] [Augé, M., 1994]

[3] [Muñoz. F., in Solà-Morales, I., 2005:pg 84]

[4] [Boyer, M.C., 1996]

[5] Arguing for the obsolescence of this distinction does not mean, absolutely, that it is necessary to agree with theoretical propositions about the death of the public space, but the need to reinterpret it.

[6] Transfunctional space: polifunctional space where the physical structures, due to a certain degree of indetermination, allow for encounter and collective action. Once they are indetermined, they can deal with plurallism and diversity, transferring consensus, coherence and universality to multifunctional space. Polifuncional spaces, spaces that allow for a certain overlapping of known functions – as such, to a limited degree of indetermination. Multifuncional space: made of certain physical structures, that eventually present a certain level of overlapping and inter-relation, within a set of known functions, therefore leaving no room for indetermination.

[7] Collective memory necessary to form urban places; memory (that is built from places full of meanings) and not history (which becomes concrete through events) - memory as a tool for conception of the present and history as a tool for understanding the past.

[8] [Muñoz, F., op. cit, pg 78]

Public versus private: Barcelona's market halls system, 1868-1936

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1. The emergence of a late but strong municipal market hall system

Markets had always been especially sensitive factors in the relation between the public and the private so it is not surprising that the emergence of the contemporary market systems was closely associated with the formation of a new political thought which had been developing from the mid-18th century and became consolidated with the liquidation of the Ancien Régime. In Spain the changes were late in arriving and initially timid. Moreover, in 1834 trade was deregulated there and permission was granted to deal in "all the objects for eating, drinking or burning", except bread. In 1836, the disentailment of the ecclesiastical property allowed a set of interventions aimed to adapt the inherited city to the liberal notion of the "service city". The first two markets were then designed and built in Barcelona in *ad hoc* spaces. One was in the shape of a monumental porticoed square and the other, which drew its inspiration from the Saint-Germain market in Paris, was in the shape of a porticoed rectangular building surrounding an extensive free space. For decades, however, three of Barcelona's five markets continued to be held on squares and streets. The municipal commissions themselves were extremely critical of the grave unhealthiness, scant functionality and great congestion of their markets in a city with a steadily growing population. Nevertheless, the budgetary difficulties of the municipality prevented any advance.

In Barcelona, just as in Madrid, the decisive phase was ushered in by another political change: the revolution of 1868. A new disentailment allowed the undertaking of an enlargement of the main market, that of Sant Josep (or La Boqueria), and the proposal of a new market on the site of the Monastery of Jonqueres. Likewise, in July 1870 a specific commission was formed that was devoted to the improvement of the market squares. It issued a report that proposed the planning of the set of the city's markets. As from that date, the documents on record show a constant concern and activity in this sphere.

As in other Spanish cities, the period between 1874 and 1900 was that of the effective construction of the first examples of modern wrought-iron market halls. Within the municipality of Barcelona, there had been built before 1888 the markets of El Born (1876), Sant Antoni (1882), Barceloneta (1884), Hostafrancs (1888) and Concepció (1888). To these facilities should be added the markets built in the various municipalities of the plain of Barcelona: Llibertat (1888), Clot (1889), Unió (1889), and Abaceria Central de Gràcia (1892), which would be integrated into the market halls system of Barcelona with the amalgamation of their respective towns in 1897.

Accordingly, compared to the cities of Great Britain, France or the United States in terms of the renewal of the market system, Barcelona was a latecomer. This was also the case of the city of Berlin, where "in the mid-sixties there were several projects of new iron market halls" and "the pace of activity quickened in 1880...". [1] In Berlin, however, which was the capital of a great political and economic power, it was the "government machinery" which drove a late but highly ambitious system of markets. For this reason, if one considers the limitations of the municipal power of Barcelona in those years due to its scant budgets and the weakness of the expropriation mechanisms which characterized Spanish law, it is even more surprising to observe the strength of the municipal market system which was forged there. When the City Council decided to promote a system of municipal markets, such an option was not completely evident from the European cities' various experiences. If in France, for example, the municipal option seemed predominant, in Great Britain, on the other hand, municipal and private initiative were almost on a par. Even in the case of France, which could appear to be a prototype of public initiative, the examples of markets promoted by private initiative were not rare. [2]

The absence of interior reforms in Barcelona and Madrid until the 20th century is clear proof of these weaknesses in relation to other European cities. In the case of Barcelona, although the interior reform project was not carried out, it conditioned notably the market policy. The two biggest markets, those of Sant Josep and Santa Caterina, were affected by the so-called Gran Via C. This circumstance froze their renewal and the municipal finances were unable to replace them through the acquisition of new plots. [3] This contributed to the production of a paradox: the first, biggest and most monumental wrought-iron market halls never came to be the most active and never succeeded in attracting the activity from the old markets threatened by the interior reform, and it was soon found that they had been over-dimensioned.

The acquisition of public land for the markets was one of the constant concerns of the municipal representatives. It is not surprising that the foremost interventions were carried out on land disentailed from the religious orders (Sant Josep, Santa Caterina, Jerusalem), on plots freed by the Ministry of War (El Born market, Sant Antoni market), or on the same squares where outdoor markets had been held previously. Even in these cases, however, numerous problems arose and in many instances the plots proved quite costly (Jerusalem, Sant Antoni). The difficulty in obtaining land may explain, in part, the few private initiatives in the process of building and managing new markets. Although there existed, from a very early time, proposals of private groups who took as a model some French or Italian markets, these proposals did not prosper and when they succeeded in obtaining the municipal support, as occurred with the auction markets, they did not obtain the expected results and finally came to close down. [4]

In this confrontation between public and private initiative, the most significant episode was doubtless the one that took place in the municipality of Gràcia, which was the most populous town on the plain of Barcelona. There were two markets in Gràcia: the wrought-iron Llibertat market, which opened in 1888, and the Revolució market, which

was held on the square of the same name. In 1892, about one hundred meters away, a private group built and started up a market called the Abacería, in open conflict with the Town Council of Gràcia.[5] In 1897 Gràcia was amalgamated with the municipal district of Barcelona, together with the other towns of the plain which were affected by the Eixample (expansion district) plan approved in 1859, and Barcelona City Council inherited the lawsuit. Its efforts to acquire the Abaceria proving unsuccessful, in 1903 the City Council began the construction of a new wrought-iron building aimed to cover the market held at the square Plaça de la Revolució.[6] This building had been in operation for several years when the City Council finally succeeded in purchasing the Abaceria Central in 1911. The new Revolució market was then dismantled and part of its materials were re-used in the construction of the market of Sant Gervasi.[7] This sole serious attempt to establish a private market ended up by strengthening the market system's completely municipal character, which it has maintained to the present.

A comparison with other European and American cities makes the case of Barcelona even more singular and it is especially surprising when experts highlight the decisive period between 1868 and 1901 as "the peak moment of *laissez-faire*, the moment of maximum confidence of the system in the capacity of the private sector and the corresponding regression of the public administration in economic areas".[8] It is probable that the selfsame budgetary limitations of the municipality caused it to channel its efforts towards a service which provided considerable income as a result of the leases paid by the vendors. In this way it was possible to carry out a by no means insignificant renewal of many spheres of urban life.

2. The markets and the public space: El Born and Els Encants

One of the objectives of the market buildings was to free the public space from unwanted, congestive, unhealthy and anti-aesthetic activities. Indeed, during these years this desire was made patent in documents and actions. The resistances which arose are also quite visible, however.

The opening of the new wrought-iron market of El Born in 1876 allowed improvements to be undertaken at the old square where the market had been held since the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, the local inhabitants were hardly in agreement and lodged a complaint in which they expounded on the harm that they would suffer as a result of the distancing of the new market. In the complaint they affirmed that "adjacent to the markets is established a very large number of industries with products analogous or similar to the articles which are dispatched at the markets themselves and proof of this is what happens at the Rambla de San Josep, since on the ground floor of the houses nearest the market are found shops of all types of groceries, and above all of articles for clothing, salted fish, dried fruit and nuts and other products which are not what one could call fresh articles appropriate for dispatch at the markets. Your Excellency also knows that, adjacent to the markets, shops of kitchen utensils and other similar products likewise establish themselves, as is also shown by the shops of glazed ware, pottery and porcelain which are open at the aforementioned Rambla de San Josep. And, moreover, Your Excellency knows that, owing to the large crowds which are drawn by

the markets, numerous shops of ordinary clothing establish themselves, as is also shown by the shops found adjacent to the market of San Josep and on the side-streets Hospital, Petxina, Jerusalén and others. Now, therefore, this same circumstance had occurred, as is only natural, at the old Plaça del Born, where there were establishments of long tradition with large clienteles created by dint of years of serving them well, doubtless with great sacrifice of capitals over an extended period of time; and this circumstance has caused the value of the urban property in that area to rise, due to the animation which a market, with its affluence of products, always produces. If the market is removed to some other place, such conditions disappear and it is impossible for the shops of the aforesaid articles to find themselves visited by all the old customers, who are naturally drawn to make their purchases with economy...". Lastly, they requested permission for "the proprietors of the shops to continue to occupy, as up to now, an extension of four palms of the sidewalk, even if they may be set certain conditions of embellishment in the placement of the objects which they display to the public for their sale...". [9] The petition was rejected. This episode evidences the inertias in the commercial structure and shows the point to which the traditional markets were an uncomfortable exception in the city's public space. Any mercantile occupation of the street which would impede the circulation of persons and goods was to be forbidden. Its ideal place was the protected transparency of the new market building, which was safe for the circulation of buyers devoted to the orderly observation of the goods. The new wrought-iron and glass architectures of the markets, similar to those of the passages, exhibition halls and railway stations, were architectures of "transitoriness", as stated by Benjamin, of safe orderly circulation for mobile, nomadic persons. [10]

The problem of Els Encants (the second-hand market in Barcelona) was considered with the same focus of eliminating commercial activity from the public space. A city councillor affirmed: "neither Els Encants nor the vending stalls on the public way have any reason for being (...)".[11] So when the inhabitants of El Born proposed that this type of sale should be allowed around the Plaça del Born in order to activate the neighbourhood, this same councillor stated that "...it does not correspond to what is demanded by the modern advances and the spirit of the times... since, instead of seconding what has been resolved by the City Council, eliminating the market of Els Encants, it is sought, to the contrary, to establish another new one... the spirit of all the city councils has been against the continuation of Els Encants, whereby the petition of the local inhabitants means nothing, since it is impossible to issue an order that will please all... and what has to lend positive animation to such neighbourhoods is the construction of buildings and the complete development of all that is planned in the Park...". Even so, one of the members of the commission defended the complaint, arguing that there also existed "fairs and similar markets in leading capitals, including Madrid and Paris...". [12]

In 1888, with a view to the imminent holding of the Universal Exposition, "the Most Excellent City Council, on the supposed pretext that Els Encants, in the form in which it was established at Carrer Consolat and Plaça de San Sebastià, would vilify Barcelona... decreed at a stroke of the pen, the transfer of the vilifying Encants to the area around the market of Sant Antoni (...). Consequently, the old Encants, with all its defects and

with its 245 vendors, was installed (despite the protests of those who considered themselves harmed)" in the environs of the market of Sant Antoni.

As in other cities, the attempt to move beyond the traditional markets was often associated with the control of forms of urbanity and the moralization of customs.[13] The markets had theretofore been considered hardly recommendable places. For example, in petition from 1859 in relation to the transfer of the market of Hostafrancs, it was argued that: "... in the first place, the aforementioned school, remaining as it does in the midst of the stretch of sidewalk which serves as a square in such a way that it may be said that the whole front of the building forms a square, the boys and girls, who in a number of two hundred attend the said school, must hear and witness every day and at all hours the blasphemies, obscene and indecent words, brawls and disputes and all the rest which, as everyone knows, occurs at the market squares and which can only serve and does indeed serve as the poorest example of education of childhood and of the formation of good habits and customs".[14] Similar arguments were used in 1895 in a conference published against the market of Els Encants: "... And with respect to the uplifting spectacles which the vendors offer us on their market days, what can we say? There is no doubt that they place the culture of Barcelona on a level which 'honors it exceedingly'. The infernal clamor... formed for the most part by vulgar and obscene words and coarse insults, to which they treat each other, accompanied often by gestures and actions which are in no way edifying and other analogous niceties, produces an ill-assorted set of scenes which clash openly with the morality and decency appropriate to cities such as ours...". [15] In the regulations approved in 1898, this would be the object of Section 30: "Vendors have the duty of showing good manners and courteous behavior in their dealings among each other, the same as with the public and with the municipal employees of the market...".[16]

3. Towards a change of scale. Wholesalers, free market and public intervention

When the process of amalgamation of the municipalities of the plain of Barcelona came to an end in 1897, six markets had been built in Barcelona and the various towns of the plain had carried out their own initiatives.[17] Although the management had been fragmentary, they had taken part in a common experience. The Llibertat market in Gràcia, which had been built by the company La Maquinista Terrestre i Marítima, was similar to those of Barcelona. The markets of Clot and Unió (1889), designed by the municipal architect of Barcelona, Pere Falquès, in the town of Sant Martí de Provençals, were based on the experiences in Barcelona. These markets adopted a more economical construction and replaced the cast-iron pillars with brick masonry. In any case, the amalgamation of the towns imposed necessarily a new scale of administration, that is, a joint management of all these markets, with respect to both personnel (the director of markets, tax-collectors, inspectors, labourers and watchmen, forming a workforce of over 150 people at that time), and the regulation of their operation as provided in the Regulations of 1898.[18]

A file from 1900 presents a brief preliminary balance.[19] Soon after, the *Anuarios Estadísticos* (statistical yearbooks) published as from 1902 help to assess the situation

and offer a very useful overview. The first thing to be pointed out is the distribution of the revenues of the city's various markets (see figure 1). The market of Sant Josep (or La Boqueria) represents 40% of the total revenue of the city's 16 markets.[20]

Nevertheless, it was almost the only leading market which remained without a definite architecture, unfinished and basically unroofed. Also surprising is the description of the second market, that of Santa Caterina, which represented 12% of the tax revenues: "for the most part, this building is in a ruinous state and some reforms are being carried out at present". In short, the two most centrally-located and important markets were those which were in the worst condition, doubtless owing to the threat of the Gran Vía C of the Interior Reform. In the case of the market of Sant Josep (La Boqueria), in addition to this threat there was the indecision with respect to the future of the plot of the ex-convent of the Jerusalén nuns, a plot which a court ruling had returned its former owners. These were two causes of the precariousness which prevented the architectural planning of the markets but not the growth of their activity.

In June 1896 the City Council proposed the start-up of the process of expropriation of the Jerusalén plot in order to provide a final solution to the problem.[21] The main argument for such a costly acquisition was the installation of a central market aimed to accommodate the growing presence of wholesalers. The expropriation process, however, was interrupted almost immediately as one more example of the high degree of indecision which characterized the municipal policy on markets.

As in other cities, one may observe in Barcelona in the final decades of the 19th century many signs of the growing importance of wholesaling. In the series of initiatives aimed to put order into wholesaling, mention should be made of those which were concentrated in 1891. In that year it was proposed to use the Machine Gallery of the Universal Exhibition of 1888 as a wholesale fish market and another large building of the city as a facility for the accommodation, inspection and contracting of livestock.[22] At the same time, another expert opinion proposed the construction of a "market-depot and lazaretto" for hens at the market of Santa Caterina as an instrument for the health control of the growing number of imports.[23] According to the *Anuario Estadístico* of 1902, Barcelona was the city with the world's largest consumption of hens, which came mainly from Russia, Turkey, France, Italy and Portugal...[24]

In 1897 the same Machine Gallery was proposed as the Wholesale Poultry, Fruit and Fish Market, and the works began the following year. The Central Poultry Market alone went into operation, however.[25] The vendors' resistance is probably what prevented the completion of the project since in 1899 it was resolved to install the wholesale of fruits and vegetables at the market of El Born, in the space that was then occupied by the wholesale of fish, which was to be transferred to the Machine Gallery, as mentioned. Although this proposal was carried out, it did not last for long.[26]

Three sets of regulations were under preparation in these same years: the General Regulations on Markets and the Special Regulations on the Central Fish Market and on the Central Wholesale Fruit and Vegetable Market.[27] In any case, despite these and

other initiatives, the wholesale of fruits and vegetables was left distributed among the leading markets until 1921, at which time this function was being performed on 3,500 sq. m. at the market of Sant Josep, on 1,750 sq. m. at the market of Santa Caterina, on a little under 1,000 sq. m. at that of Sant Antoni, on almost 300 sq. m. at that of Sants, on 230 sq. m. at the Llibertat market in Gràcia and on 124 sq. m. at the market of El Clot.[28] Likewise, the constant increase of this function led to successive changes in the regulations.[29]

One of the most active advocates of the need for a wholesale fruit and vegetable market was the Catalan Agricultural Institute of San Isidre. Some paragraphs from its journal of 20 December 1913 give as good description of the malfunctioning of the market of Sant Josep (La Boqueria), which was a genuine central market of the city. "It is truly a pity to see the current process of entry and inspection of the fruits and vegetables which are to be sold to the public. Few people are unacquainted with the location and layout of today's market of San Josep. If they were to be told that in that narrow rear alley there are crowded daily some three hundred carts piled high with fruits and vegetables, they would surely consider such an affirmation impossible. Nevertheless it is true, quite true indeed. Such an incomplete and rudimentary system is another factor that causes depreciation in prices for the sellers, that is to say, the farmers, without benefiting the consumer. The reason is obvious. The carts of the plain of the river Llobregat must wait, it is to be assumed, from twelve at night when they reach the market to join the queue, until the sometimes late hour when, having sold their goods, they can turn homewards. Since there is little room available, agglomerated there are baskets and more baskets, there rise up great heaps of fruit which has been very hastily unloaded, almost dumped because of the crowding, because of the absolute lack of conditions, without time to arrange it or room to position it. This is the fault-ridden path which is followed up to the time of their sale by delicate products which, for these and other reasons, must be surrendered by the farmers at genuinely ruinous prices..."[30]

Within the context of the crisis of subsistence prompted by First World War, in February 1916, the article insisted: "One of the joint causes producing the so-called conflict of subsistence is, in regard to Barcelona, the prevailing disorganization of the city's markets, with the aggravating circumstance that, at the same time as the consumer is harmed, harm is likewise inflicted on the producers, that is to say, the farmers of the neighboring areas and even of the most distant ones… This is the sorry situation in which we find ourselves… a crisis involving a scarcity of supply in the city and abundance in the country. How can this conflict be solved? By establishing a free central market where contracting is carried out publicly and all necessary publicity is given to the price quotations, which would bring to an end the present disorder and prevailing situation of privileges."[31] Some of the city councillors, and quite especially the Catalan Agricultural Institute of San Isidre, denounced the interested resistances of highly influential groups. Indeed, despite the openly stated urgency of this initiative, it took three years for it to be imposed.

The arrival of General Martínez Anido, an especially authoritarian Civil Governor, in a context of intense social conflict, helped to unblock the situation. The new central fruit

and vegetable market became one of the foremost scenes of his image policy, with its decidedly interventionist seal, in relation to the subsistence problem. The concentration of the wholesalers in a single market was expected to increase competition and the correct formation of prices. The main concern of the Civil Government and of the City Council, however - and this can only be considered contradictory -, was the control of the regulated prices which governed the sale of the most critical products.

4. Public markets and their impact on their neighborhoods: markets and retailing structure

The relation between the markets and their neighborhoods is another aspect to be considered in the relation between public action and private initiative. In this respect, it could be useful to analyse the consequences of the planning of wholesale as well as the impact of the retail markets on their surroundings.

There is little debate about the reasons for having chosen the market of El Born as the wholesalers' market, perhaps because the choice was obvious in view of the municipality's financial limitations. As previously mentioned, it was definitely over-dimensioned and had been unable to generate the usual commercial fabric around itself, as may be seen from the records of the Industrial Register. Moreover, from the logistical standpoint this market's location could hardly be improved upon, situated as it was between the railway stations Estació de França and Estació del Nord, near the port and with easy connection to the Morrot station. Additionally, it was surrounded by broad thoroughfares which simplified access for carts and automobiles. This privileged situation explains the traditional localization of wholesalers of chemical products, colonial goods, and grain and rice around the old Plaça del Born, as may be seen in the records of the Industrial Register from the 19th and 20th centuries (see Figs. 2 and 3: Wholesale goods 1914, 1932)[32]. The centralization of the fruit and vegetable wholesalers marked the definitive transfer of the wholesale of fish from the market of El Born to the Machine Gallery of the Universal Exposition of 1888, on the other side of Ciudadela Park. Even so, the market proved insufficient so the ordinance did not limit wholesaling to the interior of the building and defined a broad area around it for this function. These changes contributed decisively to the activation of the neighborhood.

As pointed out by Andrew Lohmeier, it is difficult "to quantify the proportion of food retailing that took place in public markets as opposed to privately-owned retail shops".[33] If one makes a preliminary comparison in the central districts of Barcelona, the grocery shops (which also sold fruits and vegetables) represented about 40%, as opposed to the 60% represented by fruit and vegetable stalls at the markets. [34] The proportion drops to about 26% outside the market in the case of fish retailers, and to about 21 % in that of meat retailers. In addition to this concentration inside the markets, around the markets there was also polarized a significant part of the shops selling these foods, especially in the case of meat (with somewhat less in the case of fish and still less in the case of grocery shops). This is particularly visible in the markets of Sant Josep, Santa Caterina, Barceloneta, Sant Antoni and Hostafrancs, and to a lesser extent at Concepció market (see Fig. 4).

Nevertheless, a reading of the map also highlights that the largest concentrations of small neighborhood shops outside the influence of the markets may be observed in the most popular districts and that they show a density correlative to that of the population of these areas. On the other hand, it is quite visible that there is a void of this type of shops in the residential areas of higher status (see Fig. 4). This correlation between small grocery shops and popular neighborhoods has been observed in other cities, for example in the studies on Manchester conducted by Scola and, from a more general perspective, by John Benson and Gareth Shaw. These authors remark that if "market traders retained a role as suppliers of fresh food to the urban working class", (…) "small shopkeepers underwent a substantial increase in numbers, becoming linked inextricably with the satisfaction of working-class demand". [35]

5. A strong system of public markets born from historical weaknesses and lags

Between the years 1930 and 1970, when a progressive erosion of the markets was being observed in the more dynamic countries, an active policy was unfolding in this area in Spain. In the 1930s, it was of a fundamentally theoretical character and was led by the corps of municipal architects and their journal CAME. In the so-called Autarchy period, between 1939 and 1959, which was the most depressive and interventionist phase of the dictatorship, a decided impetus was lent to the building of markets. The gradual liberalization of the economy and the "developmentism" of the 1960s did not halt the expansion of the market system, which grew significantly in both Barcelona and Madrid to serve the districts which had arisen with immigration. In contrast to the post-war Europe, which incorporated more advanced commercial formulas in unequal competition with the markets, in Spain the selfsame weaknesses of the economy allowed a surprising expansion and consolidation of the public market system which, in the case of Barcelona, has been preserved wholly and has even increased in recent years. The late penetration of hypermarkets in the 1980s was accompanied by measures aimed to protect neighborhood shops and to avoid the effects which had been observed in other European countries.

The 1986 Special Plan for Food Retailing Facilities of the City of Barcelona approached precisely the markets as essential polarities and proposed the systematic renewal of the markets as a way of activating neighborhood retailing. The Municipal Institute of Markets, which was created in 1991, has been responsible for this renewal process, which is still under way and which has even entailed the building of new market halls[36].

Figures
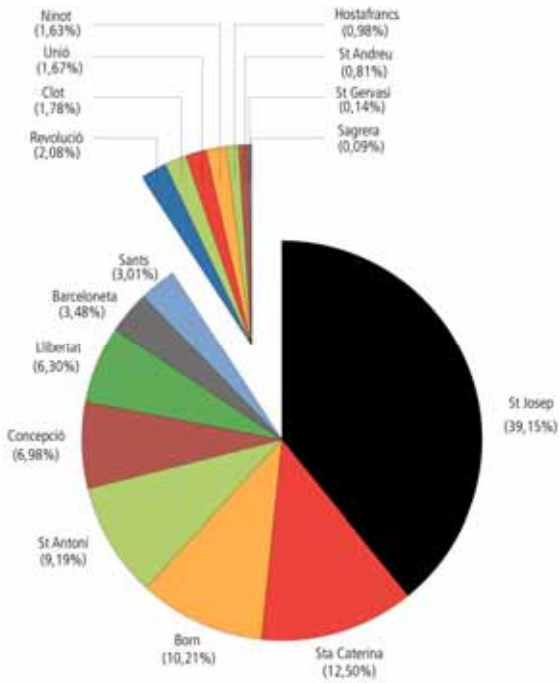
Fig. 1
Revenues from the markets of Barcelona, 1902. (Source: *Anuario Estadístico, 1902*)
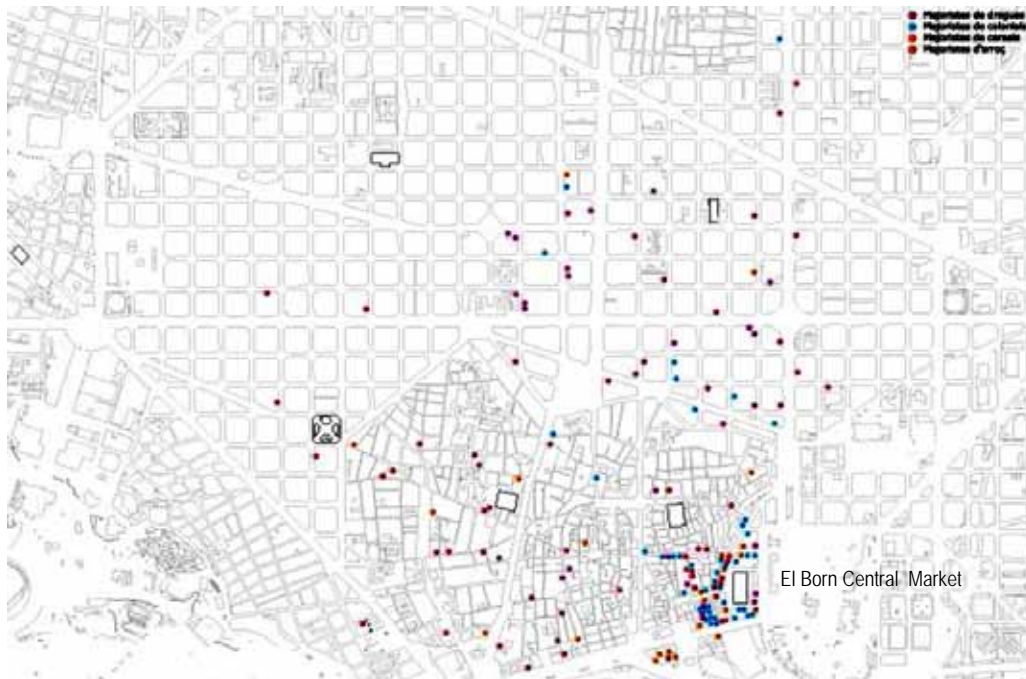
Fig. 2 Wholesalers of chemical products, colonial goods, and grain and rice, in 1914 (Source: ACA, Industrial Register)

Fig. 3   Wholesalers of chemical products, colonial goods, and grain and rice, in 1932 (Source: ACA, Industrial Register)

Fig. 4 Private sale of food products outside the markets (Source: ACA, Industrial Register) and location of the markets in central Barcelona, 1932.

[1] Lohmeier, Andrew, *Bürgerliche Gesellschaft* and Consumer Interests: The Berlin Public Market Hall Reform, 1867-1891, *Business History Review*, 73 (Spring, 1999), pp. 91-113.
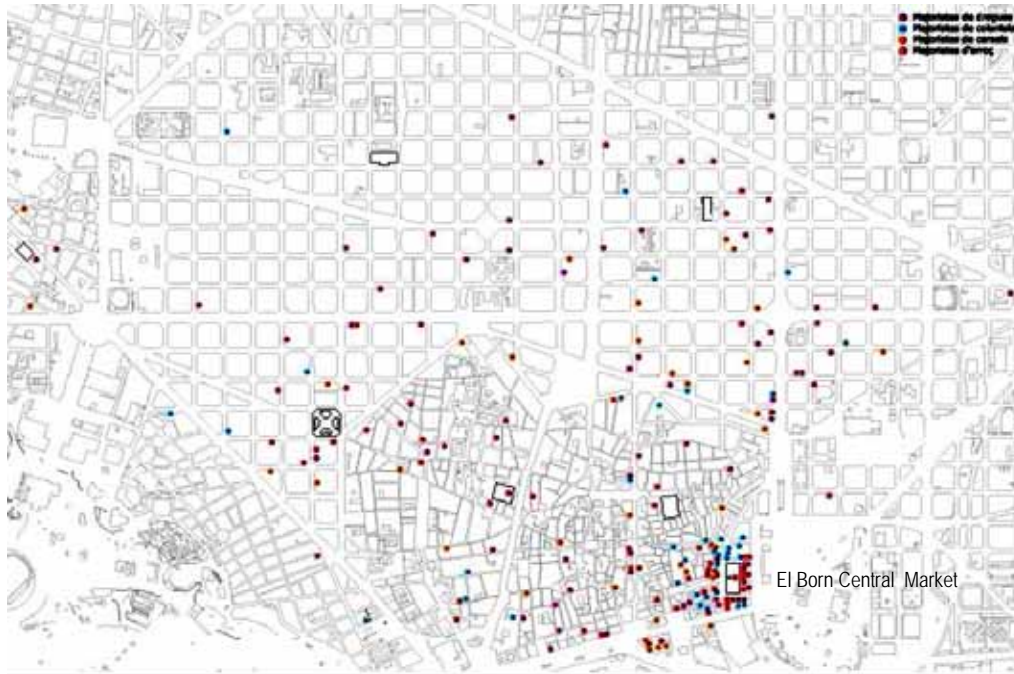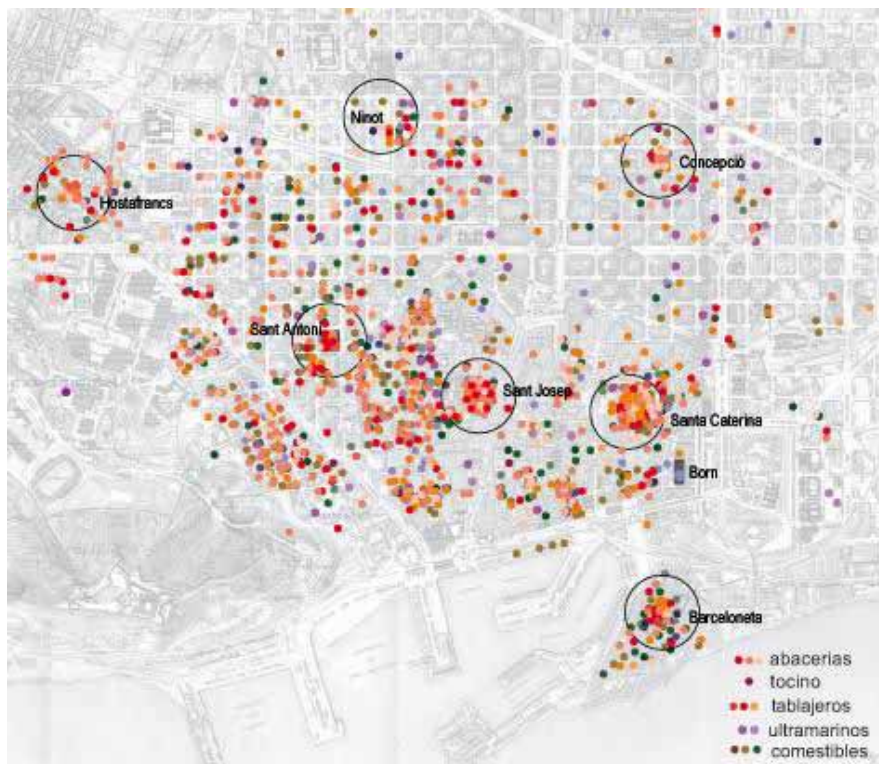
[2] Rish, Theodor, Bericht über Markthallen in Deutschland, Belgien, Frankreich, England und Italien (Berlin: Wolf Peiser) 1867

[3] In effect, Àngel Josep Baixeras's Interior Reform project of 1 March 1888 affected the markets of Sant Josep and Santa Caterina and newly proposed a market at Jonqueres and, in the Raval district, another market on the plot of the Casa de la Misericòrdia and one adjacent to the Drassanes. All were to be on the new roads B and C.

[4] For example, the file promoted by Julio Moricé, a native of Bordeaux, "as he and individuals of his family have built the celebrated markets of Bordeaux, the ones with what are perhaps the best features known anywhere (...) as there is no one who is not aware that the present conditions of the markets of Barcelona are not recommendable from either the economic standpoint or in relation to hygiene, and the public is not served as should be expected, and moreover the development which the public is undergoing make it clear that these disadvantages will increase progressively (...)" (AMAB, 24 August 1864, Commission for Public Works and Development /Section 3, File 3050. Ibid, File 3502, "Proposal of Mr Carlos Souton, 14 July 1871 (…) The establishment of markets which shall present all due conditions of hygiene, duration, solidity, economy, elegance, etc. etc, and since the applicant has built several markets abroad, including that of Naples, situated at the market square of that city, which have provided excellent results... he presents to you a proposal for the construction in this city of the markets which Your Excellency may consider appropriate and in the places which you were to designate... Either of two methods may be used for the construction of the markets: either by contracting the construction for a lump sum payable by months, quarters or years..., or else by means of the grant of a concession and operation of such markets for a period of ninety-nine years (...), Barcelona 13 February 1871. Years later, a proposal by Jaime Osmin Lacombre Dubousquet ("In the leading capitals of Europe such as London, Paris, Brussels and other important population centres such as Genoa and especially, in our neighbour France, such as Bordeaux, Lyon, Marseille, Toulouse, etc., there exist certain markets devoted to the daily and continuous auctioning of all types of food products...") sought to provide the free and direct supply and demand between the producer and the consumer, which would reduce prices. Finance Commission / Section 2, File 6539 "On the Establishment of Auction Markets for the Sale of Food Products", May 1877.

[5] The newspaper *Diario de Barcelona* of 13 December 1892 announced that a private group has erected "a large market or Abacería Central, built with all known advances". On 21 December the same newspaper announced that the facility had opened to the public. *Gaceta Municipal*, no. 29, 17 July 1950, pp. 741 to 746: "L'Abaceria Central".

[6] AMAB, Municipal Proceedings, 1899, 12 April, no. 94 fol. 273: "Approval is granted to the proceedings of the Advisory lawyer Buenaventura Grases in the suit with the Management of the 'Abacería Central' of Gràcia". Ibid. 1901, 6th Sept. "Pending opinion so that it may be conveyed to the Provincial Government that this City Council desists from the acquisition of the building "Abacería Central de Gràcia" for the installation of a public market..." . See also *Gaceta Municipal*, no. 29, 17 July 1950, pp. 741 to 746: "L'Abaceria Central". AAMM, 1901, 6 December: Proposal that the municipal architect shall proceed, with the Tax Administration, to verify the expert assessment of the markets of Llibertat, Revolució, Unió, Clot, Sagrera, Sant Andreu, Sants and Porvenir. AMAB, Municipal Proceedings, 1902, 2 December: it is resolved to auction the project for the construction of a market at Plaça de la Revolució, and a motion is passed so that, for the duration of the building work on the markets of Revolució and Sant Gervasi, the vendors may be allowed to maintain tables at the adjacent streets. 1903, 19 Nov.: approval is granted to the memorandum of the deed of award to the company Reinhvolol of Germany... of the construction of the market of Revolució. 19 Nov.: Auction of the wrought-iron part of the market of Sant Gervasi. 24 December: It is resolved to auction the construction of the foundations of Plaça de Galvany, 3 December. Auction "masonry, etc" Revolució,

[7] *Gaceta Municipal*, no. 29, 17 July 1950, pp. 741 to 746: "La Abaceria Central".

[8] Costas, Antón, Apogeo del liberalismo en "La Gloriosa". La reforma económica en el Sexenio Liberal (1868-1874), Siglo XXI, Madrid, 1988.

[9] AMAB, Commission for Public Works and Development, File 456 (Box 3/0-3/1).

[10] Teyssot, Georges, Habits/Habitus/Habitat (1996), http://urban.cccb.org (urban library): "In *Paris the Capital of the Nineteenth Century*, Walter Benjamin notes how iron and glass were avoided in dwellings while such materials came to be used in passages, covered markets, pavilions for expositions and train

stations: 'buildings which served transitory purposes'. Two contrasting modes of subjectivity began to insinuate themselves into the world of things: on the one hand, the 'transitoriness' that determines a sort of man, mobile and nomadic; and on the other, the old individualism of the inhabitant par excellence who defends his traditional 'permanence' or 'allocation'... It is certainly true that recent studies, for example, on the Victorian country house in Great Britain, or on the apartment building during the Haussmann era, tend to qualify Benjamin's assertion that 'iron, then, combines itself immediately with functional moments of economic life'".

[11] AMAB, Municipal Proceedings, 1879, 23 September, no. 61, fol. 411

[12] AMAB, Municipal Proceedings, 1882, no. 64, 31 August 1882, fol. 276 v, "A fair analogous to Els Encants shall be established at Plaça Comercial" (Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday); 5 September, fol. 279v et seq. Motion of the councillor Cabot against the establishment of a fair analogous to Els Encants at Plaça Comercial.

[13] Tangires, Helen, Public Markets and Civic Culture in Nineteenth Century America (Baltimore: John Hopkins U. P., 2003) SCHIEMCHEN, J CARLS, K. Schiemchen, James, Carls, Kenneth, The British Market Hall. A Social and Architectural History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999). Lemoine, Betrand, Les Halles de Paris. L'histoire d'un lieu, les péripèties d'un reconstruction, la succesion des projets, l'architecture des monuments, l'enjeu d'une "Cité" (Paris : L'Equerre,1980). BAILLY, G.H. & LAURENT P.H. Bailly, Gilles-Henry, Laurent, Philippe, Lefébure, Christophe, La France des Halles & Marchés (Toulouse : Privat, 1998). Thompson, Victoria, "Urban Renovation, Moral Regeneration: Domesticating the Halles in Second Empire Paris", *French Historical Studies*, 20, Winter 1997, pp. 87-109. Bluestone, Daniel,"'The Pushcart Evil'. Peddlers, Merchants, and New York City's Streets, 1890-1940", *Journal of Urban History*, vol. 18, n.1, Nov. 1991, 68-92.

[14] AMAB, Commission for Public Works and Development, File 1530 3/1, 18 March 1859.

[15] Pirretas, Mariano, Inconveniencias y perjuicios que Los Encantes y el Rastro causan al Comercio al detalle en particular y a Barcelona en general, Conferencia en la Liga de Defensa Industrial y Comercial de Barcelona (Barcelona: 1895).

[16] 1898 *Reglamento para el régimen de los mercados de esta Ciudad. Aprobado por el Excmo Ayuntamiento en Consistorio de 13 de abril de 1898*, (AHCB, Entid. 1-25 box 2,1). See also the comments on El Born and San Josep in Coroleu, Joseph, Guía del Forastero en Barcelona y sus alrededores (Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1887), p. 262.

[17] The limitation of the municipal district was decisive in the unending matter of the slaughterhouse. The process had become eternalized from the time of the proposal included by Fontserè in his project for the Park area in 1872. This project was quickly rejected for reasons of hygiene. The start of the acquisition of some land for its construction in the municipal district of Sant Martí de Provençals proved to be useless owing to the difficulties posed by this municipality. The subsequent attempts to install it in the municipal district of Sants did not prosper either, and it was not until 1886 that its construction was granted on the land of La Vinyeta, between the streets Aragó, Tarragona, Diputació and Vilamarí, within the municipal district of Barcelona. The amalgamation entailed that the new City Council inherited the various facilities of the different municipalities and it had to plan them. This was quite clear in the case of the slaughterhouses. Those of Sants, Les Corts, Sant Gervasi and Sant Andreu were eliminated, while those of Gràcia and Sant Martí de Provençals were provisionally maintained in operation. The various municipalities of the plain had maintained their own policies with respect to markets, which had to be integrated as from that time into a much broader and homogeneous system, following criteria which were already clear and explicit from the time of the discussions on the Eixample project and from the time of Cerdà's proposal. A fair number of years would still be required to achieve this, but the amalgamation was unquestionably a decisive step in this direction.

[18] *Reglamento para el régimen de los mercados de esta ciudad. Aprobado por el Excmo. Ayuntamiento en consistorio de 13 de abril de 1898*, Barcelona, 1898

[19] AMAB, Artistic and Environmental Heritage, File 7103, Box 46174, Mercats Barcelona 1900.

[20] *Anuario Estadístico de Barcelona*, 1902, pp. 503-530.

[21] AMAB, Municipal Proceedings, 1895, 2 July, no. 87 fol. 13v; 16 July 1896, no. 89 fol. 94v to 106; 1897, no. 90 fol. 149; Ibid. No. 91 fol. 124; 29 December 1897, Ibid. No. 91 fol. 705v; *Ibid*, 22 February 1899. *Ibid*. no. 94 fol. 127; on 14 July 1898 was published the list of owners, houses and plots affected by the expropriation in the *Boletín Oficial de la Provincia* p.1; 25 February 1899, Ibid. No. 92 fol. 204.

[22] Municipal Proceedings, 3 October 1882, fol. 298, on the construction of eight sheds in the interior of the market of El Born for the wholesale of fish; 19 June 1883, AAMM, fol. 193; Municipal Proceedings, 17 March 1891, fol. 181 "It is resolved to devote a large building in this city to the accommodation, inspection and contracting of livestock". 25 June 1891 AAMM fol. 462 "A depot shall be built for the wholesale of fish, in the building of the Park which was occupied by the railway materials gallery of the Universal Exposition". On 1 December 1897 it was resolved to auction the construction of the wholesale poultry and fruit markets.

[23] Municipal Proceedings, 19 May 1891, fol. 362; 10 September AAMM 1891 fol. 162; 15 September 1891 AAMM fol. 176 "... market-depot and lazaretto for hens... it being acknowledged by all that the foreign hens, as a result of the voyages which they must make more or less heaped up, are those which contain the infectious principles…"

[24] *Anuario Estadístico de Barcelona*, 1902, p. 519 et seq. "Mercado de la Volatería": "...Barcelona is the city of the world with the greatest consumption of hens, which generally come from Russia, Turkey, France, Italy and Portugal..." Years later, this same Yearbook stated: "From the East: the eggs of greatest consumption and, at the same time, of the most business, since from here they are sent to Madrid, Valencia, Saragossa and the other province capitals..." (*Anuario Estadístico de Barcelona*, 1911, p. 477). With respect to fish: "Wholesale fish market": "...Already in 1891 the expert inspector of fish, Baldomero Burgada stated the conditions which were to be met by a special wholesale market. He explained the need for the warehouse-depots to be united in the market, obliging the closure of the existing facilities, in order to be able to carry out a constant supervision of the fish in storage or refrigerated at the depots. Mr Porta, the technical manager of the market, considered that it was of interest to achieve quickly the installation of a large cold-storage chamber which would preserve the fish by dry cold, whereby this savorous food article would not lose part of its taste conditions... There is a very large consumption of salted fish in Barcelona and cod is the unvarying dinner dish of the worker families..." (*Anuario Estadístico de Barcelona*, 1902, p.522 et seq.)

[25] Municipal Proceedings, 1 December 1897, AAMM, no. 91, fol. 605v-606 "Moreover, the wholesale poultry, fruit and fish markets shall proceed to be installed…" On 9 February 1898, AAMM, no. 92, fol. 138v; 26 October 1898, AAMM, no. 93, fol. 312; 12 July 1899 AAMM no. 95 fol. 18; 12 July 1901 AAMM, no.106, fol. 42 v, a new allusion to the "Poultry and Fruit Market".

[26] Municipal Proceedings, 29 March 1899, no. 94, fol. 240; Municipal Proceedings, 1906, Index, Box 138 (11th July, vol. 1, 390v. The poultry market occupied 5,444 sq. m. of the Machine Gallery building of the Universal Exposition. The fruit market, on the same plot, occupied almost 3,300 sq. m., but it was never used. The wholesale fish market, occupying some 390 sq. m., was located at Carrer Marquesa near Estació de França railway station. All these plots are characterized by their proximity to the port and the railway. "Listing and Assessment of the Markets of the City", Q 147, File 7.103, Box 46174, Artistic and Environmental Heritage.

[27] Municipal Proceedings 1901, Index, Box 106, 25 January 1901, vol.1, fol. 70v, pending opinion to modify the current regulation on markets. Municipal Proceedings, 1906, Index, Box 138, 31 January 1906, vol. 1, 250v, "to approve the three regulations which are attached hereto, for the system of markets in general and the special regulations of the central wholesale fish and fruit and vegetable markets, and their publication in the Municipal Gazette, 31 January 1906. The Municipal Gazette was probably programmed to appear on these dates, but the fact is that the first one was not published until 1914.

[28] "Project for the preparation of part of El Born market for the wholesale of fruit and vegetables", October 1920, File 7108, Box 046177 (13/88/803)

[29] AMAB, Artistic and Environmental Heritage, "Project for the preparation of part of El Born market for the wholesale of fruit and vegetables", October 1920, File 7108, Box 046177 (13/88/803)

[30] PUJADES, J.M. "Un mercado central de frutas y verduras" *Revista del Instituto Agrícola Catalán de San Isidre*, 20 December 1913, Year LXII, Book 24, p. 371. He remarks on some of the conclusions of the exposition submitted to the City Council: "…There would then be a unification of prices and the central market would regulate not only the prices of Barcelona but also those outside the city, whereas today we find that not even the prices of the capital can be unified. If this market were to be installed in appropriate premises and in a suitable location, we would have the facility of forwarding dispatches when the existence of a specific product were to be so abundant that it would oblige its sale at a low price; this facility would exist if the market were to be situated near a railway". He also proposed the use of cold-storage chambers.

[31] "Las subsistencias y el mercado de Barcelona", *Revista del Instituto Agrícola Catalán de San Isidre*, 5 February 1916, Year LXV, Book 3, p. 33. In November 1916 a proposal was sent to the Finance Commission in this respect: Municipal Proceedings, 1916, Index, no. 217, (9 November, vol. 6, fol. 48v) "A proposal is sent to the Finance Commission to install a Central Market, contracting center and depot for vegetables, fruit, etc."

[32] Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Industrial Registre (*Matrícula Industrial*), 1914 - 1932.

[33] Lohmeier, Andrew, "*Bürgerliche Gesellschaft* and Consumer Interests: The Berlin Public Market Hall Reform, 1867-1891", *Business History Review*, 73 (Spring 1999), 91-113. "The growth possibilities of small shops in the central city faced the same predicament as the public markets: limited room to grow, little capital investment in technology, and paucity of wholesale suppliers" p. 94.

[34] This corroborates the ratio between markets and retailers in the area which had formed the municipality of Barcelona before the Amalgamation.

[35] Benson, Johon, Shaw, Gareth, The Evolution of Retail Systems, c. 1800-1914(Leicester, UK: UP, 1992), p. 200.

[36] Guàrdia, Manel, Oyón, José Luís , Usandizaga, Miguel, "Cross transfers and local planning paths. The Barcelona market system", (Delhi: 12TH International Planning History Conference, 2006). Guàrdia, Manel, Oyón, José Luís "Los mercados públicos en la ciudad contemporánea. El caso de Barcelona", *Biblio 3W, Revista Bibliográfica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, Vol. XII, nº 744, 25 de agosto de 2007, http://www.ub.es/geocrit/b3w-744.htm

Pioneers in Spanish town planning: César Cort Botí

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The aim of this paper is to describe the work of the first lecturer in town planning in Spain, the architect and engineer César Cort Botí (Alcoy[1], 1893- Alicante, 1978), and to give an outline of the scientific and urban context in which he developed his work on town planning. This study will include the period up until the Spanish Civil War.

The principal cities in Spain underwent considerable growth during the second half of the 19th century, due to the Industrial Revolution, and this growth was both informal and unplanned. The pre-industrial city and the new towns suffered from over-crowding, dirt and disease because of this growth. Various problems arose, not only involving public health and epidemics, but also economic segregation caused by immigration, difficulties encountered in integrating new methods of transport, and the precarious nature of over-extended infrastructures and services. In the decade of the 1840s, many studies were carried out into causes of death among the working classes, and many of these studies concluded that the high death rate was due to the physical and public health conditions of the crowded cities in which these people lived, where public health services were absent. These conclusions could not be ignored by the authorities.

Compared with American or European industrial development and the resulting urban spread, Spanish development came later and was on a smaller scale, but the underlying tendency was the same. In 1857 in Spain, only Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia and Seville had more than 100,000 inhabitants, but by 1900 their populations had grown to 539,000, 533,000, 230,000 and 149,000 inhabitants respectively. By the same year, the populations of Málaga, Murcia and Zaragoza reached 100,000, although later on, major population growth was mainly centred on Madrid and Barcelona. In 1930, the population in Madrid and in Barcelona become to the million of inhabitants. This rapid increase in the urban population continued, so that by 1940, demographics had changed the structure of the country. Although the resulting problems mainly affected the urban environment, rural life was also influenced: in fact, the majority of the population was still rural, with only 14.9% of the population living in towns by 1930, compared with 46.4% in the most urbanised country, Great Britain[2].

This new situation created the need for a new approach to both concepts procedures of cities[3]. A major effort was made to implement new styles of city intervention and management as a new kind of society emerged, with a middle class based on capitalism and a Marxist working class. Up until the 1930s, the three dominant approaches to town planning and design were expansion of the existing city, renovation of parts of the pre-industrial city for the benefit of the emerging middle class, in search of quality space, and the creation of new towns, which attempted to offer a new way of living based on philanthropic principles, and a new kind of urban landscape.

In Spain, as in other Western European countries in the second half of the 19th century, urban expansion was based on an ordered, geometrical design built around the existing cities, and the city was conceived of as a space for regimented and ordered middle class intervention. This idea was implemented in many cities, the most important example being the expansion of Barcelona designed by the engineer Ildefonso Cerdá, who wrote the first manual on town planning, *The general theory of Urbanisation*, in 1987, and whose work had an important influence on later urban theories. One of the first to acclaim his ideas was the architect and engineer, César Cort Botí, who disseminated Cerdá's proposals for urban improvement in many of his texts.

At this time in Spain, new and specific legislation existed which governed this kind of geometric expansion, comprising specific regulations and laws. However, application of this legislation was difficult, and usually impoverished the original project. The laws in force at the beginning of the 19th century, were the Regular City Extension Law of 1876, the Regular Extension Law of 1892, specific to Madrid and Barcelona, the Town Sanitation and Internal Reform Law of 1895, and the Compulsory Purchase Law of 1879. These laws, governing town planning mainly based on the urban schemes, continued to be in force until 1924, when the Municipal Statute was passed in response to the need for new town planning legislation.

In Spain, the City Beautiful movement was not only seen in terms of improving infrastructure and sanitation, but was also considered a means of dignifying the urban environment, and Baroque and Neoclassical techniques such as perspective were used. However, middle class geometric expansion did not provide for the working class's need for housing, leading to irresolvable problems of uncontrolled periphery growth. At the same time, city centre intervention at the end of the 19th century and first half of the 20th century in Spain led to the creation of the "grandes vías", like the Italian "sventramentos". In 1908, the Vía Layetana was built in Barcelona, connecting the old city and the new area of expansion. The resulting revalorisation of the land on either side of the boulevard led to the construction of grand buildings along its length. In Madrid, construction of the Gran Vía began in 1910, although the original proposal had been put forward some years before. The idea was to cut through the existing city, financed by a revalorisation of the land on either side of the new boulevard. The "gran vía" formed a characteristic feature of inner city reform projects for Bilbao, in 1923, Zaragoza, in 1925, Valencia, in 1928 and Murcia, this latter project being carried out by César Cort in 1926.

Besides the geometrical expansion and inner city renovation projects, the third principal city planning innovation was the creation of new cities. In 1882, Arturo Soria put forward the original idea of a garden city, anticipating Howard's creation and popularisation of the same. Arturo Soria's lineal garden city constituted an integrated territorial vision, where the new urban garden city was based on the concept of mobility: his city was not just a city but also the relationship between the land on which it was developed and existing cities. However, his ideas were only put into practice once, by the *Madrid Urbanisation Company*. He also published the *Lineal garden city, sanitation, agricultural, engineering and urbanization review* journal, which first appeared in 1897.

After Arturo Soria, Hilarión González del Castillo was also a proponent of the lineal garden city, but he had more success abroad than in his own country.

In Spain, Howard's garden city philosophy was promoted through his attendance at the international conferences organised by the International Federation of Garden Cities, and the publication of interviews and articles about Raymond Unwin and Howard in several journals. This was of great importance at the time, given the lack of access to Spanish translations, and the lack of education in foreign languages among architects. For example, *Der Städtebau nach Künstlerichen Grundsätzen* by Camillo Sitte was only translated into Spanish for the first time in 1927, by Emilio Canosa. The main proponent of garden cities in Spain was Ciprià de Montoliu, in Barcelona, who founded the *Civitas* journal, published by Barcelona's Social Museum. César Cort, who joined the Garden Society of Madrid in 1919, was also very interested, adopting the more salient points of Howard's philosophy, as well as the ideas of Unwin and Barry, embodied in their design of Letchworth.

As a result of Spanish neutrality in the First World War, Spain witnessed significant economic growth between 1914 and 1918. The associated acceleration of the industrialisation process brought concerns about urban development to the fore, with architects, civil engineers and the administration all feeling that a new science was needed. In 1914, the new Architecture Study Plan was proposed, which incorporated a new subject called Project Design and Sanitary Infrastructures, for cities. There had never been a similar subject before; previous urban studies had concentrated solely on sanitary infrastructures and public health. At that time in Spain, the only Schools of Architecture in existence were in Madrid and Barcelona. In 1918, César Cort was appointed Professor at the Madrid School of Architecture, and became the first to teach the new subject, which he proposed calling "Urbanology". As in the Barcelona school, the predominant influence in Madrid was the German school, represented mainly by Camillo Sitte, Joseph Stübben and Karl Henrici, and most Spanish architects or students of architecture went to Germany if they wished to study abroad, and in the case of urban studies, to Berlin and the Charlottemburg Seminar. Following the contacts he made at the international conference, Cort also introduced Anglo-Saxon urban theories into the Madrid School.

As representative of the Spanish Society of Architecture, César Cort attended the Paris Inter-allied Congress in 1919, the 1920 Conference organised by the London City Council, and several International Federation of Garden City conferences (later called Housing and Town Planning Conferences). Again, as representative of the Spanish Society of Architecture, and also of several other institutions such as the Ministry for Art, he attended the Gotteborg Conference in 1923. Representatives of the Social Reform Institute, such as Amós Salvador, López Valencia and Ricardo Bastida, attended the London Congress in 1920, returning to Spain with the idea of applying the policy developments on social housing and renting put forward at the Congress. These ideas were strongly criticised by Cort, who felt that it was pointless to copy policies when both the contexts and conditions of Great Britain and Spain were so different. His own ideas were highly influenced by contact with Henry R. Aldridge, John Nolen, Alfred Agache,

Eugéne Hénard and Howard, and he was also an admirer of George Burdett Ford, the theoretician who transformed the "city beautiful" into the "city scientific" and in the post war period, he worked in France in the *Renaissance des cities*. Later Cort put forward this idea as a proposal to the post Spanish Civil War government, but it aroused no interest among the authorities.

In the 1920s, *Architecture* [4], the Spanish Society of Architects' journal, published articles dealing with the town planning projects being developed at the Madrid School of Architecture. One of these articles, about a small town in the north of central Spain, Ciudad Rodrigo (Salamanca Province), was widely disseminated. César Cort presented the student's work at the Spanish Architecture and Urban Congress of Madrid in 1926, and it was also published as part of the *Schemes of cities*, a posthumous publication of work by Gustavo Fernández Balbuena, edited by Otto Czekelius in 1932. The same article is precedent of the book, *Murcia, a simple example of urban design* [5], published in 1932 with a prologue by Joseph Stübben.

In documentation relating to the 1924-25 Urbanology course, continuous reference is made to Joseph Stübben's handbook, *Stadtebau*, and to Camillo Sitte's *Construction of cities*. Ildefonso Cerdá is introduced, and *Vers une Arquitecture* by Le Corbusier is mentioned. Part of Henry R. Aldridge's book, *The case for town planning* [6], is analysed, as is *The civic Art* by T. H. Mawson, together with some of George Burdett Ford and Nelson P. Lewis's proposals. The articles published in the early years of the journal *Sociological Review,* on Patrick Geddes's *Survey of cities,* were also recommended.

It was at this time that urban design began to be considered not just as a means of organising a horizontal space to be filled with buildings, but as an integrated overview of the future life of the city, as a completely new way to create a city. Spatial, social and economic factors needed to be integrated and considered as a complex whole, something which had never happened before. In 1923, the Ministry of Works, prompted by the Social Reform Institute, organised the National Construction Conference, in an attempt to find an answer to the different problems faced by housing construction: materials, the economic situation and social housing, and all parties involved in the process were invited. Acting as the representative for the Spanish Society of Architects, César Cort participated in the section on co-ordination of the different activities involved in the construction process. The conclusions of the Conference were to form the basis of town planning law in 1923, but a change in the political situation and the coming to power of Primo de Rivera meant that this was never developed. However, the conclusions were a precedent to the Municipal Statute.

In 1924, the Municipal Statute [7] was approved. It introduced a new approach to intervention, proposing expansion plans for municipalities with a population of 10,000 inhabitants, and a growth of 20%. In this respect, the Statute was more a conceptual, methodological and instrumental formulation than a general experience. The type of expansion proposed was much more controlled than the geometric expansion which had to be approved by Central Government; new expansion was to be approved by the Town Councils. The Municipal Statute meant the necessity for technical professionals

in town planning and urban design, and these were not available; there was no relation between the needs and the existing professionals. César Cort denounced the situation and asked for the educational system to be adapted to the new needs and for the professionalisation of town planning and urban design science. That year the Spanish Architects' Congress decided to focus their next Congress on the urban issue alone, seeking consolidation of the discipline. In order to achieve this, it would be necessary to give systematic and theoretical support to the new science.

On the other hand, Town Council concerns about urban intervention in their towns were very specific. Orense, a town in the north of Spain where César Cort worked in 1925, would be an example of this. The objectives here of urban intervention were to resolve public health problems, such as the general water supply and sanitation services infrastructure, and to decide on the best sites for the indoor market, the slaughterhouse and the open-air market. This latter point was of great importance: it entailed developing an accurate map of the city in order to define the plots and control future expansion or inner city renovation. The projects were financed with a loan from the Spanish Local Credit Bank, created in 1925 in order to give economic support to the Municipalities, as laid down in the Municipal Statute. However, as town planning legislation, the Municipal Statute was insufficient, and the need for a national town planning law was recognised. The issue was raised in 1925, at the first Municipal Spanish Congress, by César Cort among others, and arguments were made in favour of a National Town Planning Law and a National Institute for Construction. Nevertheless, such a law would not be introduced until 1956.

In 1926, the XI Congress of Architecture (also the first on Town Planning) was held in Madrid, and this is an important landmark in the development of town planning as a scientific discipline in Spain. César Cort was the speaker on teaching town planning, and other leading lights such as Gustavo Fernández Balbuena (Congress Secretary) Fernando García Mercadal, Modesto López Otero, Secundino Zuazo, Manuel Sanchez Arcas, Teodoro Anasagasti, Amadeo Llopart and Nicolás Rubió Tudurí also attended and participated in the Congress. In his paper, César Cort presented the course programme and gave his ideas on the new science of Urbanology, which differed from the German Stadtebau and English Town Planning. He saw Urbanology much more as a dynamic process than the concept of Urbanisation introduced by Ildefonso Cerdá, proposing that the central concern of Urbanology should be the overall functioning of the city.

Although some, mainly César Cort, felt that Congress should be the reserve of architects, many others felt that the complexity of Urbanology called for an inter-disciplinary approach, involving civil engineers, lawyers and other technical experts. Among them was the civil engineer José Paz Maroto, who was closely involved in town planning because of his work with Madrid City Council, and who had worked with César Cort in some competitions. He wrote several articles about town planning, and in the Civil Engineer's Review, calling for the participation of civil engineers in the development of the new discipline. Meanwhile, César Cort demanded that city development be directed by an Urbanologist, and that this Urbanologist be an architect

because of issues relating to civic art, feeling that an aesthetic appreciation was necessary in order to direct developments in Urbanology. All other technical experts involved were to be limited to their own fields of expertise, reserving the global vision for the architect.

Professionalising and disseminating the new science was a necessity[8], and César Cort in particular strove to consolidate the idea of disseminating Urbanology, using the work of Ortega y Gasset as a philosophical base. In the first three decades of the 20th century in Spain, the entire cultural movement was suffused with Ortega's philosophy, an elite minority position holding the idea that the State must put government before citizens. Dissemination was achieved through conferences, publication of articles and attending national and international congresses. César Cort was believed to be an accomplished speaker, and was also an unflagging traveller, both in Spain and abroad. His texts are neither a systematic presentation of his beliefs, nor a technical guide, but rather a compendium of thoughts and ideas combined with moral judgements and personal information, containing, nevertheless, interesting reflections on Urbanology.

But in the 30s, changes began to be seen in town planning. Clear evidence of this is that planning began to be seen as separate from the architectural culture of construction and engineering, and city intervention was considered more in its social and economic aspect than solely in a spatial dimension. At first, this change was brought about by increasing knowledge on some of the factors which defined the situation and possibilities for development. The survey introduced by Patrick Geddes became part of the professional procedure, and stimulated the development of quantifiable methods. In 1929, the Madrid City Council held an international town planning contest based on plans for the city's expansion. The City Council's technical services drew up a report on the city[9], describing and presenting the over-ambitious aims of the competition for the use of participants. César Cort participated, with Joseph Stübben as partner, and they were classified among the top six finalist teams. There was no outright winner, and the first classified team was formed by Secundino Zuazo and Hermann Jansen. The Cort-Stübbens proposal was based on the creation of satellite towns, a radial road system and the prolongation of the Lineal City[10].

César Cort propounded the predominantly municipal character of Urbanology in many articles. He demanded social commitment from architects, and he was very critical of their ethical behaviour. In accordance with his principles, he stood for, and was elected councillor of Madrid City Council from 1931 to 1936, consequently reducing his teaching commitments. He was a monarchist and a liberal in a republican, socialist City Council. He maintained his controversial stand when defending the City Council's responsibility for town planning in the face of a Central Government proposal to create access to the capital city, and again when he criticized land management and called for the acquisition of land in order to benefit from rising land values generated by developments in transportation such as the railway.

In 1932, a new architecture study plan for the final year of the architecture degree came into force, introducing a subject which was a continuation of the previous year's subject,

Sanitation and Public Health in buildings and towns. César Cort continued to teach, but because of political problems, was no longer legally responsible for Urbanology.

His book, *Murcia, an example of a simple urban scheme*, was published that year, and César Cort used the town plan he had developed, commissioned by the mayor of Murcia in 1925, to illustrate his approach to Urbanology. The book represented a kind of guide to Urbanology, with strong British influences. The main themes dealt with in the book are the importance of systemising the information process, his theories on city morphology, the *nucleology theory* and territorial perspective, and his criticisms of the zoning concepts which were then starting to appear with greater frequency. His approach was not that of a conservative but of an economic liberal[11]. This was one of the first town planning books to be published in a luxury format, something which then was not very common in town planning publications, although the map reproductions were not very clear. The development project which formed the basis of the book outlined the conditions to be established for the future city, but the plan was soon modified, and only partially put into practice. The plan demonstrated a new way of thinking, but traditional planning approaches and conceptual principles continued to hold sway in town planning in the big cities.   In fact, town planning in Madrid was more advanced than, for example, German and Italian town planning, and went beyond simple expansion plans. The principle strands of Cort's ideas are gathered in this book, and can be presented schematically:

Information about the city:

He considered detailed knowledge of the city and its conditioning factors, such as location and climate, developmental processes, legal factors, typology and continuity, to be fundamental when considering intervention in a city. Systematic surveying processes were also presented, using new technological advances.

Nucleology as a regional structure:

In 1920, with the initial success of the garden city of Letchworth, the Garden Town Planning Association defined the garden city thus: "A garden city is a city defined by life and healthy industries; on a scale which permits a satisfactory social life, but no bigger; situated on a rural belt; with property which is public or held by the community[12]".

A schematic figure gave a graphic representation of *nucleology* configuration for cities of the future. Taking the original size of the city, it proposed that whilst there may be spiritual and economic growth, this would be directed to suburban and new satellite towns, whose size and population would be restricted, and which should always have good transport connections whilst at the same time retaining connections with the surrounding rural area [13]. The plan looked not only at the municipal limits, but also at the areas on the edge of the territory. A satellite town would be structured around a civic centre, where spiritual needs (church and education), material needs (markets), leisure needs (theatres and cinema), administration needs and housing would be integrated. It was not necessary to have all the facilities in each satellite town, but the

different facilities would have to be co-ordinated and accessible. The rural belt functioned as a support for agricultural, industrial and transportation systems.

César Cort voiced concerns about the rural world which were answered with the establishment of the Urbanology Seminar, which had as its first director his disciple, José Fonseca. The Seminar began work in 1932, although it was not inaugurated until 1935, and was operative until the beginning of the Civil War[14]. The original idea was to create a multi-disciplinary institution similar to the Parisian "Institut des hauts études d'Urbanisme". It looked mainly at colonisation processes taking place in the rural world, similar to those in the Italian Agro pontino. The approval of the Spanish Hydraulic Act in 1932, one of the first approaches to integrated territorial development, had a great impact, and the contest held to develop plans for the new villages in the Guadalmellato and Guadalquivir river irrigation areas, in 1933, had an enthusiastic response, with both César Cort and José Fonseca participating in the Guadalquivir [15] contest, although on different teams.

Greening:

The weight given to green spaces in César Cort's approach was due to its significance for public health, in terms of providing access to sun and air. He said, "Big cities need a system of parks connected by wide roads in order to purify the air and make movement easier; expansion must be carried out avoiding agglomerations of buildings, and forming a series of towns connected by park systems[16]." With this in mind, he quantified and compared ratios of open space per inhabitant and established the need for a hierarchy ranging from green belts to private gardens.

He was concerned for the protection of trees and urban vegetation, and whilst a councillor, denounced the felling of trees in Madrid and in San Fernando Royal Academy of Fine Arts reports insisted on the replacement of every tree which had been cut down in order to make way for the construction of the city[17]. He felt that the selection of plants for a project should take into account the geographical conditions, and was interested in gardening, as is evidenced by the garden "Los Molinos", in Madrid, now surrounded by urban development but then a retirement home projected by him as a Secesionist palace which he designed for himself with a typical Mediterranean garden reminiscent of the Alicante landscape

Communications:

Transport is of prime importance in regional planning, and not only roads, railways and trams but also air flight paths had to be considered in town planning. Cort's great admiration for Cerdá was to a large extent based on his ideas about transport, and he expressed this admiration in interest in crossroads, and in the use of different levels for different kinds of traffic, as proposed by Hennard, but his ideas were not put into practice. Exhaustive analyses of isochrones, such as those presented by Schumaher in his plan for Hamburg, and maps showing traffic density, were translated into a series of crossroads and pedestrian separated level. In his different plans, he clearly defined

ring-road systems linked to green belt areas, and, just as he had done for green spaces, he established a hierarchy for roads, from parkways to street housing access.

Aesthetic as perception:

César Cort valued both how the city looked from within, and in its territorial context. Inside the city, views and perspectives were to be created using points of reference and perspective, enabling each part of the city to have a distinctive character distinguishing it from other parts. Externally, topographical features and the skyline created by existing, historical buildings needed to be considered and incorporated into any urban intervention proposal.

Zoning:

César Cort criticised previous approaches to zoning[18], and felt that zoning should not be aimed merely at grouping different activities in separate locations within the city but rather at facilitating favourable conditions for specific activities in different sectors of the city. He argued that simply separating activities and locating them together at different sites had been based mainly on public health issues, such as the existence of heavy industry. Just zoning created problems of mobility and traffic, reducing quality of life in the city.

Housing:

The economic management of land was one of Cort's prime concerns: he considered land to be merchandise, which had to be dealt with as merchandise. He believed that the City Council should acquire land in order to facilitate effective land management, thus enabling the community to benefit from development in the city. In his opinion, the authorities had a duty to promote property development and draw up appropriate renting policies in order to encourage private sector interest through possibilities for job and wealth creation. Evidently, this idea was in complete contrast to the position of the Institute of Social Reform, which promoted the idea of public economic support for social housing. Nevertheless, the theoretical and practical issues surrounding plot production and the concept of land as merchandise was at the heart of Cort's teaching[19]. He applied his ideas in his own life, participating in land speculation to considerable economic advantage.

Although new ideas about town planning were being developed, and the CIAM (International Congress of Modern Architecture) was active in Spain, holding a meeting prior to the Congress which had been planned for Barcelona but was never held, the outbreak of the Civil War in 1936 brought these developments to a halt. Once the Civil War was over, a new cultural and economic regime was established by the dictatorship, and due to his strong character and political ideas, Cort was marginalized by the authorities. In Madrid, the chief architect, Pedro Muguruza, and Pedro Bidagot, author of Madrid's post war town plan and later head of town planning, were not sympathetic to Cort's ideas. Cort drew up the plan for Valladolid in 1939, and later for La Coruña in

1945[20], but like all his projects these began well only to later end badly[21]. In 1939, he founded the National Town Planning and Housing Federation, which organised conferences between 1940 and 1954. The first conference was a success, with significant official and professional participation, but this was not to be repeated. During the Civil War, Cort had lived in the Norwegian Embassy as a refugee, and it was while he was there that he wrote his book '*The urbanisation of the country and the ruralisation of towns*'[22], which was later published by the National Town Planning and Housing Federation he had founded. It was planned as an historical overview, using both national and international examples, and dealing with general concepts – as did his other works – and an explanation of public health services in a city context.

His professional interests were wide ranging, and included the foundation of the publishing company Plus Ultra Editions. From 1943 onwards, this editorial house published a series of collections, such as *Ars Hispaniae*: authored by Fernando Chueca Goitia or Leopoldo Torres Balbás among others, these books were considered to be the best works available on Spanish art. Following his election to member of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Madrid in 1940, formerly the School of Architecture, he dedicated much of his time to his symbolic responsibilities there. Replying to his inauguration speech, the architect Modesto López Otero said, "If we look again at town planning issues in various areas of Spanish life, we can see that great contributions are being made today by young people from *Urbanology*, still bearing the hallmarks of our new Academy Member"[23], words which summarise Cort's significant contribution to the development of town planning in Spain.

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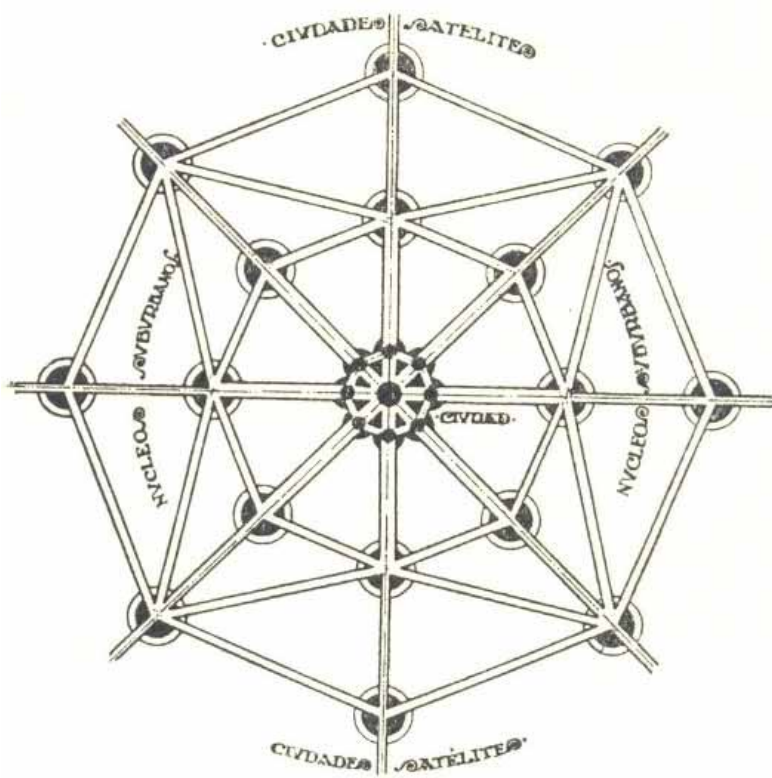
Appendix

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List of photographs:

Fig. 1- The Gran Vía street Project in the interior reform of Murcia (CORT BOTÍ, César, *Murcia: un ejemplo sencillo de trazado urbano*, Madrid, Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, Madrid, 1932).

Fig.2- Key diagram of nucleology representing the great city of the future (CORT BOTÍ, César, *Murcia: un ejemplo sencillo de trazado urbano*, Madrid, Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, Madrid, 1932, figure 46).

Fig.3-Panoramical view of the town Ciudad Rodrigo using new technical instruments (CORT BOTÍ, César, "Trazado, urbanización y saneamiento de poblaciones en la Escuela Superior de Arquitectura de Madrid: reforma y ensanche de Ciudad Rodrigo", Arquitectura, nº. 77, Sociedad Central de Arquitectos, Madrid, septiembre 1925, pp.205-215).

Figs.4-6-Photografic report: piazza in an opened market day, street and piazza in Ciudad Rodrigo (CORT BOTÍ, César, "Trazado, urbanización y saneamiento de poblaciones en la Escuela Superior de Arquitectura de Madrid: reforma y ensanche de Ciudad Rodrigo", Arquitectura, nº. 77, Sociedad Central de Arquitectos, Madrid, septiembre 1925, pp.205-215).

Fig.7-Views of the city of Murcia and the countries surroundings before Cort plan (CORT BOTÍ, César, *Murcia: un ejemplo sencillo de trazado urbano*, Madrid, Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, Madrid, 1932).

Fig.8-Town planning scheme including the regular extensión (CORT BOTÍ, César, *Murcia: un ejemplo sencillo de trazado urbano*, Madrid, Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, Madrid, 1932).

Spatial and Social Transformation from "Public Streets" to "Private / Invented Streets"

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Conceptual definitions

Privatization of Public Life and Spaces

Banerjee (2001), in his work that debates the future of the definition of public space, questions the major changes that are being experienced within the conditions of the century in which we are living. His work has also affected the understanding and definition of public benefit, as well as the great change in urban space. The changing process of politics, economics and technology are components that also affect this transformation. These basic factors also closely affect social life and its requirements as well as social behavior.

In the literature (Lofland, 1998; Carr and et all, 1992) public benefit is generally meant to include such entities as parks and recreation grounds or to other public spaces. However, every public space may not serve the public benefit. Public benefit space must be accessible and free. Many years ago K. Lynch questioned this by stating, *"how open are public spaces?"* At this point the argument about public space and private space comes to mind. According to Yırtıcı (2003), the meanings of the words public and private have fundamentally changed as they have been linked to the process of modernization. In the 18th century public space became defined as the space in which life was conducted apart from family and close friends. Within public spaces varied and complex social groups gathered together. In the 1960's the logic of public space changed along with the appearance of the postmodern state.

Today many observers (Banerjee, 2001; Goldberger, 1996; Mehta, 2007) have claimed that public life and spaces have became privatized. This condition includes definitions of plazas, shopping centers and the increasing popularity of public life. Of course, it cannot be said that these privatized spaces and managed spaces are actually open for the benefit of the people and public benefit. Most of these spaces are being watched by cameras and protected by security firms. Mike Davis (1990) defines these spaces as fortress environments (Banerjee, 2001).

Along with the changes in the communal structure, public spaces have been moved into buildings. Within this context, for more than 50 years now shopping centers have been accepted as "new residential areas" (Rybczynski, 1993) and have become visited more than the main avenues, especially in the United States (Kowinski, 1985). They have become defined as spaces in which the shopping center management manages many public activities and in which everyone shares equal rights. Within this space various activities take place and these may act to serve the shopping center utilization (Beddington, 1987). Even though these spaces seem to be public in nature, in actuality

those utilizing this space are called upon to pay a price. General usage spaces can be seen as public spaces because they are open to the use of the whole public. However, especially in the case of shopping centers, general usage spaces should be defined as private spaces open to the public. Even though they are the property of either a firm or a person, the main point is for it to be used by the public.

Private spaces open to the public (Perincek, 2003) are spaces that are owned privately and are spaces and buildings that are supervised but that are open to the public. These spaces are public interior spaces that have arisen from the changes in public traditions. Generally, these privately owned, public spaces are based on very dense commercial purposes. These spaces usually encompass such services and activities as work, life, food, sales, entertainment and visitation.

Invented Streets: A Public Life of Third Places

In 1989 Oldenburg termed the spaces where this kind of public life takes place as "Third Space". Different in kind from the home or the workplace, these "third spaces" include such places as bars, taverns, beauty parlors and cafes etc. The spaces that this public life requires are becoming more and more widespread in our day. Starbucks cafes, bookstores and health clubs are examples of Third Spaces that are becoming more common in our cities today.

Users of these spaces engage in a daily activity based on looking and watching. This has prompted many writers to work on studies aimed at trying to define the relationship between the observer and the environment. "Flaneur" was the name given to the "the activity of strolling and observing" taking place along the boulevards that Haussmann had designed in the 19th century in Paris (Banerjee, 2001). Arcades were among the earliest forms of privatized public spaces and in our day they are defined as shopping centers and invented streets. New shopping spaces are now designed to support these activities.

Simulation spaces versus public spaces

A fantasy world is created when shopping centers are designed today (Vural, 2005). When Gruen (1973) first designed a shopping center he visualized it as a simulation of urban space. However, what Gruen had imagined was shopping centers serving as a city center or an urban gathering space. In our day shopping centers are small cities onto themselves.

Shopping spaces, which were usually constructed in a closed manner, became an object or argument among designers starting in the 1980's. Researchers who study the closed shopping spaces in Northern America usually deal with the practical problems that arise during the construction phase and they tend to ignore the subject of what the city should be like in the future. The most important subject in the research that is being carried out currently is how the closed space shopping centers destroy the shopping activity on the streets and how then streets are abandoned solely to vehicle use. On the

other hand a space being provided that shelters people from climate changes is accepted as the most important advantage that these spaces provide. (Maitland, 1992)

White (1988) states that as a result of changing the traditional shopping that takes place on the street to shopping in closed spaces, the feeling of the urban space is lost and that it becomes very difficult to get a clue of what city one is in while in these controlled closed spaces. For this reason alone, in some cities street level pedestrian spaces are being embraced (Maitland, 1992) (Turkoglu, 1998).

These shopping centers allow people to observe, by looking at and touching, their desire for a luxurious life without having to pay any monetary fee and without their actual financial situation being a factor. There is an emulation of life here. In this context the studied urban simulation include those shopping centers that are constructed. Here the real emphasis is the use of shopping street and urban center elements (Beddington, 1987; Baştuğ, 2005; Saltan 2007) . The fountains and artificial greenery emphasize the parts that are designed as city centers and squares. Food courts are placed in these parts to increase the interest. Additionally clocks, street lamps and street signs are used in order to strengthen the urban feeling. Another element is the use of daylight inside the shopping center. In this way the feeling that one is strolling outside is created.

Local case; Istiklal Avenue and Istinye Park and methodology

This process that is changing the utilization of public usage and public space worldwide is also appearing in Turkey. In Istanbul, a cultural capital with a vast history, the identity of open, public thoroughfares is now taking a backseat to shopping centers. These spaces, that are constantly increasing in number and that are being designed as invented spaces, now compete with the streets and avenues of the city that are open to urban use. Istiklal Avenue, with its historical and cultural value and with the roles that it has played up till today, is a very important public usage space. During every period its use and its usage purpose has been clearly defined. It has continuously been a part of the urban political life as well as its social and cultural life. It is a true public usage space.

On the other hand Istinye Park is the latest in a line of developed shopping and living center concepts. The space in which it is located was designed as an enclosed environment within Istanbul. This paper compares the example of Istiklal Avenue's urban public space, which is very important in the history of city planning, to the privatized public spaces of Istinye Park, which has been designed as an example of the latest urban living center concept. The facts alluded to in the literature will be compared at a social and special dimension.

In this comparison the method will be to not only take the data from previous studies that have done evaluations about Istiklal Avenue or on examples of shopping centers, but also studies actualized on location.

Istiklal Avenue

Istanbul is a city that has long historical and cultural values and one that is currently undergoing a global transformation process. Today Istanbul ranks as Turkey's most populated city. Despite its population and outward sprawl the city still has various historical pedestrian streets that retain importance within the urban fabric. Probably the most important and one of the oldest of these is İstiklal Street. Istiklal Street is a pedestrian street formerly known as the Grand Rue de Pera. It is today the heart of the city's cultural life and is lined with various cafés, restaurants, shops, and cinemas. The district of Pera was traditionally known as the part of the city in which the majority of foreign nationals used to reside. There are many consular buildings in Pera, among them the Russian, Swedish, Dutch, French, American and British Consulate Genera buildings and a host of other smaller consulates. Most of the buildings on Istiklal Street date from the mid- to the late 19th century and carry a French influence. French Baroque and neo-classical styles were two leading styles in these buildings (Dökmeci and Çıracı, 1990).

During the last quarter of the twentieth century, Istanbul like many other large cities of the world, experienced multi-centre development causing the decline of its old CBD. Decentralisation in housing, jobs and commercial activities (including shopping centers and hyper-markets) occurred as these moved from the core to more peripheral areas of the city. This resulted in an increasing loss of accessibility to the city center due to expansion of the city and traffic congestion. By the mid-1980's new retail innovations had begun to transform the traditional retail environment. At the same time, an increase in the number of cars and enhancement of mobility and increase in income boosted consumers' spatial demand for flexibility. This resulted in a considerably reduced demand in central city stores; retail business became more independent in the choice of their locations. Thus, commercial development in the suburban neighborhoods and mega-malls widely overshadowed commercial life in Beyoglu, just as they have done in city centers of developed countries (Bromley & Thomas, 1993).

BEYOĞLU

In the middle of the 16th century, the district of Beyoğlu developed as an extension of Galata, which was an international trade center (Dokmeci and Çiraci, 1990). The embassies established in Beyoğlu in the 16th and 17th centuries played an important role in giving the district a European identity. In the 18th century, the European influence gradually increased and it became a district with luxurious shops where European luxury goods were easily disposed. This, along with its artisans and its social life, gave Beyoğlu the flavor of a European city in the Ottoman land (Dokmeci and Çiraci, 1990).

It was in the 19th century that Beyoğlu saw its most major development. Spurred on by developments in Ottoman foreign trade in the 19th century, Beyoğlu grew into an international trade center and the area saw developments of the transportation system and integration of the country with the world capitalist system. These in turns propelled the area to mainly

Beyoğlu / İstiklal Street (Public)
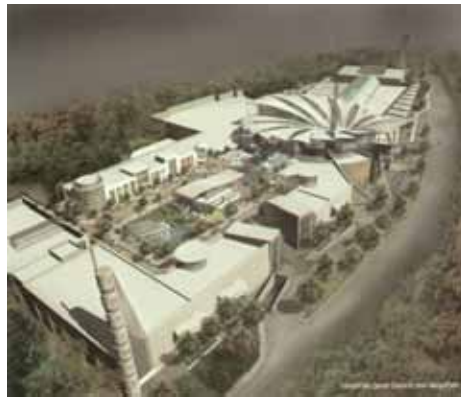
İstinye Park / Sarıyer (Private)

Istinye Park

Istinye Park is one of the latest examples of spaces that was designed with this changing idea of shopping and living spaces. This shopping center concept, which is situated outside of the city center per se, was developed with a park theme and includes invented spaces that reflect Ortakoy's square, Istiklal Avenue's 'balik pazari' (fish market), etc. Here all of these spaces are realized in the same environment. But, no matter how much it seems to be a public space, in reality it is a controlled private space.

Following is a view trying to define Istinye Park (Icon, 2008). "*This space of consumption has been designed to look like a "public" space. While Kanyon and Meydan have established a balance between shopping and public utilization, in Istinye Park all of the features that belong to the public are in almost a commercial labyrinth of a dizzying collection of stores and wide spaces rather than a park. Istinye Park is an example by the Development Design group of how a middle-class American large chain architecture has been imported into and become widespread in developing countries such as Turkey. It is the only shopping and entertainment center to the north of the Bosphorus. Even though it serves to lessen the commute to the city center and the traffic, it does not integrate with its environment*".

Evaluation

The functional and physical space of Beyoglu - Istiklal Avenue and Istinye Park's avenue execution have been questioned. The following criteria have been looked at in comparing the use of the avenue.

Comparison criteria

1. Access…The relationship to urban transportation means, garage capacity,
2. Use of space….Pedestrian space, store space, elemental stores and functions…
    a. Public use,
    b. Distribution of functions,
    c. Urban furnishings and usage,
    d. Floor covering, Lighting, Time of usage,

The identified criteria will be supported by similar studies and the appraisals of the concerned spaces that have been performed.

Access

The results of other similar studies (İlze, 1996; Önalan, 2004) that have been performed in Istanbul have determined that: private vehicles are preferred in shopping center access (40%) but 40% are pedestrians in reaching avenues. Private vehicles rank in third place for avenue access. Garage access and the length of the avenue are constraints on access.
In findings related to purpose of visit to shopping centers the results were: 35% for shopping, 27% for strolling/window shopping and 17% for film-entertainment. The type of stores and whether or not they are brands affect the intention of shopping. When it comes to avenues it is 42% for shopping, 32% for strolling/window shopping and 11% are passing transit (Karabay, 1993; Ilze, 1996).

Use Of Space

The preferred activity of those who come to the shopping centers is looking at stores. They also state a preference for eating and drinking. The markets in the shopping centers are also preferred choices. Things are different on the avenues. Cultural activities, passing through and strolling are the widespread usage (Ilze, 1996).

A total of 48% of shopping center visitors spend 1-2 hours at the center but only 20% of avenue shoppers spend this amount of time. Brand preference is at the forefront in shopping centers and window-shop displays add to the appeal.

Accessories / design criteria

While defining such problems as lack of accessories, noise, ventilation and problems finding directions visitors mostly complained about the lack of accessories on avenues, vehicle noise, air pollution and the quality of pedestrian space.
On the avenue's long pedestrian space there are too few or no places to sit or rest along the way. The greenery is changed from time to time. Sun and climate problems cannot be solved. Shopping centers have solved these problems with climatic control systems.

Time of Use

While shopping centers can be visited during defined and limited hours, the avenues of a city can be used in a more active manner.

In this context,

When compared with its public space requirements, Istiklal Avenue has very valuable factors in watching the city, participating in city life and in understanding the urban environment. In the city, individuals from every social class can be in the same place at the same time, even if for different reasons. Still transit passage is the most common reason for walking down the avenue. On the avenue there are very few public places to

rest or stop for the public. Lighting and floor covering is not adequate to study. The greenery elements are changed constantly, being added and taken away. The cultural life aspect is the most important contribution of the avenue. It is also a popular and preferred space and it is thought in pair with Taksim Square.

Istinye Park, with its brand new concept, has places for people to sit and watch and allows for perceptions of different dimensions. Gyms and other accessories have been included so that people can spend more time there.

On Istiklal Avenue, one can see an increase in the food and beverage component as a function of increasing pedestrian usage. The avenue that in its first phase had housed the most important stores in the city, now has the food and beverage spaces at the forefront. Large concept stores have taken the place of smaller stores and especially brand name stores. This shows the change of the city center to the shopping center theme.

According to the various studies on Istiklal Avenue (Karabay, 1993; Altunbas, 2005) the functional usage of Istiklal Avenue has changed from its widespread pedestrian use before. After the avenue, with Istanbul's most famous stores and pastry shops, was opened to traffic, it then became used solely for transit passing. After it was closed to traffic in 1991, the cultural and artistic activities increased along with the food and beverage spaces. The number of open air cafes and franchise cafes like Starbucks is increasing on the avenue that is preferred in our day as a public space. These locations, with just a simple visual barrier that provides a half open use of the avenue, allows for interaction with the public space itself. Similar spaces are also seen in closed shopping centers such as Istinye Park. This pattern, within the real urban space, is also designed for Istinye Park in an invented manner.

In comparing the functions and the food and beverage possibilities and the provision of privatized public spaces we see that in both locations cafes and bookstores, where for a price one can partake, are being developed. Even in the city, individuals prefer to meet in privatized spaces. In a study done in 1993 street and avenues closed to traffic were seen as the spaces in which people could learn the city and the behaviors of the city and where they could come together to watch each other (Karabay, 1993). This must continue.

In shopping centers, time has been organized according to space organization. The aim is to keep the user inside as long as possible. Shopping streets are the basis and the user is made to travel through all of them. Urbanized spaces and individualized spaces are created. Daylight is a constant element with the use of specific roof covering. Different types of stores are brought together and stairs and ramps are utilized for connections. Cameras and equipment provide control.

Conclusion

In this study that looks at the spatial and social transformation from public streets to invented avenues, the literature has keyed in on a subject that has currently been

important. As it questions the contrast between public and private, it has also looked at the changing social values and life, and the special confirmation. It has questioned how public these shared public spaces within these consumer product shopping centers, which are the results of globalization around the world, really are.

The spaces that were chosen for comparison in our country as examples were Beyoglu Istiklal Avenue, which has played an important role in the history of city planning, and the shopping center example of Istinye Park, which was designed with the modern design concept based on the urban avenue. Istiklal Avenue was used alternately for pedestrians and traffic till it was closed to the traffic for the last time in 1991. Studies were done in different time periods regarding the use of this avenue and the common opinion of all of them was that by closing the avenue to traffic and pedestrianizing it, it would add positive contributions to the city and public life. However, we can still see that the spaces where people perform their fundamental public usage needs of sitting, watching and resting are at spaces that are privately run. This is a constraint on the design of Istiklal Avenue and its use of space but also at the same time is an incentive for the commercial use of the avenue.

No matter how much Istinye Park seems to be open to the public with its privatized public spaces it is still--as Banerjee has ascertained--no different than privatized space. Most importantly no matter how much these invented public spaces allow for public use it still does not provide a feeling of participation in the city and of living in your space. Additionally because it brings together so many urban spaces within a limited environment, it causes a confusion of perception of space.

Within light of these statements, and taking into effect Banerjee's proposals, we still need parks, playgrounds and urban open public spaces within our privatized spaces and our public lives, which are constantly advancing on the technical front. For these reasons the important role that our urban streets play in our lives should not be forgotten. Public avenues and streets are the only places that can teach city dwellers about the city and city life. Public benefit needs to be a design criterion that is indispensable.

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Appendix
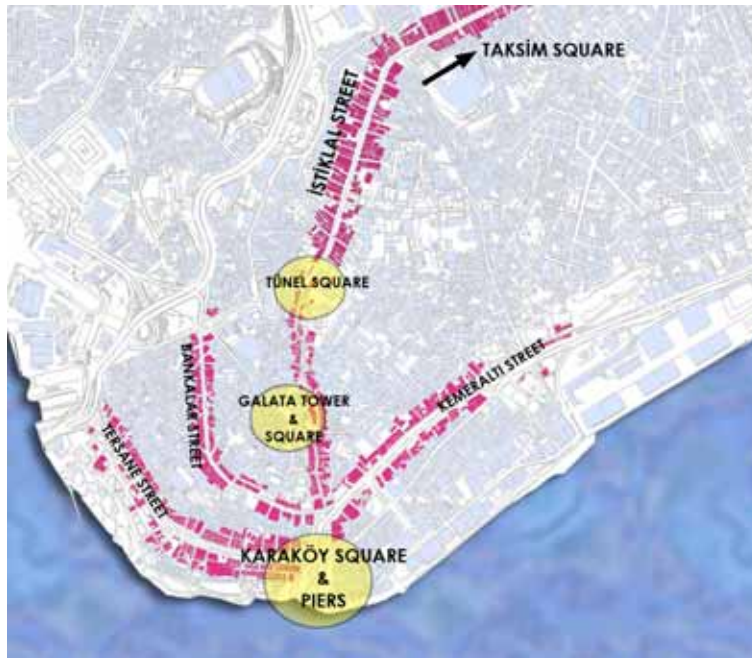
The city of Istanbul, with its historical and cultural value, is part of a global transformation. At the same time Istanbul is the most populated city in Turkey. Within the fabric of the city there are pedestrianized avenues, which are historically important. The oldest and most important one is Istiklal Avenue. The avenue known as Grand Du Pera, with its various spaces such as coffeehouses, restaurants, stores and movie theatres, has traditionally been an important cultural center of the city. Historically the name "Pera" was used for the areas that were predominantly used by foreigners. This is the reason why the Russian, Swedish, Dutch, French, American and the British consulate buildings were situated in this area. Most of the buildings on Istiklal Avenue were designed under the influence of French Baroque in the mid and late 19th century. French Baroque and neo-classical are the styles that define the buildings.

In our day, especially for Istanbul, the advanced technology in means of access – automobiles and light rail system – have changed the activities in the urban spaces, and have become the defining factor for the physical space itself. In many studies it is also emphasized that a reason for the shift from urban streets to shopping centers are the security of the public. For this reason, investors, especially when it comes to the design of new shopping spaces in Istanbul, are choosing centers that have invented spaces fashioned after for example Istiklal Avenue and Ortakoy square. In these spaces the aim is to have the consumer spend more than two hours by the use of these famous and historic models of stores, cinemas and cafes.

This study was developed to question the comparison of public space with private space and compared examples for both located in Istanbul; Istinye Park which is one of the latest examples of shopping center design and the public spaces in Kanyon with the public spaces in historic Istiklal Avenue. The contribution to urban social life is another subject of study.

Squatter settlements as a kind of perverse outcome. History of popular housing policies in São Paulo

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1. Introduction

The prevalent forms of housing among low-income groups in Brazil vary according to the city and period considered. In each place and time, a specific form of housing was prevalent and shaped the urban design. Within this context, three basic historic types of housing stand out: slums, squatter settlements (*favelas*) and peripheral land developments, with home ownership and self-construction.

Interventions for the provision of low-cost housing have changed throughout history. During the slavery period, up until 1888, slave quarters were the housing solution. During the first phase of the industrialization process, the slums (*cortiços*) - a spontaneous solution, and factory villages, a solution implemented through government-backed private initiative emerged. Rent was by far the primary means of having a roof. From the 1930s onwards, sharp industrial growth and industrial expansion above 5% gave rise to increasing migration from rural into urban areas, and to the growth of large cities, especially in the Southeast region. Interventions in the relationship between lessor and lessee discouraged the construction of rental housing units. The urban settlement pattern had three pillars: low-cost land developments, home ownership and self-construction. The urbanized area expanded horizontally, thus increasing the so called periphery.

During the Vargas period (1930-1945), government concerns over housing issues became clear and prompted intervention in the rental housing market, along with the creation of construction programs sponsored by Retirement and Pension Institutes. During the "populist period[1]" (1945-1964), the "Entrepreneur State" created the Fundação da Casa Popular/Popular Housing Foundation (for low-cost housing), which became the seed of the military government's housing policy. After the military coup in 1964, the federal government set up an ambitious system to raise funds, finance, and build mass housing. The choice of the housing policy as the central axis of the government's social policy was determined by the military government's need to legitimize itself with the low-income population. According to one of the creators of the system, Minister Roberto Campos, "*the solution to the problem of home ownership has the specific allure of encouraging savings that would otherwise not exist, and contributes a lot more to creating social stability than rental property. Home owners think twice before getting into trouble or vandalizing the property of others and become allies in order maintenance*" (Banco Nacional da Habitação/BNH/National Housing Bank, 1966, v 2, p. 20-21).

In the beginning of 1985, when the so-called New Republic came about, the National Housing Bank was going through a deep institutional crisis which eventually brought it

to bankruptcy and closure in 1986. The following year, CEF (Caixa Econômica Federal, a federally-owned savings bank), a commercial bank, incorporated the activities of the National Housing Bank. The federal government's policy was primarily based on alternative programs, within an ideological framework of compensatory policies. During the Sarney administration, federal housing programs focused on the National Program for Collective Home Building (Programa Nacional de Mutirões Habitacionais).

The Collor administration, which followed the Sarney administration, innovated very little in its two and a half year term. The State and Municipal governments, however, made interventions in the low-cost housing market, adopting their own criteria. This was possible because of the decentralization provided for in the Constitution of 1988. With the inauguration of President Itamar Franco (1992), decentralization increased further.

The Cardoso administration started in 1995 and sought to implement a new financial system, the S.F.I. (Sistema Financeiro Imobiliário/Real Estate Financial System). It also designed new capital funding systems, mortgage securitization, and prioritized the granting of credit directly to the buyer (and not to a real estate developer or construction company, as was the case with SFH/Sistema Financeiro da Habitação/Housing Financing System). During the Lula administration (2002) the SFI has yet to be fully implemented and decentralized policies still prevail.

The problem of home financing remains unsolved to date. There are efforts in place to create a specific system for the medium and high-income population based on the SFI, that is, on mortgage refinancing, and another system for the low-income population, with heavy subsidies. But social housing is still in very short supply.

In short, there are macrostructural limitations that make squatter settlements a possible housing solution for the low-income population.

The problem of squatter settlements (*favelas)* has gained unprecedented importance in Brazil from a historic standpoint. The 2005 PNAD Survey (National Household Sample Survey) points to the existence of almost two million households in squatter settlements in Brazil, with over 6.5 million dwellers. In some cities, such as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, there are approximately one million people living in the *favelas*, and in others such as Belém, households in the *favelas* account for 35% of the total housing units. "How and why have squatter settlements become a problem of the magnitude stated previously?" (Cardoso, 2007, p. 4)

Up until the 1980s, the growth of squatter settlements was thought to be related to the high rates of migration from rural into urban areas. Squatters were thought to be primarily those recently arrived in town, especially from backward rural areas. This interpretation was challenged in the late 1970s and early 1980s by research showing that a significant part of the squatter population was not formed by recent migrants in social ascent, but rather included impoverished segments in the process of social descent (Pasternak Taschner, 1978).

"*The Brazilian model of development led to the formation of a social pattern that associates a reasonable degree of economic growth (especially from the 1940s to the 1970s) to a high degree of inequality and a significant portion of the population living below the poverty line. Poverty and inequality, structural characteristics that have marked Brazilian development, have been associated with increasingly deteriorated and informal employment relations in the last 25 years. This is why a significant portion of the population has insufficient or insecure income, which greatly limits their possibilities of contracting debt and thus of having access to the formal housing market.*" (Cardoso, 2007, p. 4).

Additionally, Brazilian economic development was marked by the focus of public authorities on investment to support the industrialization process to the detriment of investment in services designed to reproduce labor power. Public authorities were therefore unable to invest in infrastructure, or to increase their ability to regulate the land and housing markets. As a result, cities grew in a poorly planned manner, and there was rampant land speculation. The land market was, up until the 1960s, one of the few alternatives for capital investment. Since the 1970s, the financial market has been organized and consolidated as an alternative for investment. Land speculation generated a huge disparity between the price of land in the formal market, and the credit worthiness of the majority of the population, thus prompting informal takeovers, a possible alternative for the huge mass of urban workers. Ineffective housing policies for the low-income population were also associated with these facts.

In short, there are a large number of squatter settlements which will be around for a long time.

2. Squatter population in Brazil, in Metropolitan regions and in the Municipality of São Paulo

Squatter settlements are present in all Brazilian regions, and are unevenly distributed. In 1991, there were 3,187 squatter settlements according to the Demographic Census. According to the Population Count of 1996, the number of such settlements had risen to 3,348 to reach 3,906 in 2000.

Just as the number of settlements has been increasing since 1980 at higher rates than the total population, so has the number of households and of squatters. From 1980 to 1991, the total households in the country grew by 3.08% yearly, whereas the number of households in squatter settlements grew by 8.18% yearly. In the following period – from 1991 to 2000 – total households grew by 0.88% yearly whereas households in settlements grew by 4.18%. Estimates for 2005 point to a 3.45% yearly growth rate for total households, with the number of households in settlements increasing at a similar rate, i.e. 3.46% yearly for the period. The squatter population in 1980 was 2,25 million people; in 1991, more than 5 million; in 2000, approximately 7,2 million; and in 2005, it was estimated at more than 8,5 million, for a total of 1,956,331 households in subnormal settlements.

Squatter settlements in Brazil are a predominantly metropolitan phenomenon: in 1980, 79.16% of the households in squatter settlements were located in the nine federal metropolitan regions. In 1991, 2,391 squatter settlements (74%) and 817,000 households (78%) were located in these metropolitan regions.

In 2000, the percentage of households in metropolitan squatter settlements as compared to the total number of households in squatter settlements increased to 87.15%. In that same year, squatter settlements were described as a clearly metropolitan phenomenon, and their percentage continued to rise as of 1980. In 2005, the percentage of metropolitan households in squatter settlements dropped to 75.15% of the total households in squatter settlements, thus indicating a certain reversal in the trend. Although squatter settlements are mostly an urban phenomenon, they are spreading rapidly in other cities: squatter settlements can also be considered a problem in medium-sized cities: 26% of the squatter population was found, in 2000, in cities with a population between 100,000 and 500,000 inhabitants.

Throughout the 20th century, squatter settlements have clearly become the major alternative for the urban poor population. In some state capitals, such as Belém, the percentage of people living in such settlements has reached 35% of the local population. In metropolitan centers such as Rio de Janeiro, the absolute number is in excess of one million people, almost 20% of the households.

The São Paulo Metropolitan Region has the largest concentration of squatter settlements in Brazil. The cities of São Paulo, Guarulhos, Osasco and Diadema alone had, in 2000, 938 squatter settlements – approximately one quarter of the country's squatter settlements according to the Demographic Census. The percentage of households in squatter settlements in São Paulo has been increasing since 1991. This percentage was 5.72% in 1991, then rose to 8.14% in 2000 and to 9.29% in 2005 relative to the total households. The housing scenario in the metropolis has clearly deteriorated.

This growth was not consistent throughout the urban fabric of Greater São Paulo. The 2005 data cannot be broken down, but the census information of 1991 and 2000 shows that the growth rate of households in squatter settlements in peripheral municipalities was almost twice that of the capital city, a sign that squatter settlements are spreading throughout the metropolitan region (the so-called process of "*favelization*"). Not only is the population living on the periphery of the metropolis growing more than the population of the capital city, but squatter settlements in peripheral municipalities are also growing faster than those located in the capital. Even when absolute numbers are considered, the number of households in squatter settlements in peripheral municipalities has increased faster than in the capital city: 94,248, that is, growth of more than 100%, whereas in the capital the number of households in squatter settlements increased by 78,242, that is, slightly above 53%.

This fact may reflect a trend toward the expansion of poverty into the periphery, which is represented here by the territorial expansion of poor housing. In addition to poor

housing conditions, distances to work also increase, thus rendering the life of the poor living in metropolitan regions even more difficult.

The number of squatter settlements, households and squatters in the São Paulo municipality varies according to the source of data used. The numbers form the Demographic Census show 933 thousand squatter dwellers in 2000, 9% of the population of the city, and the estimate from CEM (Centro de Estudos da Metrópole, Centre of Metropolitan Studies, an NGO academic organization) gave, for the same date, 1,160 thousand *favelados,* 11% of the city population. But all the sources agree in the following points:

- The squatter population in the São Paulo Municipality has increased at a higher rate than the population of the municipality;
- The squatter settlement area grew substantially in the 1990s;
- In addition to the increase in the area used by squatter settlements, there is strong evidence of an increase in their average density. Squatter settlements are now denser, with their empty spaces being occupied, and squatter settlements are undergoing a process of verticalization;
- Difficulties in accessing land put up for sale, in addition to the impoverishment of the dwellers have made squatter settlements a possible housing alternative for them. To these factors, we should add the lack of housing units for the low-income population and the relative improvement in housing conditions in squatter settlements in the city of São Paulo, so that living in squatter settlement is not as hard as it used to be decades ago;
- The policy of upgrading and maintaining squatter settlements within the urban fabric – although legitimate – has encouraged land takeovers.

3. Low- costing housing policy in the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo. Interventions on popular housing

3.1 Introduction

Policies regarding low-cost housing in Brazil, and specially those regarding squatter settlements and slums were, up until 1984, highly centralized at the federal level. There have always been interventions at a local level, but until the closure of BNH (Banco Nacional da Habitação/Brazilian Housing Bank, in November 1986, they were not as relevant as they came to be in the 1990's. A detailed analysis of the policies at the federal level can be found in Pasternak Taschner, 1997.

The first squatter settlement upgrading experiences in Brazil were carried out in the late 1960s, and were strongly inspired by the ideas of John Turner. However, it was only as of the 1980s that this form of intervention was consolidated, under the auspices of the municipal and/or state governments.

In this item, we will discuss the interventions at the municipal, regional and state levels in the municipalities which are part of the São Paulo metropolitan region. This is no

easy task because, first of all, the information on these interventions has not been organized in a competent bibliography. Secondly, the prominence of the São Paulo municipality, in terms of its territory and political influence in the metropolitan region, overshadows the initiatives and programs implemented by the other municipalities. In addition, we should emphasize that having municipal programs or policies is not enough. Regional policies would be necessary to guide the investments in housing and the activities of the different government levels. At the metropolitan level, we should highlight the efforts made by ABC's Intermunicipal Consortium to conduct a diagnostic survey of the housing problem in the municipalities which are part of this sub-region. In the last 30 years, the interventions have been organized into eight chronological periods. For each period, the type of analysis conducted for the problem, the solutions found, and the problems and the reactions the interventions created are discussed, according to an analysis plan already used by me (Pasternak Taschner, 1995 & 1997), which was further enriched by Patton (1988).

By analysis we mean the prevailing ideas, concepts and hegemonic theories of each period. Solutions include the actions effectively carried out to address the problems and theories. Reactions refer to the new problems detected, which redefine new theories and actions.

Until the 1980s, there was no housing policy for the municipalities of the São Paulo Metropolitan Region (SPMR), with the exception of the municipality of São Paulo. There are some exceptions in the region of the Greater ABC.

The Greater ABC sub-region, made up of the municipalities of Santo André, São Bernardo do Campo, São Caetano do Sul, Diadema, Mauá, Rio Grande da Serra and Ribeirão Pires, stands out due to its industrial profile. "*In the late 1970s, the social movements organized by the CEBs (Grassroots Ecclesial Communities) and the trade union movement of the region sprung to the regional and national scenario,*" putting forth alternative proposals to the lack of local and national social policies (Baltrusis & Mourad, 1999, p. 44).

3.2 The 1960s

Regarding squatter settlement clearance policies, these only emerged in this decade in the municipality of the capital. In the other municipalities of the metropolitan region, squatter settlements were not considered a huge problem.

The first intervention in squatter settlements in the São Paulo municipality was the removal and the reinstallation of the settlement somewhere else. The guiding principle of this type of intervention had to do with the idea that squatter settlements were dumps where disease, crime, social disorganization and criminality bred. This pathology would end with the eradication of the settlement and the removal of the squatters to appropriate units. We mustn't forget that the squatter population of São Paulo was small, approximately 100,000 people, which enabled their removal. In São Paulo, the removal never reached the brutality employed by Carlos Lacerda in Rio de Janeiro. The

results of this policy, both in Rio and in São Paulo, were not very promising. The housing centers to which the squatters were removed were usually located in remote areas in the outskirts. As a consequence, the cost of transportation increased for the squatter families, thus affecting their budget. The greater distance between service centers and homes also prevented women from contributing to the family income. Purchasing power dropped, making the payment of mortgage or rent difficult, thus driving the families back to squatter settlements.

3.3 The 1970s

In the 1970s, it was clear that the removal was only justified in emergency situations or in risk areas. As a modal form for squatter settlement intervention, a more efficient and less traumatic policy was needed. Therefore, instead of taking the squatters to a permanent unit, an attempt was made to place them in the so-called VHP (Vilas de Habitação Provisória/Provisional Housing Centers), which already existed in Rio de Janeiro since the mid 1940s, under the name of Proletarian Parks (Pasternak Taschner, 1995 & 1997). VHPs were non-permanent shelters built on the same land where the squatter settlements were. Intense social service was provided toward offering professional training, literacy classes, and documentation to the population, to enable them to integrate into the city life and into the real-estate market. Even the physical design of the shelter reflected its provisional character: it was built with non-permanent building material used. The VHPs were made of wood, with no brickwork and the bathrooms were shared. It was expected that after one year the family would be able to integrate into the housing and labor markets.

The theoretical assumptions that mediated this form of intervention were inspired by the ideas of social integration championed by functionalist sociology, a school of thought. They emphasized the idea that squatter settlements were the first housing alternative for rural migrants, a "springboard" to the city, a necessary stage for their integration into urban life. At VHPs, the primary concern was that of shortening the "necessary time" that the migrant would stay in squatter settlements by supplying some basic infrastructure, professional guidance and formal education.

There is countless criticism to this project. In addition to the notion of implicit social integration, which did not prove true, empirical data, derived from the Squatter Settlement Registry, whose systematic collection began in the mid 1970s, showed that the squatters weren't recent migrants at all, nor were the squatter settlements their first homes. Squatter settlements were growing less because of direct migration than because of impoverishment. "*The dwellers of squatter settlements did not settle, at first, in the shacks where they lived. They were displaced in urban space, in a "descending filtration" course, due to the appreciation of urban land and the impoverishment of the working class. They were displaced from the central areas towards the outskirts, from the brick houses to the cardboard shacks of the squatter settlements*" (Pasternak Taschner, 1997, p. 54).

In the late 1970s, the notion that squatter settlements were here to stay and that squatters were workers, most of whom registered workers in São Paulo's industries, made it necessary to search for new solutions. Temporary shelters became permanent. The assumption of social integration into a society such as the Brazilian one has serious limitations: the capacity of São Paulo's economy to incorporate work force into dynamic economic segments is restricted, and there are pre-requirements regarding professional competence and educational background to be met.

3.4 The 1980-1985 period

The awareness arose that squatter settlements do not represent a dysfunction of the system but are rather the physical expression of its contradictions. This led to an operational dilemma: How can the problem of intervention be put forward? How can a methodology of action be developed that would not disrupt the system?

Some technical segments believed that large-scale construction, prefabrication, industrialization and the rationalization of construction could promote the falling of house prices, thus making them accessible to everyone. Therefore, housing projects such as the Itaquera project were built, where some cost-lowering models were introduced (light prefabrication systems with outnord-type metallic structures, structural brickwork, etc.) as part of the efforts of COHAB-SP (Companhia Metropolitana de Habitação de São Paulo/São Paulo Metropolitan Housing Company) to build approximately 80,000 housing units from 1980 to 1985.

Cooperation, self-help and mutual help were commended as tools that would contribute to the overcoming of the problems of squatter settlements. The Brazilian middle class tried to convey a specific notion of society to squatters, so that the latter would think that their daily lives could be improved by means of their own efforts and community assistance. Squatter settlement upgrading is established as a basic policy.

In 1979, the PRÓ – ÁGUA (Pro-Water) program was initiated in the municipality of São Paulo. The program was designed to extend the drinking water network to squatter settlements, with a connection to households whenever possible. PRÓ-LUZ (Pro-Light), a program to electrify squatter settlement units, was also initiated in 1979, and by 1987 had already installed electricity in almost all the squatter settlement households. These programs were included in the so-called compensatory policies and charged its users a minimum rate. In 1981, a more ambitious program was also used – the PROFAVELA (Pro- Squatter Settlement) program, which determines not only the installation of infrastructure, but also the provision of educational and health services and heavily subsidized funding for betterment services and/or the construction of housing units. The cost was very high and the project was dropped in 1984. At the federal level, another project, PROMORAR [Pro-living], also proposed the eradication of squatter settlements with the replacement of the cardboard shacks by embryo-units in the same area, with the regularization of land tenure.

The critics of squatter settlement upgrading programs argue that the certainty of permanence encourages new land takeovers and the densification of old settlements, and brings a crude imitation of the real estate market to the invaded land. Anyway, even in a conservative administration like Reinaldo de Barros', in 1979, the mass of squatters (over 400,000 people, approximately 5% of the municipal population) was such that made removal-type solutions unfeasible.

In the São Paulo Metropolitan Region, more precisely in the municipality of Santo André, this new alternative – upgrading – responded to the proposals of the dwellers of the Palmares squatter settlement. In the late 1970s, the dwellers, led by father Rubens, organized the first squatter settlement upgrading initiative of the region, and gave rise to a spin off, the Movement to Defend Squatters, created in the 1st National Meeting on Squatter Settlements, held on May 2nd and 3rd, 1980, in Santo André. Among the main demands was the regularization of land tenure.

In the municipality of Diadema, the concept of squatter settlements upgrading, with physical interventions and land regularization actions, was put into practice. As of 1983, the local administration has started to intervene in the city's squatter settlements.
In São Bernardo do Campo, Associação de Construção Comunitária (Community Building Association], created from a Strike Fund, set up new housing programs through a pilot project financed by CDHU, the São Paulo State Housing and Urban Development Company. According to Bonduki (1992, p. 39), the work of the Community Association "*became an important hub of self-organization for the workers to face their concrete problems.*" Still, according to this author, the Community Building Association began to work with low-cost housing "*as of 1983, (when) a group of 50 families bought a piece of land, with the help of the church, and developed, with independent technical assistance, a self-managed project to build houses. After negotiating with the state government, they obtained, from the Housing Development Company, funding to build the houses. This was an unprecedented situation (…) as the funds were directly transferred to the association, which can manage it with total autonomy.*"

3.5 The 1986 to 1988 period

In Diadema, the process of squatter settlement upgrading continued. During this period, both in São Paulo and in the other municipalities, a process of taking over the vacant terrains was initiated on the part of the housing movements.

In January 1986, in the municipality of São Paulo, a new municipal administration, the first one directly elected by the people since 1964, took office. "*Supported by conservative forces and comprehensive segments of the middle class, that were fearful of the growing urban violence and attributed it partially to the "concessions" made to the low-income classes, this administration once again started talking about the removal of squatter settlements, particularly the ones located in areas near the richest neighborhoods*"   (Pasternak Taschner, 1997, p. 61).

The prevailing logic saw squatters as the poor to be segregated, and the squatter settlements which were established in prime locations within the urban network were regarded as pieces of land to be made available and recovered for the middle class to live in. In 1986, due to the effect of the Cruzado Plan (which froze prices), there was a real estate boom.

The housing plan of the 1986-88 administration was the object of more talk than action. Two squatter settlements were removed from upscale areas. The most interesting contribution of the period was the partnership with the private initiative for squatter settlement clearance. By offering advantages about the prevailing building code in exchange for the building of houses for squatters, interconnected transactions were made which allowed developers to build a larger area than was permitted by virtue of the zoning law in exchange for the donation of residential units for squatters.

3.6 The 1989 to 1992 period

In 1989, the municipalities of São Paulo, Santo André and São Bernardo started to be administered by left-wing parties, engaged with popular movements and union fights. Their line of thought showed this commitment. The description of the city made by their technicians brought forth the existence of a huge illegal city which sheltered the low-income classes. It was estimated that in the municipality of São Paulo, 350,000 households, most of which smaller than 125 square meters did not meet the provisions of the zoning law and the construction code. If squatter settlement households, slums and irregular plots of land were added to this, approximately 65% of the city was irregular. In Diadema, one third of the population lives in squatter settlements that occupy 4% of the territory. The proposals were to integrate and reduce the socio-spatial segregation. Thus, the streamlining of the plan approval process, both regarding units and plots of land, became essential.

Urban segregation appears as an item to be avoided. All have right to the city. This position enabled initiatives toward maintaining the slum population in the inner city area. The squatter settlement upgrading projects returned, this time with the participation of the population. Popular movements demanded the removal of middlemen and the end user's participation in the decision making process to build and plan homes. Projects which included self-construction and self-management were encouraged. Regarding the criticism of the old-left-wing, which considered community-built housing initiatives as the overexploitation of labor power, the "new left" answered that the self-managed community-built housing initiatives helped reduce costs, and fostered political awareness and citizenship, for the "*organization to build homes becomes a self-managed school where self-management and collective organization are learned*" (Bonduki, 1992, p. 164).

The municipality of Santo André created EMHAP (Empresa Municipal de Habitação Popular/Municipal Company for Low-Cost Housing) that built units with alternative material, initiated a squatter settlement upgrading program, and in 1991 created the Special Areas of Social Interest – local acronym AEIS, to regulate squatter settlements.

São Bernardo do Campo also started a squatter settlement upgrading program. Diadema continues its upgrading and land regularization program: from 1983 to 1988, 51 areas were regularized by means of the Concession of Rights of Use. In 1991, the first vertical self-managed community-built housing initiative of the country was started: the Buraco do Gazuza, through the PROHAP Comunidade (Programa de Habitação Popular/Low-Cost Housing Program.)

The Buraco do Gazuza project was the response of the federal government, but it was not carried out for the takeovers that took place in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The Caixa Econômica Federal savings bank was committed to financing three pilot projects, each with 50 units, with direct transfers to the community associations. These three pilot projects were to be located in the ABC region and in the east zone of São Paulo. The east zone movement waived the financing, and thus 100 units were built in Diadema and 50 in the Industrial Village of São Bernardo do Campo, with the assistance of independent technical advisory teams directly hired by the associations.

In the case of the upgrading of São Paulo squatter settlements, as of 1990 "*26,000 families in 50 squatter settlements were provided with infrastructure improvements: pavement, land re-parceling, water, sewerage system, drainage, and opening of access points. At the same time 3,500 families in 70 squatter settlements benefited from small improvements, also as a collective effort*" (São Paulo, 1992, p.12.) The concept of environmental risk was introduced in squatter settlement upgrading initiatives to prioritize interventions. It assesses the geomorphological risk for the residents: collapse, flooding or sapping. Regarding the supply of housing units outside the squatter settlements, approximately 33,000 units, part of which had been initiated in the previous administration, had their construction continued. In summary, the guidelines of the Luiza Erundina administration (1989-1992) regarding low-cost housing were:

- Elimination of redtape and simplification of building norms
- Organization of the population, thus choosing popular movements to take part in talks
- Household construction by self-managed community-built housing initiatives (local administration and dwellers)
- Squatter settlement upgrading, prioritizing the ones at environmental risk
- Intervention in slums
- Maintenance of partnership with the private sector (interconnected transactions)

The initiatives in the municipalities of São Paulo, Santo André, São Bernardo do Campo and Diadema started to influence other municipalities of the region that had conservative administrations. Some initiatives toward improvement emerged in squatter settlements in Guarulhos, Osasco, Mauá.

In Osasco, COPROMO (Cooperativa Pró Moradia de Osasco/Osasco Pro-housing Cooperative), occupied and negotiated a large area of the city and built a housing project with 2,000 units through a community-built housing initiative financed by the

state government, through CDHU, the São Paulo State Housing and Urban Development Company,

There was countless criticism to the policies in effect, mostly dealing with the sluggishness of the community-built housing process, the transformation of popular movements into political machines which generated new patronage relationships. Criticism was also directed at the continuous emergence of new squatter settlements and the densification of the existing ones, and to the increasing speculation in upgraded squatter settlements.

3.7 The 1993 to 2000 period

In 1992 elections, conservative governments for the municipalities of the region came to power. This scenario remained so until 1996 in São Paulo and changed in Santo André, Mauá, Ribeirão Pires. Santo André continued the 1989-2001 administration programs and started new housing construction projects in partnership with the state government. In 1994, the local administration of Diadema approved the new master plan, and created the Special Areas of Social Interest (AEIS) I and II. The AEIS II were used to demarcate all of the squatter settlements in the city. The AEIS I demarcated vacant properties and allocated them as spaces reserved for the construction of HIS (Habitação de Interesse Social/Social Interest Housing.) According to Mourad (2000), 90% of the areas demarcated were used for the construction of low-cost housing. In Guarulhos, as of 1998, when the mayor was removed from office, the deputy mayor, with ties to the green party, took office and adopted more participatory programs and policies.

Another noteworthy experience was the Guarapiranga Project, which upgraded squatter settlements in the water source region of São Paulo, Cotia, Embu and Taboão da Serra. In 1993, another elected administration, with a different political stand relative to the previous one, was inaugurated in the Municipality of São Paulo. In the same year, research coordinated by FIPE (Economic Research Institute Foundation), showed that the squatter population in the municipality had increased to reach almost 20% of the total population, amounting to 1.98 million people. In addition to the densification of the existing squatter settlements and the emergence of new ones, the FIPE research pointed to the growing percentage of brickwork units in squatter settlements, approximately 75%. Despite the possible exaggeration in the calculation of the FIPE data, the number of squatter settlements and squatters had definitely increased, and their profile was changing, both regarding constructive and economic characteristics. In this study, a relative increase in household income was noticed in squatter settlements. The municipal administration at the time did not have any commitment to popular movements, as had been the case during the Erundina administration. The notion that squatters were poor workers, who had rights relative to the city and the right to be integrated to urban life had already been consolidated. The housing policy of the municipality focused on PROVER (Projeto de Urbanização de Favelas com Verticalização/Project of Squatter Settlement Upgrading with Verticalization,) that became known as the Cingapura Project.

The Cingapura Project keeps the squatters in the same piece of land where the squatter settlement was, but in vertical units built by developers. Thus, it is different from the squatter settlement upgrading initiative of the previous administration, in that it does not make use of the urban fabric which had already been built by the squatters, and it provides non-expandable finished housing units. In the Paulo Maluf administration (1993-96), approximately 9,000 units were delivered. The administration which took over after Maluf's continued with the same policy regarding squatter settlements. The units of the Cingapura buildings, with 5 and 11 floors, are small – 42 square meters - and cannot be expanded. Their cost is high, approximately U$ 18,000. The architectural design is standardized, and the project is exclusively residential, in that commercial units are not included. The population does not participate, and this is, in a sense, the trade-off for speed. Another criticism which is seen in the press is that the Cingapura units have been preferably built in sites with great visibility, with the criteria used to choose the squatter settlements for intervention being not so much technical but rather related to propaganda.

3.8 The 2001-2004 period

In the new century, another political trend, once again the Workers' Party, took over the administration of São Paulo. The housing situation was deteriorated, with an increase in squatter settlements and homelessness. As a main proposal, until the beginning of the second semester of 2001, the revitalization of the center was put forward, emphasizing it as a housing space for the poor population. The participation of the population was encouraged as a way of building citizenship.

The discourse on the revitalization of the central area, highlighting its primary role as a housing space for the poor, was not actually put into action. Despite the actions of the PRI (Programa de Recuperação Integrada/Integrated Recovery Program), which defined areas for urban interventions in some deteriorated areas of the region, and the Municipal Master Plan, which included the demarcation of ZEIS (Zonas Especiais de Interesse Social/Special Zones of Social Interest), in the inner city, only very limited actions were carried out in this region. Part of the interventions were made by the state government through the PAC (Programa de Atendimento aos Cortiços/Service Program for Slums), undertaken by a state government agency, and part were affected by the federal government by means of a financing plan, PAR (Plano de Arrendamento Residencial/Home Lease Plan.)

At this time, the number of takeovers of vacant real estate in the inner city increased, thus stirring the housing conflicts in the central area even further.

The presence of homeless people throughout the urban fabric, especially in the central area of the city, forced the local administration to prioritize a program to remove the dwellers of the 44 viaducts of São Paulo. Until the middle of 2002, only 17 of these viaducts had been vacated, with the placement of rails around the empty spaces of some of them as a preemptive measure. However, this measure was not effective: many viaducts were once again occupied. The local administration estimates that there

are 10,000 homeless in São Paulo: approximately 1,200 living under bridges and viaducts, while another 8,800 are on the streets, that is, they sleep rough without shelter of any kind, with no access to any type of housing.

To serve them, the Acolher (Take in) Program invites them to go to shelters and community centers, where 3,382 vacancies were opened, and where the service is being computerized to make these vacancies more readily available. For people living under bridges and viaducts, the program of urban rehabilitation and attention to dwellers determines their removal and transfer to hotels or rented houses, until they are definitively transferred to housing projects.

This program has not been duly assessed. It should be pointed out that the Brazilian legislation does not allow the removal of the homeless by force. They are only directed to public shelters upon their consent.

The municipal administration at the time used the Bairro Legal (Cool Neighborhood) Program as a tool to implement its housing policy. This program can be defined as a set of integrated actions in continuous and demarcated territories, occupied predominantly by low-income population. It includes the upgrading and regularization of squatter settlements and irregular land developments and the classification of housing projects. The intervention projects must consider land regularization, the access to public services and equipment and to green and leisure areas (in addition to trying to include squatters in the municipality's regular social and job/income generation programs without opening any special line of activity in the settlement).

The intention was to implement the program in the 10 areas of greater social exclusion of the city. It differs from the programs of the previous administrations due to its demand of integrated action among different municipal agencies, thus also seeking the involvement of the other public spheres, of non-governmental organizations, and of the civil society.

In the project description, one item tells the history and describes the housing conditions of the city. For the total metropolitan area, the number of vacant real estate is estimated at 666,257, according to PNAD data of 2005, totaling 11.5% of the total stock of households. The information of PNAD 2005 shows that, among these 666,000 households, only slightly over 7,000 are totally deteriorated; 584,000 are fit for living, and 74,620 are under construction.

For the São Paulo Metropolitan Region, squatter settlements were estimated to have a total of 538,288 housing units in 2005. Obviously, an overly simplified reasoning would quickly compare the two figures: the number of squatter households could be replaced by the vacant households which are fit for living. This is reductionism, but it is always food for thought, especially since the 2000 Census points to the existence of 420,000 vacant households in the municipality of the capital, in that 26.8% are in the Sé district, in central areas, with infrastructure and public equipment. There is a clear imbalance between vacant units and unfit units.

In addition to housing in squatter settlements, the needy population meets their housing needs by building, on their own, on irregular land developments. In April 2002, there were approximately 2,866 of these developments. According to RESOLO (Department for the Regularization of Land Parceling), an agency of the local administration of the Municipality of São Paulo, the illegal and irregular land developments and condominiums occupy one fifth of the surface of São Paulo: a total of 338.8 million sq meters. This map of the irregularity does not include squatter settlements and slums. In the outskirts of the municipality, self-built housing units have been estimated at 35% of the total houses.

According to the official document, the interventions in squatter settlements, despite the different concepts implemented in the last decade, have not been able to significantly change the urban scenario. Both the upgrading experiences geared toward basic sanitation, and the resettlement into new units have proven to be little sustainable. The former was due to the difficulties in incorporating settlements with such different urban standards into the formal city. The latter for being partial interventions, implemented without the participation of the population, which disrupted consolidated relationships and ignored the investments of the dwellers, thus generating new debts.

So, a paradigm shift was proposed: policies geared toward both the production of new homes and sanitation should be replaced for comprehensive interventions, which consider, in an integrated manner, urban qualification, land regularization, access to public services and equipment and green areas, together with social programs.
The priority areas for intervention were chosen according to a social exclusion criterion (defined as a situation of collective deprivation, which includes poverty, discrimination, subservience, inequity, non-accessibility, lack of public representation). The Bairro Legal was implemented in the first phase in Capão Redondo, Brasilândia, Lajeado, Jardim Ângela and Grajaú, since they had a percentage of squatters of 15% or above. In the 2nd phase, it served the districts of Campo Limpo, Guaianazes, Iguatemi and Anhanguera.

The housing program of the Suplicy administration was divided into three parts:

- Incentive to produce housing units
- Articulation for financing
- Legalization and upgrading of plots and squatter settlements

In previous administrations, the main element of the low-cost housing policy was the construction of new units (for squatter settlements, vertical units in building projects, with or without elevators, on the space of the squatter settlement itself, by means of contracts). In the Suplicy administration, priority was given to squatter settlement and plot upgrading and to the regularization of the areas taken over.

The justification for such a procedure, according to the Housing Secretary, was that the cost-benefit ratio of this type of action is better, enabling the provision of services to a greater portion of the needy population. In addition, there were highly consolidated

squatter settlements and land developments where the idea of removal would be absurd. Thus, they should change and become neighborhoods. The local administration should act in two fronts: the legalization and the upgrading of the area.

In two decades there have been intervention programs in squatter settlements through legalization and upgrading. Among these programs, in the 1980s, we highlight those of Recife, Belo Horizonte and Diadema; in the 1990s, the Favela-Bairro, in Rio de Janeiro and the one in Santo André. The programs of Recife and Belo Horizonte focused on changes in land management, with the PreZeis (Programa de Regularização das Zonas Especiais de Interesse Social/Program to Regularize the Special Zones of Social Interest), and the legalization of the takeovers. Favela-Bairro changed the urban design, physically altering the squatter fabric. In Santo André, the attempt was to move beyond the traditional "qualified upgrading"; the municipality is promoting a "sectoral approach". In an attempt to overcome the limitations of the current projects, the municipal government launched the PIIS (Programa Integrado de Inclusão Social/Integrated Program for Social Inclusion) in 1997 that includes the UIF (Programa de Urbanização Integral de Favelas/Full Squatter Settlement Upgrading Program). It innovates in terms of squatter settlements, concentrating partial policies designed to leverage processes of social inclusion in a space and in an institution.

The PIIS involves the opening of a road system and provision of infrastructure, in addition to granting credit and fostering small businesses (by the Banco do Povo/People's Bank, constituted along the lines of the micro-credit system of Porto Alegre, credit is made available in small amounts, by means of simple procedures for formal and informal businesses, with flexible demands of guarantee). In addition to the residential plots of land, in the squatter settlements of Santo André business units are built so that economic activities can contribute to the social, economic and urbanistic integration of these settlements into the neighborhood. Just like Favela-Bairro in Rio de Janeiro, this integration is also related to the installation of services and trade demanded by the neighborhood, by the nucleus and by the city, thus creating a transition zone between them.

It is still early to assess the results of this program. However, it differs from the São Paulo one, in which job and income generation are not being considered. Bairro Legal focuses its activities on physical remodeling, by installing the road system and sanitation structure, and by legalizing the land.

The current local administration of the municipality focuses on the *Programa de Reabilitação do Centro,* a Program to rehabilitate the Central Area, where resources will be invested in low-cost housing and in the rehabilitation of vacant commercial real estate to re-populate the region, which is densely occupied during the day and empty at night.

3.9 The period starting in 2005

If in the Marta Suplicy administration the idea was to re-populate the central area through the Program of Rehabilitation of the Central Area, the Serra/Kassab administration considers that the program should not focus on the low-income population. What can be perceived are actions to restrict programs designed to foster the settlement of poor population in the central areas.

Regarding the homeless, attitudes are taken to make the occupation of public areas difficult by building anti-beggar barriers, for example, by changing the urban furniture of squares to prevent benches from being used as beds. Having no other options, since there are not enough city shelters, the homeless are displaced to less guarded areas. There has been continuity in the programs to regularize and grant deeds to irregular real estate, and also in re-upgrading interventions in some squatter settlements, such as Heliópolis (a big favela en the East zone of the city of São Paulo)

Other squatter settlements, such as the one near Berrini avenue, a place of upscale offices, and demarcated as ZEIS in the Master Plan, have been under pressure for removal.

4. Conclusions and issues to be debated

Cardoso (2007) summarizes the current interventions in precarious settlements into three basic models: upgrading, re-upgrading and removal. Upgrading involves interventions which do not change the structure of the settlement, working only on infrastructure and pavement. This has been the most commonly used, even though, in general, squatter settlements have an urban pattern which is completely out of norms. Re-upgrading consists of interventions where the structure of the settlement is totally changed, with the families resettled in the same area. This was the case of the paradigmatic upgrading of the Brás de Pina squatter settlement in Rio de Janeiro. Removal implies the total removal of dwellers and their resettlement in another area. In practice, many interventions make use of the three alternatives, re-parceling part of the settlement, working on infrastructure wherever possible and even removing a portion of the population, when the squatter settlement is very dense and it is necessary to do so to open roads and build infrastructure. Often times, this removal is carried out by means of the payment of indemnities.

Likewise, the interventions in squatter settlements can be ad hoc, when they are restricted to parts of the settlement, or total. Ad hoc interventions have taken place as a result of patronage practices or emergency needs, such as the reconstruction of areas hit by fire and/or floods. In Diadema, from 1993 to 1996 countless ad hoc interventions were carried out, but with the intention of later expanding them.

Examples of total interventions are the Favela-Bairro program in Rio de Janeiro, or *Programa Santo André Mais Igual*, a program in Santo André, in the Greater São Paulo. In these cases, there was an attempt to act in groups of smaller squatter settlements,

fully carrying out the improvement project within a 2-year period. In these cases, huge resources are necessary, making this type of project unfeasible for most of the local administrations since funding programs are very restricted. Both Rio de Janeiro and Santo André counted on foreign resources (European Community and the IDB, the Inter-American Development Bank).

A mixed model also emerged in Recife and in Belo Horizonte, that is, gradual planned interventions. These interventions, despite gradual, integrate plans for each settlement and, finally, integrate a global plan for the group of squatter settlements. Important examples of this type of action have been used in Recife, with the Plan to Regularize the Special Zones of Social Interest and in Belo Horizonte, with the Specific Global Plans for squatter settlement upgrading.

As management models, there can be participatory interventions (as in the PREZEIS in Recife) or authoritarian ones (such as Cingapura in São Paulo, or Favela-Bairro in Rio de Janeiro).

Regarding the minimum physical standards, Denaldi (2003) notices the existence of three levels to classify the physical-urbanistic interventions:

- Minimum Standard: includes the water, sewerage, and drainage systems, solutions for garbage collection, accessibility, treatment of the risk areas and land regularization.
- Intermediate Standard: in addition to the above mentioned elements, it includes urban equipment, adaptation of the road system and interventions in the surroundings.
- High Standard: in addition to the previous elements, it includes the adaptation of the density, re-parceling, reconstruction of housing units, adaptation of the road system with a minimum width for streets.

Costs vary greatly with the adoption of each standard. Simulations developed by the São Paulo State Technology Research Institute – IPT for squatter settlement upgrading projects located on the banks of the Guarapiranga dam estimated costs ranging from U$ 1,000.00 to U$ 13,000.00 per family, depending on the model of intervention to be used. After analyzing several projects also carried out in Guarapiranga, the São Paulo local administration came upon costs ranging from U$ 2,000.00 to U$ 5,000.00. Some examples can be taken from the programs mentioned as paradigmatic of total interventions: Favela-Bairro and the Santo André Mais Igual Program. In Favela-Bairro, minimum standards of density or housing conditions are not adopted, and the standards of accessibility are quite flexible. There are cases, such as in the Ladeira dos Funcionários, where the demographic density reaches 1,000 inhab/ha. The decrease in density is restricted to the minimum necessary to open roads and to offer equipment, and the improvement of individual households is left to the dwellers, who are motivated by the upgrading of the area. Accessibility is not guaranteed for all households: a passable road is built within a reasonable distance, and alleys and unfit housing units are not eliminated.

In Santo André, minimum standards are adopted for plots (40 sq meters) and for roads (4-meter width), and the upgrading program is associated with a financing program for the remodeling of housing units.

The arguments of the Favela Bairro emphasize the high density of the Rio de Janeiro squatter settlements, their consolidation level, their size, and the difficult geographical and geological conditions of the settlements in Rio, mostly located on hills. The high density, if a high standard were adopted, would imply in the removal of a great portion of the population. This argument puts forward a serious issue to the public authorities: on the one hand, the respect for the population's right to remain in their place of residence; on the other hand, the legalization of settlements which do not comply with the city's urban standards, thus creating two regulating principles for the conditions of urban life: one for the formal city, and a more flexible one, for squatter settlements. And a tragic dilemma arises: is it that just anything goes to maintain people in their place of residence? Should just anything, even dump-like structures be regularized? Should two standards of citizenship be approved?

Land regularization is also a challenge. The Special Zone of Social Interest has proven to be an efficient instrument to guarantee land tenure, thus avoiding removals. To the resident population, in general, this has proven to be enough. De Soto's argument, that real estate and land regularization with titles for squatters would integrate all this capital which is left outside the market, since it could be actually used in the mortgage market, has not been confirmed. In Lima, titles were granted, and squatter settlements have only increased. And no bank accepted that type of property as a mortgage guarantee. In São Paulo, many squatters don't want the deeds because that would involve the payment of land taxes.

Squatter settlement upgrading itself poses challenges. Many scholars refer to this procedure as "trying to dry ice". Doesn't upgrading also encourage takeovers? The short supply of new housing units with subsidies has turned squatter settlement-upgrading programs into the only alternative. However, as has been mentioned in the beginning of this paper, the growth rate of the squatter population has been historically higher than that of the population as a whole. Thus, housing conditions have been deteriorating. Additionally, even in the improved squatter settlements, the density increases again, thus deteriorating the living conditions in the settlements that have already been upgraded. The discussion of the two standards of city is also pressing. Squatter settlements, even when upgraded, will never become neighborhoods. This is an illusion of integration which hides the profound inequality of Brazilian society.

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Summary of the current interventions in precarious settlements

From the 40s to the 60s	Emergence of favelas in the city Removal policy
70s	Growth of favelas Besides removal policy, policy of building temporary lodge
80s	Increase growth of favelas Upgrading policies by local, provincial and federal programs
From mid 80s to 1988	Removal policy Building of popular housing though private partnership (interconnected operation)
Beginning of the 90s	Upgrading of the favela by local government, though self management Emphasis on popular participation
Mid 90s	Construction of vertical building in the same place of the invasion, by building firms, without popular participation, sponsored by IDB
Beginning of the 2000	Continuation of the upgrading policy, trying to improve the integration of the excluded Upgrading the urban centre by popular housing Attempt to legalize invasions in private space
Mid 2000s	Recover the urban centre by economic enterprises Continuation of upgrading favelas with a different approach (maintenance of the structure)

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[1] Populism: "In Latin America, populism has encompassed many forms, but all have shared qualities of being urban-based, multiclass coalitional, hierarchical, cooptive, ad hoc, and nonrevolutionary, led by ebullient (if not charismatic) figures who promised to redress popular grievances and to build social solidarity." www2.truman.edu/~marc/resources/terms.html (accessed on June 4 2007)

Advertising suburbanization in Mexico City: Luis Barragan's El Pedregal television program (1953-1954) and Press Campaign (1948-1965)

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"Los jardines del Pedregal" –referred to generally as El Pedregal– is a vast housing subdivision in the southern part of Mexico City that began construction in 1947. El Pedregal had been ideated around 1944-1945 by architect/developer Luis Barragán in collaboration with developers Luis and José Alberto Bustamante.[1] They associated to purchase low-cost properties in El Pedregal de San Ángel, a volcanic desert that, although located 13 kilometers south of el Zócalo (the historical central plaza of Mexico City), was directly adjacent to the colonial town of San Ángel. In the 1940's San Ángel had been integrated into the contiguous Mexico City as the District X, and by 1945 it had already been engulfed by the continuous urban fabric of Mexico's capital, potentially making the adjacent El Pedregal a desirable location. This was especially true because while the explosive growth of Mexico City was already generating poverty spots as much in the north as in the east and west of the city, the mythical south had remained in the imagination of the middle and upper middle classes as solidly desirable. The south was also –due to the same reasons— the direction of the most important highway investments in the capital that the government was completing. The subdivision became a trendsetter for Mexican urban development practices of the post WWII years, a historical moment in Mexico of unbridled land speculation. These post WWII years were profoundly marked by the administration of President Miguel Alemán (1946-1952), a lawyer who made his pre-presidency fortune developing Mexico City real estate, and with whom the Bustamantes had also collaborated.[2] The presidency of Alemán was a moment where, in a sharp contrast with the situation in pre WWII, the influence of American socio-cultural models reached in Mexico an historical peak. This influence was particularly true among the social class that colonized El Pedregal, a fact that had a profound impact in the settlement models of the subdivision.[3]

Given the notoriety of some El Pedregal colonists in Mexican politics and society, it has been easy but partially misleading to identify the subdivision only with the upper middle class. While it is true that at the beginning this was the public that the developers had in mind, the realities of the market forced them to open the offer to the most comfortable sectors of the middle class. Most colonists of El Pedregal ended up coming from what in Mexico were known as "profesionistas", a charged-with-meaning word that identified professionals with a university education. The professionals of El Pedregal represented the growing group of Mexicans that benefited from the unequal expansion of economic opportunities of the liberal policies of President Alemán. These policies were very sympathetic to American business models and opportunities; a sympathy that its beneficiaries extended to American socio-cultural models.

Although the idea of El Pedregal was conceived by later Pritzker Prize architect Luis Barragán, its plan was technically designed and drawn by city planner Luis Contreras. Contreras, educated as an urban planner in New York City's Columbia University, was under the influence of the models of territorial development that since Olmsted's proposal for Riverside, were becoming increasingly predominant in the United States. As a simple comparison of the plans for both subdivisions clearly indicates, Contreras plan of El Pedregal draws direct inspiration from Riverside's romantic-picturesque approach to the American suburb, one that included an anti-urban stance manifested in a clear preference for living in natural settings. Barragán not only was on board with Contreras appropriation of Riverside ideas, but also was the originator of the overarching urban planning philosophy of the subdivision. Most of Barragán's architectural ideology and poetic approach emerged from an anti-urban stance based in the romanticization of his rural upbringing. One of the handful of essays he ever published titled "How Modern Cities Should Develop: Mexico City's Growth" and written in 1959, is a diatribe against vertical development and high densities and a defense on the picturesque values of the landscape of the Valley of Mexico for private developments such as El Pedregal.[4] Both Barragán and Contreras converged towards the American suburb of Olmsted as an ideal model for their intuitions. But by imagining El Pedregal with USA suburban models in mind, they proposed ways of living that, despite the post WWII peak of American socio-cultural influence in Mexico's bourgeoisie, were still considered foreign.

This paper analyzes the massive advertisement campaign for the subdivision and the strategies proposed to sell a new set of urban planning ideas for which the Mexican public was still not fully ready. We will discuss briefly the print media advertising campaign that El Pedregal maintained from its inception until the selling of the last lots in 1965, and in depth the series of television programs that the management of the subdivision sponsored in the emerging Mexican television of the fifties.

The press campaign started in 1949 with some ads published in architectural magazines and intended for the real state trade, but it went full force in 1951 including ads, frequently full page, in Mexico City's daily newspapers. The newspapers selected were the ones intended for the upper middle class and the "profesionistas" such as *Excelsior* and *Novedades*. Ads appeared in popular magazines as *La Revista de Revistas*, and also in cultural magazines such as *Artes de Mexico*. Finally, the subdivision was heavily publicized in all Mexican magazines specifically dedicated to architecture, such as *Arquitectura, Espacios*, *Kabah* and *Decoración.* In *Arquitectura*, for instance, it nearly monopolized its valuable back cover from 1948 until 1965. In the process of this research we have collected over 200 different pages of advertisement, many of which appeared repeatedly on print.

Both, television programs and printed advertisements exemplify the intelligent propaganda techniques with which the private economic forces behind processes of suburbanization attempted to influence urban planning for private profit.

In order to comprehend why a single development could afford such level of investment in advertisement campaigns, one must understand the considerable size and importance of El Pedregal within Mexico City. After a series of consecutive land purchases, the final extension of the subdivision settled into an irregular landscape-rectangle of approximately 3.2 km long by 1.8 Km wide totaling 520 Ha (1260 acres). It is worth mentioning that the total urban area colonized by Mexico City in 1941 was only 7,138 Ha; therefore this single subdivision was increasing the city's developed area by a significant 7%.[5] El Pedregal had a convoluted commercial history that included a progressive series of reductions in lot size that reflected the lowering of the economic status of the desired potential client that we have mentioned. But, in summary, after all of these market negotiations, the subdivision ended up selling around 1,500 parcels, all intended for isolated single family houses with widely diverse lot sizes averaging 0.4 Ha (one acre).[6] Since most were occupied by big families with domestic service, we estimate a population of around 9,000 people. Based in these estimates, the population density of El Pedregal was 17 per Ha (7 per acre).

When we compare the suburban density of El Pedregal with all contemporary densities in Mexico's capital city, the foreign nature of the land patterns proposed by the subdivision appear clear. In the census of 1951, the population density of all the districts of the contiguous Mexico City averaged at 245 per Ha (99 per acre), with a maximum in the District I, which includes the traditional center, of 508 persons per Ha (205 per acre).[7] But of more referential importance here are the densities of the areas of Mexico City preferred by the same sector of the population that El Pedregal pursued as settlers. Examples of favored settlements of upper middle class and "profesionistas" were the traditional satellite colonial towns of the Federal District: namely San Ángel with 174 per Ha (70 per Acre), and Coyoacán with 82 per Ha (33 per Acre). In summary, the 17 persons per Ha of El Pedregal show the profound difference of the settlement ideas that it proposed with the all the patterns preferred for city living by its potential clients.

Since El Pedregal was clearly and unambiguously conceived as a fulltime residential development for living in Mexico City, its low population density was for post WWII Mexico a innovation for such fulltime city living. Starting in the 1850's in Mexico City, and several decades later in other Mexican cities such as Guadalajara, there had been subdivisions built in the outskirts of the traditional centers. But virtually all of these new neighborhoods had adopted settlement patterns hybridized between American and Mexican models, with far higher population densities than El Pedregal. Known as "colonias" (colonies) –for instance the first one in Guadalajara was significantly named Colonia Americana (the American Colony) – their densities were much closer to the ones of existing Mexican satellite town models such as San Ángel or Coyoacán.[8]

And indeed, the central issue that dominated El Pedregal's advertising campaigns was educational propaganda on low density patterns for a population unaccustomed to them. It was not a question of openly-technical urban planning discussion, but one of convincing people that the new ways of living produced by the new urban patterns were desirable. I will mention here just two among the most obvious of the key problems that El Pedregal's low density generated for the daily city life of its inhabitants: transportation

and food supply. Since the turn of the century Mexico City had adopted a relatively efficient electrical streetcar system that facilitated the connection between the historical center, new neighborhoods such as Condesa, and satellite towns such as San Ángel, Coyoacán or Tlalpan. But, for the low density of El Pedregal, the streetcar model simple did not work and was never implemented. While the social class that El Pedregal pursued had without exception a car in the family, many did not have the multiple cars needed to solve all the logistical problems that the new patterns generated. Regarding food, all neighborhoods in the city had historically depended on a model of domestic food supply based in the daily access to local "mercados" (meat, fish and produce markets). The "mercado" was not a unit economically feasible for the low density of El Pedregal, and even though the subdivision always included a small supermarket, this alone was not enough to solve the needs of its inhabitants.

To circumvent the problem of transportation in the minds of the public, the advertising strategy was to idealize and romanticize the dependence on the private car. For the problem of daily food supply, and learning from American post WWII developments in electrodomestics, the strategy was to refer to the glamour of the new post war architectural developments on domestic life. The key issue was refrigeration, which allowed a model of weekly instead of daily supply, thus minimizing the problems of transportation for the service. Meaningfully, from 1945 a 1947, Mexico imported from the USA 45,900 refrigerators, a machine still not produced in the country, and one that was preparing the ground for the possibility of a fully suburban development.[9]

But at the outset of El Pedregal, these innovations were still not enough to change minds. When in 1947 Barragán and the Bustamantes started to gather investors that, prior to selling individual lots, would help in the infrastructure costs of the development, the lack of a solid initial response forced the realization that El Pedregal would need propaganda techniques if it was to be successful.[10]

Barragán and the Bustamantes hired the Mexican advertising agency "Publicidad General", a company with expertise in the printed press that was conveniently located in the same building in Paseo de Reforma as the offices of the subdivision. "Publicidad General's" campaign –with initial direct control by Barragán himself— began in 1949 with printed pages concentrated in architectural magazines, a pattern that lasted until 1951. Under the slogan "the ideal place to live", the campaign attempted to balanced commercial and cultural aspects.

Barragán had taken the lead for this first phase of the advertising, one that in accordance with his anti-urban stance was dominated by the idea of selling houses that while still being close to the city had all the advantages of living in the country. Thus, the first advertisement published in the back cover of magazine *Arquitectura* and repeated in several issues from July to October 1949, announced "Enjoy the pleasures of the countryside; build your house in El Pedregal". This same tone continued while Barragán was in charge of the publicity until late 1951. For instance, another advertisement in magazine *Arquitectura* published in September of 1951 –and also repeated several

times announced– "(in El Pedregal) you will find the comforts of the city, combined with the panoramic views and space amplitude of the country weekend house."

During this first phase, the publicity was frequently illustrated with the appealing "Demonstration Gardens" that Barragán designed for the volcanic landscape of El Pedregal, frequently by using the brilliant photographs of Armando Salas Portugal. These photographs, together with the mention in every ad of the garden-like quality of the lots, were intended to overcome a public negative preconception about volcanic land which in Mexico was generally referred to as "malpaís" (badlands). Even the name of the subdivision "The Gardens of El Pedregal" tried to overcome this same problem, one that certainly had been reflected in the bargain purchasing price that Barragán's and the Bustamantes' paid for the property.

The culture of architecture also took a strategic central stage in Barragán advertisements. On the one hand, the concentration of ads in architectural magazines was based on the hybrid nature of the architectural profession in Mexico, where most residential architects acted also as contractors and frequently as developers. It was a normal procedure for a client to approach the architect with the idea of building a house and relying on his or her judgment for site selection.[11] But on the other hand, as much Barragán as his partners tried to shore the innovative nature of their sociological proposals by recommending cultural architectural aspects. In promoting a subdivision that for Mexico was so out of the ordinary, they obligated the use of modern architecture thinking that the hopeful idea of the "modern" would give them a selling edge. For instance, in one of the most notable ads appearing in 1951, before having many images of actual constructions in the area, a perspective of Frank Lloyd Wright's famous Fallingwater was pasted into El Pedregal landscape suggesting it as sample of the architecture emerging in the subdivision.

But in mid 1952, after seven years of development work and five of sales, there were only 31 houses completed or under construction in an operation that by then expected to sell over a 1,000 lots.[12] In a transition that lasted for a full year, there was a conceptual and financial restructuring of the development that removed Barragán from the executive decisions of the subdivision.

Other important historical factors directly and dramatically influenced this transition. In December 1952, Adolfo Ruíz Cortines succeeded Alemán as president of the republic. Ruíz Cortines was determined to stop the widespread corruption and excesses of the administration leaving office, among which illegal practices in real estate development were very prominent. With that purpose in mind he named Ernesto Uruchurtu as "Regente" of Mexico City. Given the oversized importance of the capital in Mexico's economy, this post (equivalent to major) was among the most influential of the Mexican political firmament and also had the rank of a ministerial position in the president's cabinet.

In the years previous to these events, Barragán had taken charge of the essentially political task of arranging the permits for the subdivision. He had conducted his

negotiations with the leaving "Regente" Fernando Casas Alemán. As requested by Barragán, Casas Alemán agreed to grant the original permit for El Pedregal as a "rural development".[13] Although this reflected Barragán's poetic ideology and aspects of the initial publicity, the real reason for requesting a "rural" permit was another. By being considered rural, the subdivision was exempt from city taxes and sheltered from the hefty fees necessary for linking the subdivision to all city networks. Also and most importantly, rural developments allowed individual septic tanks, thus removing the need of linking every individual lot to the city sewage. With these individual systems being traditionally built by the purchaser of the lot, the subdivision was avoiding one of the fundamental economic problems of its low density, the need of blasting well over a hundred of kilometers of city sewage lines in the consistently rocky ground of El Pedregal. But foreseeing the sewage problems, the legal requirements of a rural consideration also included a minimum buildable lot of 10,000 m^2 (2.5 acres), low density intended to guarantee a sustainable recycling of dark water.

From the very beginning, however, many of the lots were in flagrant violation of this rule. Starting with the first house completed in the subdivision –built by architect Max Cetto for his own family– the minimum lot size had been illegally reduced. Barragán was without doubt aware of these practices since he himself sold the lot to Cetto, who was not only his friend but his direct collaborator in the design of the sample houses for the subdivision. [14]

In early 1953, at the arrival of Regente Urruchurtu, most of the new lots being sold were already a fraction of the legal lot size. As a consequence, the new Mexico City administration, as one of their first measures in power, decided to prosecute the illegalities of El Pedregal, by taking four direct measures against the subdivision First, the small lot-sizes were enough for removing the rural consideration and Urruchurtu required the incorporation of the subdivision into the city's urban land. Second, El Pedregal had been up to then a de facto gated community with guarded gates at its main entry in Avenida de las Fuentes, and the city required the removal of the gates and the continuation of several of its streets into the adjacent emerging street patterns. Third, in order to fund the infrastructure problems generated by the incorporation into the city systems, Urruchurtu also fined heavily the investors of El Pedregal. However, the combined problem of rocky ground and low density left these infrastructural problems economically unsolvable. Even today El Pedregal lots are not linked to the city sewage and the subdivision systematically floods in the rainy season; a problem only disguised by the widespread presence of flooding in the Federal District. And Fourth, since the original rural denomination excluded the general urban provision of allocating 15% of its surface to public gardens, the city also required property title for a number of the subdivision lots that they destined for public spaces, some of which were implemented in the coming years.[15]

Along 1953 and 1954, in negotiations with the city, the original set of promoters decided that they were not in the position of paying the heavy fine, and sold control of the subdivision to Banca SOMEX. SOMEX bought financial control but arrived to an agreement with the brothers Bustamante by which they retained control of the sales and

other commercial aspects of the subdivision, such as publicity.[16] From this moment on, the decision of adjusting the size of the lot to the growing demand for less-expensive properties, although already a de facto practice, was legally established. Coinciding with these adjustments, Barragán separated himself from the subdivision, moving his primary interests and investments to "Los jardines del bosque" (Forest Gardens), a subdivision that he designed between 1954 and 1955 for his native city of Guadalajara in the Mexican state of Jalisco.

In this transitional year of 1952, in response to the lackluster sales, the management of El Pedregal decided to heighten their advertising campaign. Coinciding with the progressive removal of Barragán from the subdivision, the supervision of publicity fell into the hands of Noé Carlos Botello, the administrative manager of El Pedregal. Botello, still in collaboration with "Publicidad General", started a new phase that instead of promoting the idea of a rural arcadia, focused in the proximity of the subdivision to the city and the glamorization of the dependence on the automobile. Significantly, all references to the country house that had been prevalent in Barragán's era immediately disappeared.

Coinciding in time with the developments above, Héctor Cervera, a young free-lance publicist approached "Publicidad General" with an innovative idea for the publicity of El Pedregal. Cervera, accompanied and supported by "Publicidad General's" manager Eduardo Godard proposed to Botello to partially move the publicity of the subdivision to the new media of television, which had recently debuted in Mexico. Even though the pioneer Channel 4 had started with two daily experimental hours in 1949, and Channels 2 and 5 completed the early television landscape soon afterwards, it was only with the fourth presidential report of president Alemán to congress at the end of 1950 when the new media was officially inaugurated. And they had to wait until 1952, sparkled by the construction of Televicentro studios, for the beginning of fully developed commercial broadcasts.[17]

The interest of El Pedregal television program for this paper is that, conceived in the transitional period of the subdivision, it forced the publicists and the management to settle into a precise new ideology for the propaganda. They adopted some of the ideas of Barragán, such as the cultural role of architecture, and the insistence on the value of gardens. They rejected others, such as the idea of country house. And they incorporated a new emphasis in the positive values of the dependence on the automobile. In doing so, the television program created the definitive set of ideas that would make the subdivision successful. Once established, this ideology was kept in all the press campaigns that followed the television program, from 1954 until the end of the commercialization of the subdivision around 1965.

The first campaign that Cervera conceived for El Pedregal was a three-month concentrated drive based in a weekly television program dedicated monographically to the subdivision. The program was directed to the sociological group of the upper middle class that the subdivision pursued as clients. At the end of 1952, the limited number of

TV sets –even though expanding rapidly—was still mainly concentrated in the most comfortable sectors of the public.

It is worth dwelling briefly here on the personality of Cervera, the creator of the program and soon to become one of the most important figures of Mexican television: director for 17 years of Channel 5 and creator of such influential programs as Telesecundaria. Cervera –in his words– had learned all what he knew about television from the Mexico branch of Walter Thompson, the American advertising company that pioneered television advertising in Mexico. He was also profoundly patriotic and proudly "mestizo" with a particular interest in Mexican culture that showed in the various segments of his program that we will describe later. But his early educational immersion in American corporate practices also marked him, making him a prime example of the cultural negotiations between American practices and Mexican models that characterized as much El Pedregal, as its inhabitants, as the business culture of the 1950's in Mexico.[18] Ever since he heard of the inception of the subdivision, his ambition was to settle in El Pedregal, which he did in 1954.

Cervera's idea for this first series of programs was a combination of direct publicity together with three segments of publicity-free cultural content intended to educate the public about the concepts behind the settlement's choices. The three educational components will take over 80% of the broadcast time, but at the beginning, end, and both intermissions of the program, direct publicity would set the tone.

In these direct advertising introductions and intermissions, camera footage and still photographs showed the new houses being built in El Pedregal and also images of all the subdivision's emerging services and facilities. The images were chosen to present a vision of progress, including numerous and strategic views of automobiles, and mentions of the great highways towards the south of the city that the government was completing. After all, as much the new roads as the acceptance of the philosophies relying in the indispensable use of the automobile, were the authentic catalyst behind the development of a new area such as El Pedregal so dependent on the car for the practicalities of daily life.

Cervera's strategically conceived the three cultural sections in order to help the public to overcome some of the factors that, since the inception of the subdivision, were still perceived as negative. Section One of the program described the history of El Pedregal, attempting to soften in the eyes of the public the idea of reoccupying a volcanic desert. Starting from its geological origins and moving through its long and rich indigenous past, along the three months of the campaign the program would arrive up to the apocalyptic climax of the eruption of the Xitle Volcano that created the current landscape. The underlying message was the association of the volcanoes with the Mexican identity, suggesting ideas as much of origin as of cultural renaissance. The historical connection of Mexico's national myths with the volcano, always present, had had an enormous popular growth in 1943, with the nearly instantaneous emergence of the Paricutín Volcano, in what up to that date had been flat cultivated land. Drawing from this association, the reoccupation of the badlands of the mythical explosion of the Xitle

Volcano –the last of the great geological phenomena that defined the geography around the capital— was painted with strong esthetic and patriotic overtones.

This was a reorganization of some of Barragán's ideas for the subdivision, ideas that he had learned from Diego Rivera and from the artist and volcanologist Dr. Atl, Paricutín's esthetic and cultural chronicler. Dr. Atl -famous character self-named as Doctor Water in the indigenous Nahuatl language– had mentored Barragán understanding of the cultural implications of El Pedregal as a landscape identifying with Mexican national aspirations. The skill of Barragán as architect, but even more as a businessman, consisted of – through his longs walks across El Pedregal accompanying Dr. Atl– seeing the potential transformation of the landscape into gardens that would soften its harshest aspects.

In attempting to lure the public to a difficult land, the program also used more tangible cultural data. El Pedregal de San Ángel was also, in a fortunate coincidence for the emerging subdivision, the place chosen by the UNAM (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México) for their new University City. The new UNAM center was intended as the great cultural project of the Presidency of Miguel Alemán and was located in land directly adjacent to the subdivision. Cervera would look always for the opportunity to pair both projects in the program.

The other two sections of Cervera's program would be about modernism, the architectural language that the subdivision promoted as a selling strategy. Section Two, based in modern dance, was the attempt to connect with a source of national pride. Under the directorship of the artist Miguel Covarrubias the national ballet companies and by extension cultural ballet had become very popular in Mexico and ballet was a staple of early Mexican television.

Section Three –the last and most important— continued the line of earlier advertising by concentrate in a discussion of recent issues of architectural culture. In this segment, the expressed goal was to educate the public about the underlying logics behind the architectural modernity that, in a radical approach, El Pedregal was attempting to regulate as legally binding for the subdivision. Even though the modern movement was already a currency widely accepted in Mexico, it was so mainly in government sponsored buildings that would require only the acceptance of enlightened politicians or in private operations where the reduced cost of a naked decorative approach was a convincing factor. There were of course multitude of buildings that demonstrated the tendency towards using the language of modernity, but its coordinated use was something that differentiated the subdivision.

In the New Years day of 1953 –a Thursday– at the evening hour of 9:30 –the peak segment of daily audience– "El Pedregal, Your House, and Yourself" a program of half an hour of duration dedicated to "the esthetic and good taste in building" begun, broadcasting live in Channel 2 (XEW-TV) of Mexican television. For presenting the architectural segment, Cervera –in agreement with the managers of El Pedregal– selected Guillermo Rosell de la Lama, an emerging figure in the Mexican panorama of architectural polemics. Rosell was a very young architect, who three years before, in

collaboration with Lorenzo Carrasco had founded *Espacios. Espacios* —including figures such as Barragán in his editorial board—was one of the defenders of the Gardens of El Pedregal as a real estate operation rooted in cultural values. *Espacios* was also a magazine that enjoyed a significant publicity contract with the emerging subdivision.

Along the series of programs, Rossell brought to the TV screen a popularized version of the modernist ideologies that his magazine supported. He introduced the public to key figures such as Frank Lloyd Wright o Mies van der Rohe, and interviewed figures of the Mexican art and architecture worlds such as the painters Dr. Atl, David Alfaro Siqueiros and Diego Rivera, and the architects Alberto Arai, and Carlos Contreras among others. Arai, for instance, was not only one of the leading participants in the University City campus but also was a collaborator of *Espacios*, where he published his important text "Paths for a Mexican Architecture". Contreras was, as we have mentioned, the co-designer of El Pedregal.

In the interviews with Rivera and Siqueiros, the issue of discussion was "plastic integration", the general concept of collaboration between architecture and the arts where many of critics of the era –with Rosell figuring prominently in this particular polemic— did search for the incorporation of Mexican traits into modern architecture.

In two of the programs, Rossell ceded his anchor position to Clara Porset, a frequent collaborator of his magazine. Porset was a furniture designer that, although born and educated in Cuba, was by 1952 a leading figure in the fields of Mexican interiors and furniture design. In her work, Porset married international culture with local methods of artisan fabrication. The reason to invite Porset to the program was to cover the issue of the modern domestic furnishings, considered an indispensable component of the total environment that the TV program was proposing for the subdivision, and directly connected to the new housing arrangements that the subdivision was advertising.

Broadcasting from the studios of Channel 2, Rossell and Porset –filmed over a background with one of Armando Salas Portugal's famous photographs of El Pedregal– appeared always sitting behind one of the tables that Barragán's had designed for his own studio. Although as we have explained, Barragán was in the latter stages of a process of separation from the subdivision, at the end of 1952 he was still part of the picture and Cervera had been required by Botello to present his project also to him. Meeting with the architect in the studio adjacent to his house in Tacubaya, Cervera was only required to justify to the architect the adequacy of using TV to court the upper middle class that he still saw as the potential clients for his project. Responding to the distanced curiosity of the architect for the decoration of the TV setting, Cervera successfully proposed to refer to Barragán's studio environment by using one of its drawing tables as the place where the interviews would take place. Every Thursday for the following months, one of Barragán's tables would be meticulously borrowed and returned to its exact position in the architect's office after the live program.

After its debut, the first version of "El Pedregal… Your house… and Yourself…" did appear punctually at the same hour for the next thirteen Thursdays. The commercial effects, documented through the number of visitors to the subdivision on-site-sales office, were immediate. As a consequence of the success, the program's run was extended twice; continuing in modified versions for two full years until the end of 1954. The changes were multiple, in content and duration. Modern dance was already suppressed in the second run, and in the third, the duration was shorter and it was the publicity took over the cultural segments. All changes in the program responded to polling conducted amongst its viewers, a practice that Cervera had learned from Walter Thompson.

According to the data gathered in advertisements and among the original occupants the price of the lot nearly doubled with the television program run; from 32 pesos/m^2 at its beginning to 60 pesos/m^2 in the moment of closing the broadcast two years later. With the opening of University City, the establishment of its nearby public transportation, and the change of the perception of the area as closer to the capital center, prices jumped nearly overnight to 75 pesos/m^2.[19] At the end of 1954, with lot sales finally flourishing, the management of El Pedregal did not consider necessary to continue with the heavy cost implied in maintaining Cervera's television program in the air.

In many aspects, El Pedregal became the first non hybrid North American style suburb in Mexico City. Because of its remarkable architectural and landscape design, El Pedregal will be touted in later years as a main architectural achievement, and will start the chain of events that, in 1980, will make its author the second ever Pritzker Prize recipient. What remains mostly unquestioned, are all of the implications, positive or negative, concerning the contribution of El Pedregal to the suburbanization of Mexico City.

The rapid process by which many Latin American cities changed throughout the second part 20th century involves, nearly without exception, a progressive abandonment of the traditional gridded dense patterns codified in the Law of the Indies and evolved through three centuries of colonial and postcolonial practices. Massive poor immigrant informal settlements are no doubt a fundamental factor in this evolution. But at the other end of the spectrum, as it was clearly so in El Pedregal, the influence of the North American suburb in the growth of bourgeois quarters also influenced these changes, especially in countries in close physical and cultural proximity to the United States such as Mexico, Cuba or Puerto Rico. As we have discussed here, this was not an immediate or an easy assimilation, and needed important propaganda campaigns fueled exclusively by private developers searching for profits.

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[1] Most of the many books on Pritzker Prize Luis Barragán briefly explain his involvement in the subdivision. There is an architectural monograph specifically dedicated to El Pedregal: Eggener, Keith, Luis Barragán Gardens of El Pedregal (New York, New York, Princeton Architectural Press) 2001. And I have co-authored the most recent and comprehensive book on the architectural aspects of the subdivision: Pérez-Méndez, Alfonso, and Aptilon, Alejandro, Las casas del Pedregal 1947-1968 (Mexico City, Mexico, Gustavo Gili, 2007). Please note that I use the plural in many instances of this essay in recognition of aspects of the research done in collaboration with my co-author in this book. The book,

however, deals with architectural aspects and not with the urban planning aspects that I develop in this paper. The research supporting both the book and this paper included over 50 interviews with original settlers of the subdivision, many of which still occupy their houses. Our estimate on the total population is based in these extensive interviews. Many data of this paper emerged from these interviews and the clients archives. We also interviewed and copied the archives of many among the subdivision's developers and architects. All interviews are referenced in our book.

[2] Krauze, Enrique, La Presidencia Imperial (Mexico City, Mexico, Tusquets, 1997) p. 103-105, Regarding Alemán's real estate background. And Mancilla Bustamante, Sandra, El Pedregal un sueño interrumpido (Unpublished master thesis, Mexico City, Universidad Iberoamericana, 2002). Mancilla Bustamante, as member of the current generations of the Bustamante family, draws from a privileged access position to tell the family history.

[3] Moreno, Julio, Yankee Don't Go Home, Mexican Nationalism, American Business Culture, and the shaping of Modern Mexico, 1920-1950 (Chapel Hill, USA, University of North Carolina Press, 2003), p. 4-7: "The reconstruction of Modern Mexico and U.S.- Mexican Relations in Context".

[4] Barragán, Luis, "Como deben desarrollarse las grandes ciudades modernas. El crecimiento de Ciudad de México" (Mexico City, Mexico, *Diario El Zócalo*, # 3123, 12 October 1959). Compiled in Riggen, Antonio, Luis Barragán, escritos y conversaciones (Madrid, Spain, El Croquis, 2000) p. 50-53.

[5] Espinosa López, Enrique, Ciudad de México, Compendio cronológico de su desarrollo urbano 1521-2000 (Mexico City, Mexico, Instituto Politécnico Nacional, 2003) p. 199. The figure of 7,138 Ha includes all adjacent urban areas of Mexico City proper, but does not include 2,790 Ha of satellite urban villages within the Federal District, which later the city engulfed.

[6] This number refers to the phase of first occupation of the subdivision completed around the mid 1960's. The plans of the subdivision published in the 1950's (see for instance plan published in the back cover of magazine *Espacios* # 18, February 1954) contain the 1,235 lots. But these plans do not include the further subdivision of big lots by intermediaries that purchased extended areas of the subdivision for independent commercialization. The figure of 1,500 is our estimate based in aerial photographs of the mid 1960's.

[7] Espinosa López, 2003, p.211.

[8] Espinosa López, 2003, p. 119, regarding Mexico City. And Jiménez Pelayo, Águeda, El crecimiento urbano de Guadalajara (Zapopan, Jalisco, Mexico, El Colegio de Jalisco, 1995).

[9] Medin, Tzvi, El Sexenio Alemanista (Mexico City, Mexico, Era, 1990). p. 112.

[10] Mancilla Bustamante, 2002, p. 97, alludes to the initial lack of success of the subdivision.

[11] Sanchez Fogarty, Architect as Contractor in Mexico, (New York, The Architectural Record Mexico Issue, Vol. 81, Number 4, April 1937) p.10.

[12] Rosell, Guillermo, and Carrasco, Lorenzo, Guía de arquitectura mexicana contemporánea, Espacios, (Mexico City, Mexico, Espacios, 1952). The magazine *Espacios* publishes this architectural guide with the occasion of the VIII Panamerican Congress of architecture, recording in detail all 31 houses completed or in construction in the moment that they went to print in mid 1952.

[13] Mancilla Bustamante, 2002, p.48.

[14] According to interview of the authors with Bettina Cetto, daughter of the architect –contrary to the accepted belief in most accounts– Barragán did not give the lot where Cetto's House is located as payment for his services. Cetto actually bought a lot from the subdivision. Although he had to purchase one of the originally sized lots, he immediately arranged to divide the lot in two, building in half of the property, and selling the other half as a contribution to his then economic efforts to complete the house. A house was also built in the other half.

[15] Mancilla Bustamante, 2002, p.49.

[16] Mancilla Bustamante, 2002, p.5.

[17] Cervera, Héctor, El Pedregal, su casa y usted, (Unpublished manuscript, Mexico City, Mexico) 1953). Unnumbered pages. The television program of El Pedregal was broadcast live and no video record of it was taken. Héctor Cervera, however, maintains in his archive the original typewritten scripts for all the programs. A copy of this scripts, together with all accompanying information of the program in Cervera's archives, and a set of intensive interviews that the author conducted in collaboration with Alejandro Aptilon, are the basis of the previously undiscovered details of the program that we discuss in this essay.

[18] Moreno, 2003, Chapter 5: " J. Walter Thompson and the negotiation of Mexican and American values" p. 152-171.

[19] The advertisement's and Cervera's figures of lot cost can only be indicative, since prices varied with the individual properties. Prices did change with location (some streets were more desirable and expensive than others), with the different promoters (there were already different investment characters that would commercialize lots), with the particular topographic characteristics (lots with picturesque rock formations were the most desired and valuable), and with the size (with smaller lots increasing the square meter price) .

Foreign experts and International public-works consulting agencies: some hypothesis about city building and governance

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In 1912, the Argentine Senate sanctioned the national laws that authorized the expropriations for the construction of a major transverse avenue and the North Diagonal avenue, which would communicate the *Casa Rosada*, Seat of the National Government, and the Courthouse Palace. A year afterwards, in July 1913, a civic procession led by the Vice-president of the Nation inaugurated the first part of the Diagonal. If the crowd had walked northwest, it would have quickly faced the distressing view of debris resulting from an improper operation of expropriations and demolitions. World War I had blocked the international funds necessary for the works were only concluded in the 1930s. However, beyond that troubled start, these works ended the debates on the projects to build avenues initiated in the prior century.

The avenues projects were interpreted by literature from different perspectives. On the one hand, the general atmosphere around the 100th Anniversary of Argentina (1910), the employment of a French technician for the design of the project and the kind of solution adopted favored a traditional interpretation –almost a common place- that visualized those works in Buenos Aires as an importation of the *spleen* of *Paris* (Berjman, 1997; Gutierrez, 1992; Hardoy, 1988). On the other hand, later research in the urban history field examined those works –and similar situations in Latin America- in the framework of cultural studies of social representations (Almandoz, 2002, Gorelik, 1998), or on the translation of international trends in urban planning models (Novick, 2003). However, these cultural researches did not investigate the financial circumstances or values at stake that are exposed when one analyzes decision-making processes. By contrast, local economic history studies, classical researches (Ortiz, 1972; Harnoux, 1977) and the most recent ones on infrastructure, corporations or banks (García Heras, 1994; Davis, 1988; Regalsky, 2006) have paid special attention to the networks of public and private interests underlying their concretion. Symmetrically, a renewed political history - following Sckopol's work, which brought the State "back in" (1987)- analyzed the behaviors and contradictions of those who had formed the Buenos Aires municipal institution (Walter, 1993). In this way, the projects analysis can be one way to approach the problem, because can contribute to build an articulation field between the perspectives of urban planning history - that analyzed the ideas, models and actors lying behind its formulation- and the economics, political or cultural issues, focused on the context circumstances and logics ruling its implementation -but does not contemplate the specificity of urban models.

During the *Ancien Régime* cycle, the years preceding the implementation of universal vote in Argentina in 1912 (de Privitello, 2003), investments in infrastructure and projects comprehended in the embellishment and extension plans played a significant part in the metropolitan transformations. Urban Design was an issue for national and foreign

specialists, who debated urban planning models. The interventions were also an administrative problem for the officers of a State that was undergoing its organization. For companies and businessmen, those works were investment opportunities. Finally, their implementation was addressed at the Congress, and their approval decided on the concretion of the expropriations and administration of the corresponding borrowings.

From that viewpoint, we suggest an analyze of the life cycle of diagonal avenues project, from the stages of its first designs until its implementation, paying special attention to the network of actors that appeared in the decision-making processes. In others words, the issue is to answer two questions: How was the transition from the project to the materialisation os the works?, What public and private, national and international actors and what values were at stake during the different stages of the decision-making processes?

These matters can be problematized through the concept of *governance*, according to which the conception and implementation of public policies take place at multiple levels which the State and no-governmental actors share spaces. It is interesting to wonder if it is possible to use a notion created in the context of recent global transformations in a historical research without being anachronistic. Marc Hufty provides us with an answer when he defines governance as "a social facts category, since it refers to collective processes, formal or informal, that determine, in a given society, the modalities according to which decisions are made and regulations are written in the public affairs arena. So defined, it is a concept generalizable to all societies –whether local, national or international- and to all times." (Hufty, 2007). It is then possible to identify a specific modality of governance for each society and each time, that is to say, modalities of the interaction between social actors and of resolution of specific conflicts.

In order to introduce the problem, the text is organized in two parts. In the first one, we will refer to the cycle that ended in 1910 and to the key roles that the Mayor, local and foreign experts and international consulting agencies played and which contributed to place the avenues' project in the government's agenda. In the second part, we will look into the 1909 and 1911 parliamentary debates on the financing, the role of the State and operative matters related to the implementation of the project.

This article's outcomes are the result of the articulation of two new lines of research. On one hand, it is the result of a series of studies on the role of the projects and plans in the construction of the modern city. On the other hand, it results from a series of studies on "Innovations in decision-making processes for sustainable urban projects" (NCCR, 2006-2009). The methodological notion of governance allows us to articulate these two lines of work, posing new questions on the public-private, local-global relations, even if the answers that we come up with are preliminary. As work material, among others, we resorted to historiography studies, to documents from the Archive of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Argentine National General Archive and the City Council's and the Congress' records.

1. The avenues in the public agenda

The projects for new avenues and widening of existing ones began to be designed in Buenos Aires throughout the 19th century, but the concretion of these projects was initiated in the first decade of the century, during the euphoric atmosphere of the Centenary. In this section we aim to look into the first stage of the Avenues project, focusing on three moments signed by different actors and circumstances, which can be understood as an inclusion on the agenda.

The Centenary cycle, described in our bibliography as the "illusion of progress", was an expansionary period. (Bonaudo, 1999; Lobato, 2000) The increase of the population due to the immigration flow and the economic development led to the joint construction of the society, the National State and its Capital. In 1895, the Census of Buenos Aires counted over 600,000 inhabitants, trebling the 187,126 of 1867. In 1910 the population had increased to 1.5 million people. Uninterrupted growth ceased only in 1936, with almost 2.5 millions, when the suburban villages –counting 100,000 inhabitants in 1895- took the lead.

How was that expansion process analyzed by literature? Immigration, the construction of the port and railways were the engines of the expansion from "the centre to the suburbs", according to structural functionalism studies of the 70s (Scobie 1974; Bourde, 1974). In these hypotheses, the State was reduced to a transparent arena of conflicts between the different social groups. By contrast, alongside the renewed political, urban planning (Claude, 2006; Secchi, 2006) and cultural studies, many of the local studies – that we mentioned in the introduction because they didn't take the material conditions of the construction of the city into account- progressively focused on the role the State and the professionals had played in the construction of the urban space and society. These researches allowed overcoming and complexifying the classical interpretations that emphasized the key role of private developers who divided rural lands in plots for urban fabric as the driver of the urbanization. However, as we have said, the analysis of the projects themselves requires that we go back through the public-private, international-local intricate articulations. The first urban planning documents that helped include the avenues item on the agendas are illustrative.

The 1898, the *Plan de Mejoras* (Improvements Plan), adopted in 1904 as the "*Plano de alineamiento*" (Morales, 1898), which includes preliminary projects for the avenues, is a good example of the new role of the State. The explicit goals of the plan were to integrate the new neighborhoods, establishing limits between public and private domains, guiding public control and interventions vis-à-vis a city that was expanding. Actually, it set the rules of the game between the state and the market. Regarding its designers, the plan was traced by the city engineers' office. The capacities of the technical offices increased since Buenos Aires became the Capital (1880), in the framework of a municipality that was incorporating specialized competencies. In this way, those competencies were gaining position in a new University al the same time: the hygienists first (c. 1860), then the engineers (c. 1870) and finally the architects (c. 1890), are, in that order, the professionals with urban planning competencies that take

part in the recently created municipal offices. The new professionals graduated from university, concerned about the city, they became more and more organized, and they adopted postures facing the problems and its possible solutions. The construction of parks and squares, the sanitary regulations, the first building regulations –published in 1886 the property registers and topographical maps (published in 1887, 1892, 1895 and 1909) were some of the tools intending to control private constructions. This set of instruments was introduced in relation to administrative reorganization processes, which created spaces for social doctors, sanitary engineers and architects that were building their relative autonomy.

However, regarding the public-private relationship, in the context of that increasing institutionalization, the budgets and the capacity of public control were restricted. The administration imposed restrictions and, in other cases, accompanied and built the real estate market through its actions. As the classical studies of urban planning history show, we can observe the existing tension between the ideas that considered the development of the city as a stimulus of the capitalist development and those aiming to solve society's problems -within the framework of the obligations of the State with its citizens - education, health and public welfare programs. In other words, on the one hand interventions were made through works, and the control of the promoters was encouraged, but at the same time the territory was being conditioned, adding land to the market.

The 1898 Improvement Plan's proposals are illustrative of these dilemmas. This proposal regularized the space, extending the grid of the city to the whole area of the municipality. That urban shape was another of the management and administrative control tools that were implemented. That action constituted a rigorous control of owners and plot sellers by the technical bodies with control instruments. The extension of the roads network, the creation of parks and squares, the new infrastructure in services and transport encouraged the expansion to new neighborhoods, an opportunity for land and property valorization. Likewise, the downtown (as it was the window to the national progress and modernity) is transformed. As rough diagram – a cross of diagonals departing from the National Congress, the route of the North-South Avenue and the route of the waterfront avenue- ordered the ensemble. It is in that sphere of extraordinary interventions that required special budgetary approval that the possible involvement of private entrepreneurs was at stake. Years after the 1890 crisis, as an attractive market consolidated, entrepreneur proposals for interventions in the Old City increased. In that context, along with the developers of the suburban new plots, some interventions of extraordinary costs were proposed, also being an opportunity for large scale business operations. *Avenida de Mayo* (1886) was the flagship of those initiatives, since it mobilized transformations were tensions existed between the will of the public power and the interests of the owners, who obtained considerable benefits from expropriations in locations that increased their value exponentially. But even if agreements and differences between businessmen and municipal engineers were not few, the consolidation of technical offices at local and national level initiated a process that built both public officers and private entrepreneurs. Beyond these alternatives, the 1898 plan took the discussions on the avenue openings to public debate.

Years later, in 1905, as a result of the pressure made by city legislators ((VTCA, 20/03/1905, p. 251) an ambitious borrowing request destined to finance the works for the Centenary gave an opportunity to these projects. The diagonal and the north-south avenue project were included, and the request was taken to the Congress, being introduced in governmental agendas (CNACD, 16/9/1905). In those years, a projectual fever resulted in a wide range of alternative proposals that were the arena of technical experiments as well as political disputes. The broad range of avenues and diagonals proposed published in the press and in specialized magazines - between 1904 y 1914, the *Revista de Arquitectura*, magazine of the Central Society of Architects publisher over thirty articles- were an opportunity for artists and architects to become a part of the urban debate.

In 1907, within those discussions, the Mayor –Carlos de Alvear- called Paris' director of Public Works who designed, together with a group of local technicians, the New Plan (*Intendencia Municipal*, 1910). Jean-Joseph Bouvard was a disciple of the "academic" Constat Dufeux, but his 'artistic' career did not shine in contrast with other contemporary *l´École* figures, and his greatest accomplishments were all result of his position as an officer at the Paris City Government. He was the Managing Director of the Architecture, Boulevards and Plantations Services. In that capacity, he organized regulations, designed a public schools network, as well as the pavilions of Paris in international Exhibitions (Chicago, 1893; Anvers, 1894; Brussels, 1898; Saint Louis & Melbourne, 1904; London, 1908; among others). That experience allowed him to become an international advisor. He drew plans for Istanbul (1902), Brussels (1903), and after serving in Buenos Aires he also worked in Rosario, Sao Paulo and other Latin American cities. Most of the architects and artists rejected the presence of the Parisian officer because he didn't have an outstanding career –he was a bureaucrat rather than a talented artist- and also because he obstructed the possibility to call to a bid open to specialists. These groups of specialists and their associations spread new ideas and attempted to influence the decision-making processes of specific matters. Nevertheless, as we developed *in extenso* in previous works, as for Jean-Joseph Bouvard, the foreign expert, he was acting as a referee, mediating between the different technical positions. (Novick, 2003).

The proposal was presented over a grid extending to the whole city, enhanced by avenues and green spaces, drafted in collaboration with a team of officers that knew the territory very well. On the one hand, the erudite references to Eugène Hénard (relating the circulation), Buls (relating to urban aesthetics) and Jean-Claude Forestier (concerning park system) lent a theoretical basis to the entire proposal, with the intention of going beyond fragmented projects towards a system for the city as a whole. But, on the other a hand, the general directions of the proposals came from the city director of public works, one of the members of the Plan commission. At the 1909 Nuevo Plano (New Plan), a sort of translation exercise was carried out, a complex operation that accomplished the articulation of the built city with various referents – *haussmannian, city beautiful*, and urban art logics. It was a translation of the different urban models that were in circulation into a local reality marked by the regularity of Buenos Aires' street grid.

Specifically, we can see the change in meaning that identical forms take in different contexts. In Paris and in the European cities in general, around/over the fabric of the medieval city, intricate and irregular, diagonals played the role of rationalizing and modernizing the cities, adapting them to new functions. In the case of Buenos Aires, just like in the rest of the cities of the Americas, the *haussmannian* sense was inverted, since the grid-base –reinforced by the proposal of the Alignment Plan- was since its origin a rational matrix. Diagonals appeared, mainly, as aesthetic devices (composition, visual improvements, perspective of the spaces). Likewise, even if in the plans they were visualized as ways to organize growth, the parts that were built were only those reorganizing the downtown area. These matters are not exclusive to Buenos Aires, and are framed by the international dynamics of the circulation of ideas, as we read in some of the highlights of Bouvard's proposal. For instance, the parks and plazas system – revisiting Jean-Claude Forestier- was inspired in the American park system. Equally, the treatment of the monumental perspectives was recovered from the ideas of the city beautiful that had already processed an adaptation of the beaux arts system to the American grid.

But beyond those disjunctives, the New Plan had the merit of systematizing the broad range of projects in debate, as the new diagonal avenues were consensually established as priorities. Despite that collaboration and the position taken by the "specialists' network", the hiring of the French officer –that resulted in the inclusion of the project in a more comprehensive plan- was the result of the Mayor's political will and other underlying strategies.

In the first place, behind the presence of the foreign expert hid the struggle for the importance of an explicit policy of importing from the French, typical of the "Age of the Empires". (AMAE, 14/03/1908: folio 14) New countries were seen as opportunity lands where to make business and, in that spirit, experts and advisors operated as delegates to capture markets and business opportunities, in a dynamics that was examined by international bibliography on the exportation-importation of models (Nasr and Volait, 2003)

In the second place, hidden behind those "neocolonial" relations, the interests of local and international companies and businessmen were quite important. On one hand, the Mayor's decision was a result of arrangements made with local businessmen who since the end of the 19th century were trying to make urban business. On the other hand, international consulting companies were operating. The Parisian officer, after serving as an advisor in this part of the world, was named the director of the *Société Franco-Argentine de Travaux-Publics*, a branch of an international consulting group, the *Public Works Company, Society for Studies.* These consulting companies, formed by French shareholders and local government officers, bank directors and engineers, had the goal of identifying "profitable businesses"-as railways, trams, mines and big public works- and of promoting special societies for their carrying out. (AMAE, NS, 09/12/1909). Just like in other Latin-American contexts, such as Brazil, Chile or Venezuela, experts operated as guarantors for potential investments in public works. (Leme,1999; Martin Frechilla, 1992)

That dynamic changed with the political reform processes, as they put limits to these imperial ways of operating, when control and bid mechanisms were incorporated. Regarding international bids for the construction of ports, is it possible to read the critic comments made by the French diplomacy: "Once again we ratify that open bids launched by the Argentine Government have no other goal than acquiring, at no cost, seriously studied projects that their own engineers would be capable to design. Those same engineers choose from each project the best solutions provided by foreign science, put them together and call it an 'argentine' project. It is clear that, in effect, if the Department of Public Works had been able to prepare it, it would have been superfluous to invite foreign companies." (AMAE, N.S., 24/02/1911: folio 213)

Beyond the increasing public controls and the changing relation with the private arena, it is possible to observe a multiplicity of actors that were present in the initial stage of the inclusion of the avenues in the government's agenda. In those first moments, the project was progressively designed as part of a public program, through a process according to the described modalities. In 1898, preliminary projects of avenues were included in the Plan de Mejoras (Improvements plan), drawn by municipal officers, even if the local businessmen strategies' were behind it. In that document we can also see the rules of the game that the municipality made to establish the borders between private and public. In 1905, when one of these avenues was included as an item in a borrowing requested to finance the works for the centenary, the role of architects and city legislators was crucial. Later, in 1907, when it was integrated as a part of an urban plan (1907-09), the Mayor had a prominent role in contracting Bouvard, who was criticized by experts but supported by national and international companies.

Even if most of those logics were exclusive of the centenary period, they allow us to pose questions about the decision-making in other scenarios.

2. The *Ancien Régime* Networks

Years later, the avenues proposal was included in the congressional debates. Figueroa Alcorta, the President of the Nation, and the Secretary Montes de Oca – lawyer of one of the English companies interested in the enterprise- presented the avenues project to both houses. It was subject to intense debate in 1909 but the proposals were filed until 1911, when discussions were restarted. Throughout those congressional debates, different ideas about the role of the State and private investments were expressed, responding to different ways to conceive development and wealth production, deeply rooted in the previous century, but nevertheless increasingly filtered by the new reforming ideas about the city, the society, and its urban representations. Finally, it is in 1912 that the expropriations laws that allowed the openings were adopted.

The first debate in the National Congress took place in 1909. The four projects examined showed a general consensus about the convenience of building centric avenues but also dissidence regarding the amount of expropriations and the role the State should play as an agent in the market. The general agreement was on the need to transform the historic city center. The opening of new avenues was justified by the

logics of hygiene, aesthetics and circulation, but mainly by the project's capability to transform the downtown, the center of the political and economic life, a space symbolizing and representing the National State. It was an operation that was "convenient for the commerce and for the *decongestion* of the area". As Topalov's works showed, the "congestion" was at the same time the notion and metaphor that condensed the diagnostic of the city as a living –and ill- organism, and of its treatment. (Topalov, 1990). The problems were the danger of social violence, the fear of illnesses, obstacles for the circulation of the continuous flow of humans and goods that prevented an effective production and an efficient commerce. The "congestion" was visualized as an especially serious problem in the downtown, the most dynamic area of the city, where public buildings met workshops and crowded dorms -affecting its image-, but where property prices were rising rapidly. The avenues/widening projects were proposed as solutions that liberated plots that could home new building types.

The differences were about expropriations. The majority proposed to expropriate the surface necessary for the avenue plus a side strip –that through the resale of plots offered the city government the possibility of financing the works-, but the rest of the alternatives proposed to buy the necessary plots only. What was under discussion was the State's resale of unused expropriated plots, thus becoming another actor in the market. For some people this meant a dangerous advance of the State into the market: "Isn't this the beginning of the end of the healthiest rules of every well organized society on the *ipso jure* property rights?" (CNACD, Gonnet, 1909: 691). For others, even if they were not "defending a state socialism", wide expropriations were a resource to defend the "general interest". (CNACD, Oleachea Alcorta, 1909:719)

The debate took place in a start-up stage of the Project, when the necessary actions to transform the Project into a public policy were decided. In that moment, what was at stake was the 1866 expropriations law, that established a mechanism through which the state had authority to buy private real estate –previously, the Congress had to pass the property's "public utility"- paying market value and future valorization. Up to that moment the law had been applied in Buenos Aires in two opportunities with different consequences. It was first applied in the late 19th century for the trials for the expropriations to build *Avenida de Mayo*, when the Supreme Court adopted an extremely liberal doctrine and the owners' rights were placed at the forefront. The second time it was applied was in 1911, around the debates on the operations on *Plaza del Congreso*, with quite a different criterion, as the "public utility" was no longer under debate. By that time, the language and ideas of the social reformers was already current in the speeches of senators and representatives.

Pedro Luro and Meyer Pellegrini were the main voices in the 1911 discussion. Luro was a businessman, a partner of prestigious families that in those days were building big hotels –such as the Buenos Aires Plaza and the Bristol in Mar del Plata-, who promoted the construction of the port of Mar del Plata, in a time in which real estate investments –as economic history shows- were one of the main sources of profit.

They were both aligned in the heterogeneous ranks of the social reformers, who, according to different bibliographic interpretations, were liberals (Zimmerman, 1995) as well as conservatives (Suriano, 2000). Just like in other parts of the world, in the Argentina of the first decades of the century a noticeable network of reform institutions was organized alongside the debates on the moral, social and political reform that was being held in the public square regarding the Universal Vote Law (1912). With lawyers and social doctors playing a leading part, local reformers focused for the first part of the century in themes such as life and work conditions, hygiene, social security and housing for workers, acting as intermediaries between the State and the society, between capital and labor. But even if urban issues were addressed quite late in the century (around 1920), matters related to the role of the municipality, to the expropriations and, more broadly, to the mechanisms necessary to rationalize politics were in the reformers' agendas.

Pedro Luro was very eloquent in his speech to both congress chambers in defense of the avenue openings. In the first place, his erudite dissertation quotes Howe's texts, Gaston Géze's 'Political Economy' and Roosevelt's speeches – Roosevelt, who would deliver a few speeches in Buenos Aires in 1913, and form whom he rescues the need to place "human rights before property rights", pointing at the restrictions to property promoted from the liberalism in the United States of America. In this way, Luro explains, the engine of development is private, the private capital and in the performance of large companies within a dynamic of property valorization that must be understood as a synonym for progress. He proposed, in that context, the convergence between the 'Mayor's actions', 'the efforts of citizens' and 'the precious contest of construction companies' that should play defined roles. The municipality would play a comprehensive part, being able to value areas and create investment opportunities. More broadly, the Mayor hat to assume the leadership of the decisions and the state should act as a guarantor of the borrowings to ensure the financing. But it was the private capital that should play an active role in the development. Long term borrowings (20-30 years) were seen as a resource to contribute to the rapid transformation. (CNACD, Luro, 18/9/1911, p. 459-462)

Openings roads and expropriations were visualized as a possibility to liberate plots of new scales, whose intensive exploitation required of large investments that resulted in new real estate products. American *sky-scrapers* were rejected as a symbol of the "triumph of profit over idealism in constructions" (Luro at CNACD, 20/09/1911, p. 505). The big hotels and high buildings in academic style were the new real estate products which were Buenos Aires´ image of the modern city. But to build them, it was necessary to promote the development of larger construction companies. "We want to make palaces on ten square meters, and that's impossible. This is contradictory to all rules of proportion and monumentality. We shall have palaces once we try to build them on a minimum of twenty square meters, and when those can be extended, according to the owner's possibilities, to another plot of twenty or forty square meters". (CNACD, Luro, 18/09/1911, p. 474)

Somehow, during the 1911 debates, Pedro Luro acted as spokesman for large scale construction companies –and their construction businesses- as well as for banks and credit institutions interested in expropriations and borrowings. But, at the same time, the capacity of a State that was adding competencies was also present in broadened expropriations. From that perspective, more than a collision of public and private –of a private sector looking for businesses and a public sector defending the general interests-, what seemed to be at stake were the uncertainties of those years regarding the limits of those two sectors.

In 1912, two laws -called the 'Luro' laws- were sanctioned. These laws authorized the "public utility" for the north diagonal and the north-south Avenue. In the articles of these laws the terms of the projects, borrowings and financing were detailed. So written, they became a legal referent for the execution of the operations. However, a legal framework is not sufficient for the execution of the works. In that transition, the decision of the mayor Joaquín de Anchorena was crucial. He did not only mobilize efforts to start the works, but he also took a window of opportunity to initiate a second diagonal avenue.

At the beginning, his figure was introduced as that of a hero who won't be intimidated by difficulties. Immersed in the euphoria around the Centenary and imagining undefined progress, he wanted to crown his administration inaugurating monumental public works. As he justifies in his speeches, it was possible to assume that, given the increasing value of property, the works would finance themselves. That illusory image, common of that time, was shared by city legislators who supported his initiatives. "This is a new era of diagonal avenues and garden city neighborhoods". (VTCD, 7/6/1911: 204.). However, little by little, agreements with owners for the total or partial cession of their plots and audacious finance operations, such as short term credits and borrowings, led the administration to a dead end. Unsystematic procedures and the lack of an operation plan were discussed in the public square. Even if the transference of land to real estate developers had generated new business expectations, the Great War changed the rules of the game.

As an aggravating factor, the funds from one of the borrowings from the English Bahring Borthers and a group of German banks never made it to its destination. After its inauguration in July 1913, the works were interrupted because the municipality was almost bankrupt. In 1920 the debt was still being negotiated, in the context of a new political dynamics, with representatives from all the political parties in a city council with a socialist majority. The "*Ancien Régime* networks" were criticized by leftist lawmakers, who, from their new views on public and private, had strong arguments to second their criticism to previous administrations: "several properties have been sold, and all (the owners), almost no exception, have resorted to judges, who have been sufficiently flexible to satisfy their excessive demands" (VTCD, Dickman, 13/4/1920: 280). Finally, with the cooperation of pro and anti government legislators, there was a negotiation with the banks and in 1926 an extra money transfer was added to the local treasury. (VTCD, 7/5/1926: 277)

The passage from the plans and laws to the material city was a result of the mayor's will – who was at the time designated by the President of the Nation. Consulting groups, experts and companies were present but in the background. The city Council at the time supported or criticized some procedures, but it was not directly involved in the decisions. In other words, on the basis of established consensuses, it was the city's executive branch –related to the national government- that decided the beginning of the works. The first block of the north diagonal was inaugurated, but all the area affected by the avenues law was frozen since the trials and the expropriated properties exposed the chaotic procedure of those years, when everything seemed to be possible. The limits of a time when it all seemed possible resulted in a controversial legacy that determined the early transformation of the downtown.

Ten years later, when the political and social situation was recovering from the effects of World War I, the first 'leftovers' were auctioned. At the first auction, in February 1920, the buyers were the Bank of Boston, the insurance company 'La Continental' and the exports/imports company "La Patagonia". At the second auction, *Ferrocarril Central* (the National Central Railway, and English company) and insurance companies like 'La Sud América' and 'La Franco Argentina' bought their plots. In April 1929, the Bank of Boston and other companies were setting up, and the American Embassy bought its plots. A few months after the deep 1930 crisis, the North Diagonal reached Suipacha st. and articulated with Lavalle Square and the Courthouse Palace. The new plots resulting from its opening were acquired by banks, insurance companies and import/export agencies. The avenue, imagined in the likes of the *Hausmannian* interventions, and destined to organized the extension from the downtown to the suburbs, contributed to the early modernization of the down town..

Conclusions

How was the transition from the Project to the materialization of the works? What public and private actors and what values were at stake during the different stages of the decision-making process?

The avenues, conceived as modern spaces for circulation and for monumental celebration, that allowed to renew the central area and to add new activities, creating symbolic spaces and real estate opportunities, were included in the public works agenda after decades of debate through which coincidences on their priority developed little by little. In times of the Centenary a liberal model took shape –based on property rights- and in tension with the reforming ideas and a progressive increase of the State's competences.

The concept of governance allowed us to highlight the modalities in which different actors came into the play at different moments of the process. After being included in the city's urban planning programs, the request of a borrowing for the works for the Centenary was an opportunity. Once they were adopted as a governmental priority –in the framework of the *Nuevo Plano*-, the mechanisms necessary for its concretion were discussed at the Congress. Debates on the diagonals and the expropriations led to a

thorough discussion about the role of the State and the relation between private rights and public utility. In the standpoints expressed in those debates we confirm that interest networks always have political representatives that are also working on a side as advisors for the private companies involved in the public works. However, the initiation of the works, beyond their controversial consequences, found its conditions of possibility in the leadership assumed by the Mayor.

The analysis of the decision-making processes referred to urban projects, beyond the avenues shows that the nature of the projects varies according to different points of view. For the specialists it is an arena for experimentation and legitimization. When subject to public debate, they become weapons for political combat, which varies according to the more or less democratic context (depending on the transparency required in the decision-making). Urban Projects, as potential public works, mobilize networks of relations and economic interests around them; once the works are completed, they serve as a legitimacy icon for the administration of the government. In other words, the meaning it has for the experts is different to the one it has for the officers and the representatives.

Foreign experts, international consulting groups and companies were some of the actors that were directly or indirectly present behind the decisions. And, it is possible to suggest that many of the traces identified as characteristic of the *Ancien Régime* cycle seem to be present in other times and other periods. We refer to, for instance, the influence of consulting and business groups in the public arena; or to the power of the executive branch –local and national- in the allocation of the resources, its capacity to promote the implementation of some works over others and the significance assigned to the building –and mainly to inauguration ceremonies- of the public works. These issues, more than dilemmas regarding private and public, local and global, remind us of the multiplicity of agents and their interrelations to be pondered in order to understand the urban space transformation process.

Finally, what can the analysis of Buenos Aires' unique features tell us? As we said, the analysis of the projects allows us to articulate the urban planning histories –centered in ideas, technical agendas and biographical studies- with urban histories that, unlike political, social, economic and cultural histories, reveal the alternatives of the built urban space. These Diagonals could still be embedded within the broad framework of the 'Haussmannian model', in the wake of the formation of the knowledge and know-how of the urban city planning of the interwar era. That 'model' goes beyond Paris' morphology and refers more broadly to social representations and technical conceptions that started taking shape since the late 19th century. It also refers to the emergence of a constellation of economic agents and technical profiles –such as the urban advisors- that were added to the new State and managerial competencies that are typical to modernization processes. This process acquired different configurations according to the circumstances and temporalities of each country. In this way, projects and *modi operandii* established coincidences between Latin American cities. However, in Buenos Aires there was the context of the 100th anniversary added to a political will that allowed the concretion of the projects. As a matter of fact, the diagonals were the beginning of a

series of interventions that transformed the structure of the downtown area. The widenings enabled the construction of the new typologies –typical of banks and companies- that replaced the workshops and tenements houses. The city center, unlike the center of other Latin American cities, gained life and became the referent for administrative and recreational activities of the metropolis, after losing, in the early 20th century, its colonial look.

As we said at the beginning of this text, the works of the north diagonal extended for one block only and the landscape of "the day after tomorrow" remained distressing for many years since the Great War froze the works and investments until the beginnings of the *golden age* of the 20s. But, beyond the debris, avenues and diagonals arrived to the urban fabric, and in the early 30s, they were completed. These *Ancien Régime* works, seen through the lens of the avenues projects, raise some questions about the construction of the modern city.

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"Our Cities" and "The City": incompatible classics?

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Lewis Mumford was a man who knew his own mind . . . . and knew what was right and wrong about cities. In 1938 he penned a review of *Our Cities: Their Role in the National Economy*, the recent report issued by the Urbanism Committee of the National Resources Committee. Writing in the *American Journal of Sociology*, Mumford found much to praise. "No serious student will be anything but grateful for the immense amount of research that the authors have succinctly summarized," he wrote, pointing to the report's abundant comparative statistics and its reflection of "contemporary political and sociological thought in relation to the city." He found himself in "hearty agreement" with many of its recommendations about employment, public services, and government.

But Mumford also had serious reservations, finding that the report was too narrowly framed, lacking both an historical sense and an interest in cities a physical constructs. In effect, he argued, the report was a study in social science–perhaps not a problem for readers of the *American Journal of Sociology* but certainly one for Mumford and his compatriots in the Regional Planning Association of America. "There is no attempt to show either verbally or graphically the wide range of morphological variations in the structure of cities," he complained. "The 'city' dealt with, accordingly, is the administrator's city–a statistical abstraction–not the four dimensional reality in which the regional and historical backgrounds present important modifications of contemporary fact."[1]

Our Cities was widely reviewed and widely disseminated--a "best seller" according to its chief author–but it had less public impact–and less staying power–than another contemporaneous analysis of urban problems in which Mumford had a direct hand.[2] That "document," of course, was the film *The City*, made under the auspices of the American Institute of Planners and shown with great success at the New York World's Fair in 1939. Tracing the rise and crisis of American cities and ending with specific proposals for improvement, *The City* played to full audiences eight times a week for the eighteen months of the fair. It received a rave review in the New York Post, an article on the New York Times Magazine, and a two-page spread in the June 5, 1939 issue of LIFE.[3] Here it shared a fascinating issue on "America's Future" with articles on the new wonder material nylon, Boulder and Grand Coulee dams, aluminum cookware, the first televised sports event, John Steinbeck's new novel *The Grapes of Wrath*, the General Motors Futurama, an essay by Walter Lippman on "The American Destiny," and a letter from Buckminster Fuller. Since then the film has kept the company of generations of students in many a planning class.

The two texts–the densely packed report and the fast-moving film–emerged from the same historical milieu, but I will argue that they drew on diverging intellectual traditions and prefigured the fragmented nature of urban planning and policy in the second half of the twentieth century. In this interpretive essay, I briefly discuss the origins and contents

of the two texts and then set them side by side to consider similarities and differences in content and context and to comment on their differing receptions and careers within the intellectual traditions of city planning in the United States.

Making *The City*

Behind *The City* was the American Institute of Planners, newly reconstituted and looking for ways to define the scope of city planning in the rapidly evolving institutional landscape of the New Deal. Clarence Stein was the deal-maker who obtained a $50,000 grant from the Carnegie Foundation and organized Civic Films as the film-making arm of the AIP. With Stein, Frederick Ackerman, Robert Kohn, and Tracy Augur as board members, Civic Films drew heavily on the close-knit Regional Planning Association of America engaged the services of directors Willard Van Dyke and Ralph Steiner, two of the leading lights in documentary film. Pare Lorentz, now remembered as an even bigger name, worked with Henwar Rodakiewicz to develop the scenario and shooting script. As the project progressed in the course of 1938, Aaron Copland was brought in for the musical score and Lewis Mumford to write the narrative commentary, which was voiced by actor Morris Carnovsky. From start to finish, it was essentially a New York project that drew on that city's great pool often leftish artists and intellectuals.[4]

The resulting film has five sections that trace a trajectory of declension and renewal. It begins with the ideal small town of the previous century–literally a golden age in the bright sunshine. The village nestles among rolling hills. White picket fences punctuate the townscape. The village blacksmith, a la Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, wields his hammer in the town center. There follow a triptych of urban decline. The age of iron supplants the age of gold in the form of smoke-shrouded Pittsburgh. Manhattan turns human beings into frenzied denizens of an urban anthill, but there is no escape from New York on jammed highways that turn into weekend parking lots. Salvation comes at the end in the form of good planning, carefully explained and depicted in images of the new planned communities of Greenbelt and Radburn where the summer sun again shines.

The City is skilled film-making by leaders in the evolution of documentary cinema. Pare Lorentz very deliberately wove the trope of children's play through most of the scenes–a child happily running along the village street, urchins scrabbling in the polluted dirt on a barren Pittsburgh hillside, kids trapped in the backseat of an overheated car, the children of new suburbia happily biking on clean, safe streets.[5] Another trope is the metaphorical juxtaposition of sun and of cloud. Cinematic tricks anticipate future films. The accelerated clock and accelerated motion of the film's Manhattan workers would be imitated decades later in *Koyaanisqatsi* (1982). The highway scene is a precursor of the famous seven-minute panning shot of the stalled cars of urban refugees in Jean-Luc Godard's *Week End* (1968).

At the same time, *The City* is adamantly didactic. The supervising planners had a point to make, and they wanted it made in detail. Ralph Steiner remembered enduring a

barrage of books and lecture notes from AIP members before turning to Lorentz for a useable outline. The film professionals worked hard to insert humor and irony and cringed at some of the sometimes sententious prose that Mumford overlaid on their work. The foundation funders did not necessarily appreciate high-energy depiction of Manhattan workers nor the injection of humor into the bland garden village scenes at the end. The Civic Films Committee vetoed Rodakiewicz's proposal that the final sequence involve a debate in which a "slick realtor," a city tough, and a demagogue would be countered by the voice of planning reason. Instead, the final sequence (a whopping 17 minutes in a 43 minute film) hammered home the argument in favor of good planning–in the form of moderate-density suburban communities. Given that the board of Civic Films included Frederick Ackerman, Robert Kohn, Tracy Augur, and Clarence Stein, all of whom had been involved along with Lewis Mumford in the work of the Regional Planning Association of America, it is no surprise that the message embodied the garden city idea that the RPAA advocated.[6]

Writing *Our Cities*

If *The City* came out of a profession on the make, *Our Cities* emerged from the busy intellectual workshop of the New Deal and the National Resources Committee. The NRC was a small, independent federal agency that reported directly to President Franklin Roosevelt. It had already undergone two changes of name, created as a National Planning Board in 1933 to help coordinate the work of the Public Works Administration, evolving into the National Resources Board in 1934, and changing name to National Resources Committee in 1935. From 1939 to 1943 it would evolve into a National Resources Planning Board, still part of the Executive Office but now needing Congressional appropriations for survival. The key figures through the changes were Frederick Delano, the President's uncle and a director of the National Capital Park and Planning Commission, Charles Eliot as staff director, and Charles Merriam, a University of Chicago political science professor and the idea man behind the agency and its work. When the NRC set up a Research Committee on Urbanism in 1935, the umbrella organization was already deeply engaged with national issues of macro-regional differences and resource allocation.[7]

The second context for the report, and one that was also linked to the busy Professor Merriam, was the set of organizations co-located at 1313 E. 60th Street, across the wide boulevarded Midway from the UC campus. The glue was the Public Administration Clearinghouse directed by Louis Brownlow, one of the key figures in the emerging field of public administration. Brownlow worked and lobbied for the establishment of cognate groups: the National Association of Housing Officials in January 1934 and the American Society of Planning Officials later the same year. Under the leadership of Walter Blucher, ASPO's goal was to activate and serve planning commissioners, city managers, and other concerned with administering planning regulations. All of the 1313ers knew plenty about urban problems and about the urban research that had

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distinguished the University of Chicago, but they came at the urban question from the viewpoint of the old bureaus of municipal research with their Progressive concern for efficient and effective provision of services–the name Public Administration Clearinghouse was well and carefully chosen.

In both of these contexts, the NRC's Urbanism Committee was connected to the main organizational interests but also a bit peripheral. The Urbanism Committee chair was Clarence Dykstra, well-respected from his years as city manager of Cincinnati. Other members were Charles Eliot, Louis Brownlow, Arthur Comey of the Harvard School of City Planning, Undersecretary of Agriculture M. L. Wilson, Harold D. Smith from the Michigan Municipal League, and Louis Wirth. from the University of Chicago. Planner Ladislas Segoe directed the research staff from a base in Cincinnati, while Wirth was the key figure who digested the research into just under a hundred pages of text. As the membership of city management specialists suggested, the work of the Urbanism Committee centered not on land use and infrastructure planning per se but rather on the economic conditions and "government tangles" that often frustrated physical planning. Charles Eliot put it this way: "Is it now time to look at the whole problem . . . to examine more closely, more intensively the social-economic limitations and government procedures and methods which limit and influence the kinds of plans that are both desirable and practicable." In examining the social and economic functions of cities and combating the problems of intensive urbanization, added Ladislas Segoe, the group hoped to find ways to help planners treat underlying problems rather than symptoms.[8]

The resulting document is very much a "Chicago" product with its attention to social dynamics and institutions. The body of the report has the careful rhetoric of social science research and government publications. The text is thickly argued, supported by statistical picture graphs and statistical and administrative maps. Its attention centers on issues of population growth, economic development, and governance.. Although one of its important background documents was a study of planned communities and company towns, it essentially viewed cities as arenas for improved political and economic organization. The focus is the particularities of demography, regional change, and administrative structure with an eye for economic viability and efficiency.

Our Cities has three main sections of data and analysis, bookended by a Foreword that summarizes problems and challenges and a concluding set of "Statements of General Policy and Recommendations." In between are "The Facts about Urban America," "The Process of Urbanization–Underlying Forces and Emerging Trends," and "The Problems of Urban America" (of which it lists and discusses thirty-six). The topical coverage is comprehensive, ranging from transportation to recreation, from economic specialization to public health, from poverty and unemployment to governmental disorganization and lack of municipal cooperation. The report placed the blame for many urban problems squarely on public neglect, pointing out that "although the United States has been a predominantly urban nation for more than two decades, this report . . . is the first inquiry of national, official, and comprehensive scale into the problems of the American urban

community."[9] It concludes with wide-ranging recommendations for federal studies, federal policies, and federal programs to address the needs of cities, many of which have been implemented in the nearly seventy years since its publication.[10]

Different visions . . . different solutions

Placed side by side, the film and the report reveal a consistent fault line that divided two distinct approaches to city planning and the improvement of urban life As Table 1 summarizes, the differences spanned both the details of plans and the processes by which these plans might be developed and implemented.

Table 1: The City and Our Cities: Points of Comparison

The City	Our Cities
Cities as physical artifacts	Cities as social and political systems
Cities as residential environments	Cities as centers of production
Decentralization as solution	Dispersal and fragmentation as problem
The products of planning	The process of planning
Planners as "outside" experts	Planners as governmental "insiders"

1) The scope of city planning

The City highlighted the physical functionality–and dysfunctionality–of the modern city. It diagnosed the problems of physical scale such as crowded housing, overburdened downtowns, lack of open space, and congested traffic, and it offered a solution based on physical design. In part, of course, this is a natural consequence of the medium, since films are designed to show physical things in motion. Cinema critics then and now have examined the ways in which the film used still and moving cameras to different effect, choices of physical perspective in different scenes, and the contrasts of scale– people are foregrounded in the "good" village and planned suburb but dwarfed by large, looming cityscapes in the "bad" industrial city and metropolis.

In addition, the focus on physical design matched the interests of Stein, Mumford, Frederick Ackerman, and others of the RPAA who provided the intellectual context in which the film makers worked. As is well known, the RPAA shared a vision of regional urbanization in which the key factors were the physical design of individual components (e.g., Radburn, NJ) and the spatial relationships among the components that assembled into the regional city. Their work, fundamentally, was about the ground plan of individual communities and the proactive mapping of activities and population on a regional scale.[11]

Presented in the context of the New York Fair, *The City* also invited comparisons with the General Motors Futurama exhibit. Both the film and the exhibit put cities in motion– the Futurama by physically moving visitors through the exhibit and the film by use of camera and actors. The New York sequences, comments William Alexander, were especially "clever, quickly paced, [and] composed of some of the best cutting and internal movement in 1930s documentary film."[12] Each *showed* what the future might be like rather than writing about it and, by so doing, inevitably emphasized the physical aspects of metropolitan areas.

The central concern of *Our Cities*, in contrast, is the problem of economic viability and efficiency: efficiency of production, economic rationality in land uses, affordability of housing, effectiveness of taxation systems. The underlying concern was the New Deal challenge of restoring long-term viability to the national economy. The writers of *Our Cities* thus understood cities in the context of regional resource development (the parent organization, after all, was the National Resources Committee) and worried most intensively about the economic costs of urban inefficiencies. Closely connected was a concern with labor force quality, with recommendations looking toward expanded social welfare, improved education, and crime prevention.

In other words, the report was a product of social science that lay in the tradition that stretched back to the Paul Kellogg's Pittsburgh Survey.[13] More recently, Charles Merriam had been one of the founders of Hoover's Social Science Research Council, whose compendious reports on *Recent Social Trends* had set the foundation for understanding the modernization of American society. As reviewers noted at the time, the authors made effective use of pictorial graphs and descriptive maps showing urban growth (and decline) over time, the role of railroads in metropolitan growth, and migration patterns.[14] *Our Cities* offered data where *The City* highlighted design.

2) Consumers and producers

The City implicitly rejects the world of work. The "bad" city is defined by the twin poles of the industrial economy–smoke-belching factories and downtown office buildings filled with paper and paper-pushers. In the short transitional fourth sequence, efforts to find weekend respite from the hard-working metropolis end in overheated radiators. In

contrast, the "good" city that is set in contrast to the metropolis is a place of leisure. Kids are home after school, dad is home after work, mom gets to stay at home with her up-to-date kitchen. Leisure is individual (bike riding children) and communal (picnicking in the park, joining or cheering a ball game). Encapsulated and foreshadowed in the film is the transition from a world of work to what historian Lizabeth Cohen calls the "consumer's republic" in which citizens are understood not as workers but as consumers, and citizenship as the opportunity and right to consume goods and services.[15]

The very title of the Urbanism Committee report–*Our Cities: Their Role in the National Economy* –set a different agenda. The opening list of fourteen emerging problems begins with "drastic inequalities of income and wealth" and the "lack of articulation among the various industries within our urban communities." leading to "seasonal and cyclical fluctuations in the total pay roll of the community . . . . migrant labor, increased unemployment load, lower wages, shrunken purchasing power, loss of business, high cost of relief, untenanted property, tax arrears, and curtailed municipal services" (see Table 2 for a summary of the entire list).[16] The entire middle section offers the classic economic explanation for the growth of large cities as increased agricultural production makes possible spatial specialization in industrial production and service. Maps trace urban growth and decline, rural-urban migration, transportation as a factor in population concentration, and industrial trends. The report distinguishes among individual cities as they "acquire a specialized role in the national economy."

> They become differentiated partly as a result of differences in access to suitable resources, transportation facilities, and labor supply. In addition to these natural and technological factors, cities in the course of time become distinguishable from one another also because of the initiative of entrepreneurs . .. . so that certain cities acquire a prestige and renown for the production of certain goods. Such factors wig;; in the course of time shape the industrial character of the community. Furthermore,. Certain industries can exist advantageously only where others upon which they depend are already established. Some cities, therefore, developed a highly specialized economic base, while others, offering more general locational advantages, attract a variety of industries and thus become more balanced economic entities.[17]

3) Decentralization v Regeneration

The City, of course, presents congestion as a basic urban problem and planned decentralization as the solution. Both the murky industrial city and the teeming metropolis are, fundamentally, places where too much activity is concentrated in too small a compass. The alternative is squarely within the mainstream of planning thought that stretched from Frederick Law Olmsted and Ebenezer Howard through social reformers like Harlan Paul Douglas and the design utopians of the RPAA.

Our Cities, in contrast, anticipates much of the urban policy discourse of the 1950s and 1960s by viewing decentralization as a triple challenge. Suburbanization fragments the governance of the metropolis and undermines administrative capacity. It often involves inefficient and fragmented land development with attendant costs for the provision of public services. Finally, the dispersal of population and activity undermine the downtown and core neighborhoods. On all of these analytical dimensions, the report highlighted the problems of central cities–increasing poverty, declining tax base, obsolete infrastructure, and substandard housing.

In response, the report's authors argued against wholesale decentralization and abandonment of core areas. As Christine Boyer has summarized, "the Urbanism Committee set about to redefine the structure of the urban center within the metropolitan whole."[18] They asserted that "wholesale decentralization, which is being advocated by some, does not seem to be compatible with the effective performance of the economic and cultural role of the urban community in the life of the Nation." The many defects of cities, "are but blemishes or infections which an otherwise healthy organism can check," in this case through "judicious reshaping of the urban community and region by systematic development and redevelopment in accordance with forward-looking and intelligent plans."[19] Their specific solutions included the rationalization of social welfare systems, slum clearance, a national housing program, the expansion of municipal authority, and something very like urban renewal:

> Better to control urban development, to combat land speculation, and to have land available for low-rent housing, recreational, educational, and other public facilities likely to be increasingly required in the future, the Committee advocates a more liberal policy of land acquisition by municipalities and accordingly recommends the liberalizing of the fundamental laws of the States in order to permit urban authorities to acquire, hold, and dispose of land with greater freedom and to allow a wider interpretation of the term "public use."

4) Planning as product or process

The City is about end states and desired results. The film committee explicitly rejected efforts to build in analysis of how cities found themselves in dire straits, opting to show the *content* of good planning rather than the planning process. In the context of the late 1930s, it is especially striking that the film avoided direct confrontation with the central contradictions of capitalism. Critic Richard Griffith noted the problem at the time. The film's conclusion, he commented, placed the choice of chaotic metropolis or summery suburb squarely on the viewer. Who could actually make the choice, he wondered. "The City proceeds as though everyone could, as though it had only to convince us of the *value* of the future town. But people do not live in slums by choice. They need to be shown not only what they ought to have but how they can get it. And this the film does not mention.[20]

Our Cities, in contrast, is about ways to rationalize the institutional location of decisions and improve the process of decision-making. Its authors wanted to tackle the metropolitan governance question by making administrative and legislative functions match up with social and economic realities. They worried about municipal taxing capacity, about the professionalization of public service, and about the legal authority of city and regional governments. The first of the hefty supplementary volumes was devoted entirely to urban government and administration, while the second volume devoted equal space to Arthur C. Comey and Max S. Wehrly's physically-oriented description of "Planned Communities" and Harold Buttenheim's discussion of "Urban Land Policies" with its attention to issues like tax foreclosures, land titling, subdivision controls, tax assessment, and property taxation.[21]

5) Outsiders or insiders.

The leadership of the American Institute of Planners offered a telling bit of self-analysis in the inaugural May-June 1935 issue of the *Planners' Journal*. They–AIP members–were "professional planners" in contrast to "administrative planning officials." The formulation packed several overlapping meanings. Planning as a field of practice had evolved in part from architecture and landscape design, both fields where individuals with specialized skills and knowledge worked project by project for a succession of clients. Out of this context, many AIP members had developed their careers in the 1910s and 1920s as freelance consultants who advised communities about zoning, transportation, and the location of public buildings. Others, like Lewis Mumford and many of the RPAA crew, were idea people who commented and advised about urban growth as critics and outsiders. There was an assumption of superiority in the *Planners' Journal* formulation: professionals were the experts who told the administrative planning officials what to do.

In contrast, *Our Cities* was written for policy-makers and officials, fitting squarely within Charles Merriam's agenda of making social science research an indispensable staff function for elected officials and bureaucrats. Both Merriam, as the research entrepreneur behind the National Resources Committee, and Louis Wirth, as the social scientist most closely engaged with the Urbanism Committee, moved easily between government advisory roles and the academy. *Our Cities* thus treated city planning as one element among many that made for effective, efficient, and progressive government. This is the same intellectual environment in which political scientist Robert Walker, a student of Merriam, argued that planning should acknowledge or even embrace its essentially political character and that it would function best as a staff function of central city administrations.[22]

If planning was best seen as a function internal to the city management process, then its purview was broad and its boundaries expansive. *Our Cities*, after all, covered questions of taxation, public employment, administrative reorganization, unemployment, and social welfare. A few years later, John Gaus, one of the pioneers of American public administration and political science, found himself a professor of city planning at

Harvard University. His summary of the subject matter ranged over "administrative planning" and "social research" as well as "city planning" and "regional planning," making figures as different as Woodrow Wilson and Robert Lynd into ancestors of the planning tradition.[23] Similarly, the Public Administration Service in 1943 published *Action for Cities: A Guide for Community Planning* (Chicago, 1943) with the sponsorship of the American Municipal Association, American Society of Planning Officials, and International City Managers' Association. The guide gave economic development strategies and social services equal attention and standing with "the ground plan of the community."

Concluding thoughts

The two texts originated in what we can call the contrast between the American Society of Planning Officials and the American Institute of Planners. As John Gaus commented in 1943, "the existence of these two organizations reflects the difference in emphasis between physical design in city planning . .. .and that on legal, administrative and social analysis and staff work generally. . ...I think that the American Institute of Planners might properly be viewed as the physical design section within the planning personnel of the country."[24] As an AIP (and RPAA) project, *The City* reveled in the physicality of the city, highlighting the impacts of the built environment on everyday life. As applied social research, *Our Cities* zeroed in on social statistics and administrative problems.

In the decades since, *The City* has remained an important text for planners while *Our Cities* has been assimilated more easily into the lineage of urban policy and urban studies. Eduard Lindeman's review in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* anticipated this direction but predicting that the report would be of special interest to social workers, educators, officials, and social theorists–but not mentioning planners.[25] *Our Cities* had little direct impact on federal policy in the short run, but it provided an intellectual foundation on which postwar policies might be built.[26] The differences then and since have reflected and reinforced the split between the public housing and social work wing of urban reform and those who centered their attention on urban form, land use, and architecture. In a sense, they anticipated the contemporary contrast between the sociologists and political scientists who populate the Urban Affairs Association and the designers and architects who have organized and promoted the Congress for the New Urbanism.

Table 2: Emerging Problems According to Our Cities
(as summarized in Walker, The Planning Function in Urban Government, p. 43)

1, Basic inequalities of income and wealth within the urban community.

2. Lack of articulation among various industries within the community

3. Rapid obsolescence of physical plan and plant.

4. Disruption of the national urban pattern brought about by competing forms of transportation.

5. Uncontrolled subdivision and real estate speculation.

6. Burdensome proportion of substandard housing.

7. Endangered public health, particularly in blighted areas and among low-income groups.

8. Disorganizing effects of ethnic, religious, and cultural heterogeneity.

9. Inadequacy of adult, vocational, and higher educational programs.

10. Prevalence of juvenile delinquency, organized crime, and commercial rackets.

11. Inadequacy and irrationality of existing systems of urban public finance.

12. Adjustment of the legal position and powers of the city.

13. Difficulties arising from the overlapping of independent governmental units.

14. Persistence in some cities of graft and corruption

1. Lewis Mumford, review of Our Cities in American Journal of Sociology, 44 (July 1938): 149

2. Louis Wirth quoted in Howard Odum, American Sociology: The Story of Sociology in the Untied States through 1950 (New York: Longmans, Green and Co, 1951), p. 231.

3. Movies: The City: Fine New Documentary Film Shows Evolution of U.S. Urban Living," LIFE, 6 (June 5, 1939): 64-65.

4. Insightful and detailed studies of The City that draw directly on archives and interviews with the film makers are Howard Gillette, Jr., "Film as Artifact: The City (1939)," American Studies, 18 (Fall 1977): 71-85 and William Alexander, Film on the Left: American Documentary Film from 1931 to 1942 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981). The film also receives useful commentary in Robert Wojtowicz, Lewis Mumford and American Modernism: Eutopian Theories for Architecture and Urban Planning (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990) but gets little mention in other studies of Mumford's life and thought by Casey Blake, Donald Miller, and Mark Luccarelli.

5. Gillette, "Film as Artifact."

6. Critics in 1939 noted that the ending sequence appeared "flat and lifeless" in comparison with the energy of the earlier sections. "A World's Fair Film," review of The City in Architectural Review, 86 (August 1939): 93-94, quoted in Wojtowicz, Lewis Mumford, p. 143. Also see Howard Gillette's characterization of the film as a "propaganda piece for the garden city idea" in "Film as Artifact," p. 73. A commonly distributed version of the film cut the ending substantially.

7. For the creation and evolution of the National Resources Committee in the context of national social research, see Barry D. Karl, Charles Merriam and the Study of Politics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974). Karl shows clearly how Merriam's intellectual entrepreneurship linked the privately funded Social Science Research Council, President Herbert Hoover's Research Committee on Social Trends (which produced two formidable volumes on Recent Social Trends in 1933), and the various manifestations of the National Resources Committee. The central interest of these organizations was national trends and patterns and the possibility of national-scale administrative reorganization, as in the NRC's report on Regional Factors in National Planning. Also see Harold Ickes, "City Planning Merges into National Planning," The American City, Nov. 1933, p. 65, cited in Alan Brinkley, "The National Resources Planning Board and the Reconstruction of Planning," in Robert Fishman, ed., The American Planning Tradition: Culture and Policy (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2000), pp. 173-92.

8. Charles W. Eliot, II, "New Approaches to City Planning," Planning for the Future of American Cities, 1935, p. 111 and Ladislas Segoe, "City Planning and the Urbanism Study," Planning for City, State, Region and Nation, 1936, p. 7, both quoted in Mel Scott, American City Planning since 1890 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 310-311

9. Our Cities: Their Role in the National Economy: Report of the Urbanism Committee to the National Resources Committee (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937), p. iii.

10. In this reading, Our Cities lies squarely within the tradition of progressive reform that seeks government interventions to fix failures of open markets without challenging the basic distribution of economic power. For an alternative reading that sees the report as a call for radical restructuring see John D. Fairfield, The Mysteries of the Great City: The Politics of Urban Design, 1877-1937 (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1993).

11. In this view, The City was in synch with the Regional Plan of New York and Environs (1931), which was about the spatial arrangement of urban activities and population. Even though Lewis Mumford strongly disliked the New York plan for accepting the power of centralization, this was an argument among people who shared some of the same assumptions about the essential elements of planning. See Mark Luccarelli, Lewis Mumford and the Ecological Region: The Politics of Planning (New York: Guilford Press, 1995), pp. 167-80.

12. Alexander, Film on the Left, 255.

13 . Maurine W. Greenwald and Margo Anderson, eds., Pittsburgh Surveyed: Social Science and Social reform in the Early Twentieth Century (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996).

14. William Anderson, review of Our Cities in American Political Science Review, 32 (April 1938): 355-56.

15. Lizabeth Cohen, A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America

(New York: Knopf, 2003).

16. Our Cities, p. viii.

17. Our Cities, pp. 37-38.

18. M. Christine Boyer, Dreaming the Rational City: The Myth of American City Planning (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1983), p. 227.

19. Our Cities, p. 84.

20 . Richard Griffith, "Films at the Fair," Films, Nov. 1939, pp. 63-64, quoted in Alexander, Film on the Left, p. 255.

21 . Urban Government: Volume I of the Supplementary Report of the Urbanism Committee to the National Resources Committee Urban Planning (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939) and Land Policies: Volume II of the Supplementary Report of the Urbanism Committee to the National Resources Committee (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939).

22. Robert A. Walker, The Planning Function in Urban Government (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).

23. John M. Gaus, The Education of Planners, with Special Reference to the Graduate School of Design of Harvard University (Cambridge, MA: Graduate School of Design, Harvard University, 1943).

24. Gaus, The Education of Planners, p. 24.

25. Eduard Lindeman, review of Our Cities in The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, No. 200 (1938): 327-28.

26. Mark Gelfand, A Nation of Cities: The Federal Government and Urban America, 1933-1965 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 96-98, notes the limited impact. It is interesting to note that Gus Newport, mayor of Berkeley, California in the 1970s and later executive director of the Dudley Street Initiative credits Our Cities with inspiring a sense of public service

"When I was mayor of Berkeley, California," he writes, "I spent time with a group of older thinkers who played major roles in the development of public policy during the 1930s. ... One member shared a report with me called "Our Cities" . . .. One passage from this extraordinary document moved me. . . . 'The manner of life of our people, the problems they face, and the hopes and desires they cherish for improvement in their existence and the advance of their civilization should be the supreme concern of government.' The essence of these words moved me on a spiritual, ethical, and intellectual basis." Gus Newport, "Why Are We Replacing Furniture When Half the Neighborhood Is Missing," The Nonprofit Quarterly, 12 (Winter 2005), at www.nonprofitquarterly.org/content/view/30/28/ accessed Feb. 3, 2008.

After urbanism: recent urban planning challenges in Lisbon

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1. Introduction

During the XXth century we have observed the creation of town planning as a scientific discipline, independent from engineering and architecture. What basically distinguishes and characterizes it from the preceding urban practices is the adoption of the social sciences scientific method (to observe, document, classify, index, compare). The growing disciplinary autonomy is a result of the institutionalization of urbanism[1], the creation of specific urban planning regulations[2], and also the creation, at the university level, of diplomas and specific training in the field[3].

The end of the XXth century brought the term of a cycle associated with scientific urbanism. As from the 1980's, the practices of democratic town planning processes gradually substituted the city-beautiful ideal, of author-endorsed formal planning.

The internationalization and globalization processes also had an impact in urban design. Recent urban development trends show, rather than the influence of national, regional or local[4] schools of town planning, the imposition of methods and techniques and urban models established at the international level, in particular in what concerns the vastly discussed issue of urban competitiveness, integration in international networks and rankings of regions and cities, territorial marketing and the consequent adoption of strategies and methodologies of the marketing type, from which planning and management are the most obvious. Planning marks its way by opposition to urbanism (in french *urbanisme*, in portuguese/spanish *urbanismo*). The use of the word planning (*planification* or *planeamento*) comes as a distinction from former scientific urbanism practice and ideology.

Planning and management, which today seem current terms when applied to the territory, are in fact concepts adopted from business administration. Its application to the urban realm has deeply changed the practices of the city-beautiful movement (or *Art urbain*) expressed in the *Beaux-Arts* style, in which the architects or the engineers had the main role (XIXth century and beginning of the XXth century) or of scientific town planning, where the town planner would be in charge and assume the responsibility for the plan and its implementation (XXth century).

In Portugal the new post-urbanism stage is mainly represented by Lisbon's Strategic Plan (Plano Estratégico, PE) of 1992 implemented through the Master Plan (Plano Director Municipal, PDM) of 1994 (both of municipal responsibility), and also through the so-called Priority Plans and Projects (PPP's), which planned pragmatic action through the adoption of projects designed by architects or teams, often external to the municipality. This principle unchained several urban actions currently still in progress, in

spite of the fact that a certain discontinuance in the urban policies which preceded them might be observed (PE and PDM, which is obsolete).

In this paper we will discuss the constitution of a new planning era associated to post-metropolitan transition, where cities have become the nucleus of multi-polarized regions of often metapolitan[5] expression. Looking at three local plans we will attempt to further define characteristics and current trends towards the constitution of a new post-industrial planning period.

2. Post-urbanism

After its golden years[6], urbanism has lost its formal authority to design univocal and hegemonic ideal futures. This new "after urbanism" cycle relates to a new moment and a new stage of the city, which Ascher called the metapolis[7]. Territorial fragmentation requires new planning answers: a greater investment in the regional scale (a process that is very clear in the case of Lisbon) to allow the definition of supra-urban policies aiming at the contention of territorial fragmentation and that offer a certain structure to the networks of places, and the construction of the new meta-heritage. The purpose is to retain the growth dispersal patterns and induce territorial recentralisation. These policies claim to obtain the desired sustainable development and to ensure the balance of the energetic gains and losses, in what concerns urban mobility, land use management, the conservation and restructuring of the territory natural systems and the forms of waste and residue treatment and recycling.

The recentralisation policy relates very directly to the town centres: indeed, the decentralization of the production and in particular the industrial relocalisation, the increasing family autonomy associated to the increase in automobile dependency[8], and the increasing tertiarisation of the society, are all factors that help explain the decline in town centre densities, with the undesirable processes of territorial and social fragmentation, characteristic of sprawled territories and other commonly known costs of sprawl, such as the destruction of farmland and open space, environmental concerns and global warming[9].

Furthermore, the already mentioned need to enhance urban attractiveness associated to town planning globalisation, has lead to a growing importance of rehabilitation, requalification and urban regeneration programs as the main scope for post-urbanism. Considering that the city is, already, basically built or at least, structured, main methods and action procedures are currently centred in the possibilities of intervention on this existing city. These forms of intervention have a very broad spectrum: as of the *tabula rasa* urban renewal processes, to the extreme opposite of the conservation and even of the reconstitution of the pre-existent memories (case of the rebuilding of the Chiado district, project of the architect Álvaro Siza, after the fire of 1992).

Analysis of the most important projects developed in Lisbon, in the last 20 years, allows for the identification of the following urban trends: the "iconification" (adoption of avant-garde symbolic projects designed within a framework of competitive post-urbanism,

Frank Gehry's project for the Parque Mayer being the most expressive example in Lisbon), decentralization (in particular industrial decentralization), strategic planning, sustainable planning (for example the constitution of greenways or the adoption of Lisbon's Green Plan), *Re* methodologies (rehabilitation, reuse, etc.), urban infill, brownfield redevelopment, management and action planning techniques. Processes of sustainable urban regeneration, focusing on the society and on the improvement of population life standards, differentiate from the operations of urban requalification, of major urban design projects aiming at the quality of public space and the improvement of urban image. We will present three cases of post-urbanism in Lisbon, where these trends are combined.

3. Three cases located in Lisbon

3.1 Praça de Espanha Plan
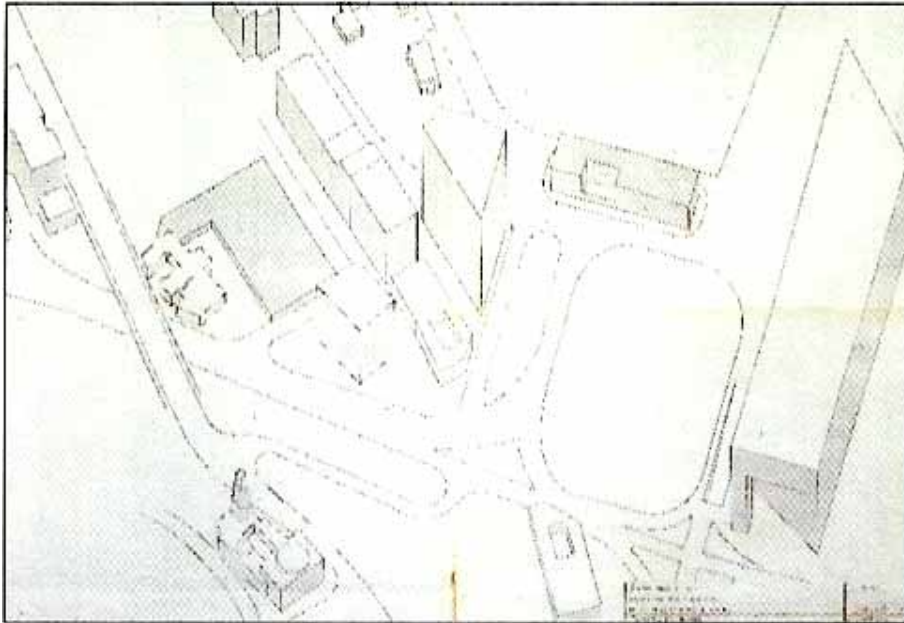
[image] 1 | Praça de Espanha plan, 1995.
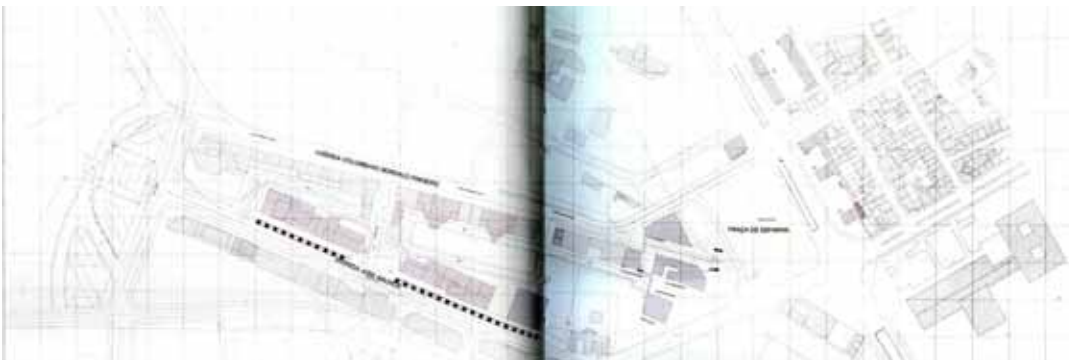
 [image] 2 | Praça de Espanha plan, 1995**.**

In 1989, Mayor Nuno Krus Abecassis established the first agreements aiming at constructing the Orient Museum, the new building of the Teatro Aberto (theatre) and the Gôndola restaurant, all located in the Praça de Espanha area. The proposals were approved in City hall session and Municipal Assembly. Following these decisions, it was deliberated in 1990 to develop a detail Plan for the Praça de Espanha. Later, Mayor Jorge Sampaio decided to invite the architect Álvaro Siza "by his prestige, internationally recognised and confirmed by the special quality of the services to the municipality of Lisbon in the development of the Detail plan for the Chiado affected area"[10].

Architect Siza Vieira was already connected to the area due to his commitment to the project for the Foundation Cargaleiro[11] The Orient Foundation, on the other hand, had invited the architect Ioeh M. Pei to work on the project of the Orient Museum.

After the approval of the preliminary study, in 1990, doubts were raised regarding the interest in the preservation of the building of the Theatre of Comuna, whose demolition was envisaged in the context of the Master Plan of 1967 for the opening of a viaduct (Av. Malhoa). These studies were carried out in the context of the demolition of the building, which was later occupied by revolutionary artists in 1974, after the democratic revolution. The building has since gained a symbolic cultural meaning. A new context and a different view of cultural heritage, implied in a closer look at the area's constraints and the need to consider local values in the project outcome.

The program for the creation of a new urban centre would include two bank headquarters (Bank of Portugal and Montepio), the headquarters of an insurance company (Lusitânia), two museums (Oriente and Manuel Cargaleiro), two theatres, a bus terminal, connected to the subway, underground car parking, a commercial gallery and a hotel. The program was complex considering that each one of these buildings contained mixed uses including sport facilities, one school of ceramics, resource centres, etc. Siza's team maintained the idea of replacing the viaducts envisaged by tunnels, which introduced unexpected technical and financial problems. In 1991, a traffic report, showed a major reduction in the importance of Praça de Espanha as a traffic distributor, after the construction of a new highway (eixo Norte-Sul). The new axis came to diverge much of the traffic coming from the south bridge, in particular those of Campolide and University campuses. As a result from these studies, one of these tunnels would be abandoned.

The zone was declared of public utility, with authorization for administrative possession, to expropriate the buildings considered to be essential to implement the Plan of Praça de Espanha. The protocol of intervention was established in 1990 and 1991, signed by the municipality, the 2 foundations, the bank Montepio Geral and the insurance company.

The main project goals set by the municipality were related to road traffic and urban transport and also to the imposition of urban continuities through the effort of integration of various urban fabrics. Architect Siza Vieira proposed to keep of the character of the

Praça de Espanha as an open space defined only by isolated elements which have the symbolic capacity (from the institutional or cultural point of view) to act as references of physical limit (Gulbenkian foundation, Spanish Embassy, Institut of Oncology, Theatre of Comuna, Mosque).

Álvaro Siza refused to design a closed plazza, preferring to maintain the fragmentary character of the place: an open urban space "dominated by gardens, nonetheless controlled by a few isolated but yet solid and inter-related volumes" [12].

"The buildings to be built on municipal ground (such as the Bank of Portugal) will have the role of closing and consolidating the fragmented urban fabric (fabric made of blocks and continuous façades) and still, as independent volumes, to define readable relationships with the diffuse construction.

These relations can be established on the basis of intense 'traffic design', composing an overall dynamic unity of isolated volumes and continuous spaces, of stability and fluidity." [13]

The main square would be programmed like a symbolic place, of cultural relationship (the pre-existent foundation Calouste Gulbenkian, the Mosque, the Spanish Embassy, the Orient and Manuel Cargaleiro museum/foundations and two theatres), allowing the contact between various cultures associated to Portuguese history.

It was also decided to establish a greenway between the gardens of the pre-existent Gulbenkian foundation and the grounds to the south of the Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro Avenue (in connection with Lisbon's major park, Monsanto). Lisbon has been engaged in this project of greenways, a study of the landscape architect Gonçalo Ribeiro Telles, developed within the framework of Lisbon's Green Plan. Lisbon's Green Plan integrated the municipal 1994 Master Plan and aims at establishing the urban ecological structure [14].

The greenway is constituted as a free linear space accompanying natural corridors like waterfronts and coastal lines, which connect natural reserves, historic sites and cultural heritage sites and monuments (churches, firm, mills, aqueducts, etc). The concept is integrated in an international movement, which aims at giving answers to the modern requirements of compatibility between the negative effects of urban development and the safeguard of environmental quality.

Monsanto's greenway is another example, which also crosses the plan, as a limit to the south: beginning in the downtown Plaza of Restauradores, it is prolonged on Avenida da Liberdade, crosses the gardens of Alto do Parque through the University campus to the gardens of Campolide and ends in a pedestrian crossing which leads directly to the park of Monsanto. The traffic-free paths are designed to establish pedestrian connections and cycling routes and are animated by various bars, restaurants and activities.

Later, the municipality commissioned landscape architect Ribeiro Telles with the development of a study on the surface waters, which would consider the problems of floods and, at the same time, the requalification of several parts of the city. The study was undertaken in collaboration with Ambelis, Lisbon's development agency. The Valleys of Chelas, Ameixoeira and Alcântara were the three main poles of the program. Architect Ribeiro Telles developed a system of retaining ponds for the collection of surface water from the rains. The idea is to build small dams, avoiding the uncontrolled influx of water to the low areas of the city. This system would accompany the length of the green corridors, adjunct to the Central Avenue in Chelas and also in the Parks of Ameixoeira and Alcântara Valley.

Siza Vieira criticized the building of the Bank of Portugal because of the volumetric impact on the square (Praça de Espanha), confronted with close pre-existences such as the Spanish Embassy and the Gulbenkian Foundation. In 1992, Siza recommended the revision of the project of the bank, which envisaged a building with approximately 300 meters long and 50 meters high, and also that of the imposing private sector housing project (Twin Towers). In 1993, the Bank of Portugal gave up the project. The area that would be occupied by the bank was later proposed to be a housing unit.

Following the decision of the Bank of Portugal to abandon the project, together with the publication of the PDM, in 1994, it was decided to develop a new plan for the area. The new version of the plan was integrated in the PDM in the context of the Planning Unit 14 (UOP 14) as a priority plan, within the Priority Plans and Projects (PPP's) program.

The preliminary draft for the establishment of the Bank of Portugal envisaged the demolition of some apartment buildings. Instead, in the new project it was proposed to build new housing as urban infill. The municipality also gave up the intention of constructing an underground bus station. After the abandonment of the Bank of Portugal, Siza proposed the revision of the volumetry planned for the Bank Montepio Geral, which previously balanced the volumetry planned for the Bank of Portugal.

The abandonment of the bank's headquarter project implied that the municipality returned, with interests, the money which had already been advanced by the Bank of Portugal, which, in 1993, was translated into an amount of 12 million euros.

The market salesmen of Praça de Espanha complained about the planned new market location in another district (Alvalade). The relocation became controversial by the opposition of the inhabitants of Alvalade, who did not accept the new localization envisaged inside the neighbourhood Alternatives were studied. A new plan is in hand since 2004.

3.2 Chelas civic centre
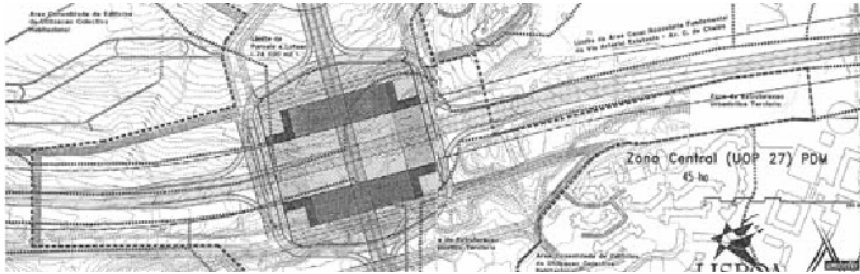
[image] 3 | Chelas civic center development plan, 1999.

Located in the Chelas district, one of the last large housing neighbourhoods designed in Lisbon (1960-64), the Chelas civic centre plan was integrated in the PDM of 1994 (UOP 27) and was coordinated by Ambelis[15]. Such as the neighbourhood of Olivais, another large housing development also located in the eastern side of Lisbon, programmed in the sixties for a population of 34000 inhabitants, the civic centre was the last project to be implemented. Contrary to planning recommendations, financial constraints have led the central units (or civic centres), where the social activities should take place, to be the last areas to be executed, and the final program of these units was even contrary to the vision behind these plans.

Unlike other preceding social housing projects in Lisbon, where several types of promotion were integrated to avoid the risks of social exclusion, Chelas was mainly built during the revolutionary time and considered only the promotion of social housing. The district has many functional, aesthetic, and social problems and was criticized by its housing monofonctionality, the difficulties of accessibility to the downtown area, the absence of public space design and maintenance (including the built park), the delay in the construction of the programmed public buildings (including the civic centre), the constructive insufficiencies, and the delay in the construction which led to failure to implement the global program (replaced by a progressive operation)[16]. All these difficulties of programming and implementation resulted in a physical isolation from the close neighbourhoods and the built continuum.

Ambelis considered the improvement of the image and status of the area, developing a new urban project, coordinated by architect Nuno Portas, aiming at the design of the civic centre, programmed in the Chelas Plan. The new program for the civic centre proposed four private housing blocks of 16 stages, offices and a mall/multi-department store, built above Chelas Central Avenue involving the construction of ring road, and subway station: "a true fortified consumption wellbeing island encircled by miserable social neighbourhoods"[17]

The project also included the programming of several large public buildings (municipal services, such as Lisbon's historic archives and the hemerotheque), the new criminal courts, the hospital of Todos os Santos, the headquarters of the *Expresso* newspaper and an upper status condominium.

The main purpose would be the urban regeneration of the eastern side of the city. The urban models considered in the design of Chelas civic centre would be that of La Défense and several projects in Barcelona, which were intended as strategic poles to invert the image of the sensitive districts, establishing private/public investment partnerships.

The plan gave freedom and flexibility to the architects who designed the buildings, resulting in a fragmented urban design, centred exclusively on the perimeter of the new blocks, without establishing connections with neighbour buildings or continuities with pedestrian accessibility.

All the projects, including the municipal archives, were commissioned to private architecture teams. The lack of quality of the urban project and the obvious lack of continuities it allowed was possibly the main reason for the early abandonment of the overall idea. All the municipal services[18] gave up their intentions to build on the site and the only projects that were built in the civic centre were the housing complex (mall/multi-department store with the four housing tower blocks) and the housing condominium, totally disconnected from the existing fabric.

From the 27.5 million euros that the consortium responsible for the housing and mall complex paid by the land, the municipality received a little less than 1,5 million euros, the remainder being paid with the roadwork[19]. The first outcome of the project shows the enormous difficulties in the commercialization of the apartments (consortium complex and condominium) and also the negative impacts of a commercial bunker imposed on the small commercial units of the neighbourhood (often the only spaces of social interaction in sensitive districts such as Chelas). With the abandonment of the main investors in the public services such as the municipality and criminal courts, but also of important urban functions such as the newspaper headquarters, the programmed transformation lost its dynamic and ability to develop an enduring regeneration process actually capable of putting a new symbolic meaning to the process of urban change. Instead, the new "commercial bunker" stands isolated in the Chelas Valley, not contributing to its image and strategic social regeneration.

3.3 Alto do Lumiar

The Plan, coordinated by SGAL, a company responsible by the project's urban management, was established for an area classified by Lisbon's 1992 Strategic Plan as Innovation crown, a cluster of urban sectors to be transformed, which included the grounds of Expo'98. The zone had been object of a proposal of Urbanization Plan, developed in collaboration with the National Laboratory of Engineering (Laboratório Nacional de Engenharia Civil, LNEC), in 1988.

The project was object of a public-private partnership, established through the constitution of SGAL and which claimed to generate "the greatest real estate operation of today in Europe"[20].

The sector in study (adjacent to Lisbon's airport) was occupied by illegal and informal housing, derelict sites and outdated infrastructure, forming a decaying unit, socially, physically and functionally unstructured.

The plan was included in the 1994 PPP's and was developed incorporating the proposals established in the PDM (UOP 23).

[image] 4 | Alto do Lumiar plan, 1999. City structure and continuities in street design.

The program is that of a new district for 65.000 inhabitants, integrating new lodging for the population, which previously lived in the site under extremely precarious conditions. Programmed as an extension of the city centre, the plan envisages the prolongation of the historical axis, structuring the new urban development. According to the authors of the plan, the walk of Lisbon (Passeio de Lisboa), will be "the biggest and widest" avenue of the city, in continuity and according to the character of the *avenue-boulevards* of the beginning of the XXth century (Avenida da Liberdade and Avenida da República). Programmed housing is intended for various social classes, integrating several types of promotions. The program aims at a mixed-use neighbourhood: housing, commerce, services, hotel, offering the basic urban services, infrastructures, public transport (including subway station), parks, sporting and leisure facilities.

The approach is market oriented and functional. Aiming at the inversion of the declining image of the East side, the plan used a marketing strategy to gain a new status, for example by the choice of a new name: Alta de Lisboa (Uptown Lisbon, with a connotation of high standing). The strategy is that of offering low budget housing for the middle class, trying to reverse the speculation process in Lisbon.

[image] 5 | Alto do Lumiar plan, 1999 (zoning and urban design).

The program is designed as a compact city, in an approach directed towards street design, identified by the authors as the crucial public space. The grid plan was intended in continuity with the structure of the beginning of the XXth century Lisbon, with the housing organized in small blocks, often open and making use of the interiors as public spaces of creativity.

The intention was not to build ghettos, leading to a solution where the new social housing was built separated by private housing promotion for the middle class, a project designed to mix large-scale private-sector investment with low-income housing. However, the first constructions were the lodging for the populations that already lived on the grounds in precarious conditions. As a result, the first image of the new neighbourhood was disastrous: islands of social housing non-profit developments, dispersed on construction grounds in an overall de-structured chaotic unit. The image of neglected area led to difficulties in selling the new housing units with the consequent trouble in giving continuity to the program. The zone is full of discontinuities, misses equipment and exhibits high levels of insecurity associated with a majority of population relodged in small isolated blocks interrupted from other construction and vacant grounds.

The enormous quantity of recent apartments placed on sale by extremely low values, led to an increase in the loss of interest in the historic city centre, with difficulty of sale and decrease in market value of the built heritage, especially in sensitive neighbourhoods where this process was already on the way. This type of promotion, intended at the low and middle classes, does not have an influence on the value of the real estate located in central consolidated areas where the speculation process is

independent of slum upgrade promotions or brownfield redevelopment. The bigger impact tends to be in the already decaying middle class neighbourhoods, although the conclusions are premature since the process is still under development.

Difficulties in implementing the project, which is slowly transforming the area into a new Chelas, have led to the pressure for displacement of the Lisbon airport towards a new location on the urban fringe.

4. Conclusions

Desperate attempts at rebuilding downtown territories have been made since the mid XXth century[21]. These attempts are supported by pragmatic reasons, associated to the value of the central grounds and the need for speculation, and, in addition, by aesthetic reasons, mentioned especially by the architects. This aesthetic/urban renewal movement of social reform by special renovation, mainly represented by architect Le Corbusier and the CIAM, gradually became opposed to the culturalist model[22] associated to movements and schools of town planners like the Institut d'Urbanisme de Paris, which had an enormous influence in Lisbon. The relation between these two ideological groups could not be peaceful, since their visions are antagonistic and their desires for the future of the cities are opposite. The failure of the modern movement, with regard to its capacity of action in the urban fabrics, has led the architects to join the competitive movement and the attempt at the "iconification" of the city, through emblematic promotions which claim to improve, in a more or less radical way, the quality of life in the urban territories. We observe this type of promotion associated for example, with the waterfronts, the case of Expo' 98 or the maritime waterfront of Barcelone, etc.. These systems of urban action have been criticized by its rupture of the traditional model of urban production, entering sometimes in contradiction with the state/municipal projects, not respecting the wills of the local populations and dispersing the territory with fragmentary megalomaniac visions, often of great impact and density.

This type of action is often, in fact, associated to real estate private investments which can be an important urban economic asset but that should not prevail in the benefit of private profit, without regard for the true demands of the populations. It is, thus, recommended to associate private investment and public interest. It is important that these programs are developed in public offices, with respect to the principles of sustainable planning and, above all, obeying to programmed territorial thought. A first measure, taken by the Portuguese authorities has been to simplify planning procedures, namely regarding the respect for delays and planning approvals. Efforts are being made at simplifying the planning procedures throughout its entire process, not allowing for bureaucratic logics to gain terrain as an excuse for private programming. This need for simplifying has been noticed in cases such as the Expo'98 urban development and the Polis Program, which, using specific legal and financial resources, have allowed the execution of urban operations, crossing private and public interest and that would not have been possible had the traditional heavy processuel structure, to which local administration are subject, been used.

	REGIONAL COMPETITION			< >	SUSTAINABLE PLANNING						
	ICONIFICATION	AUTONOMOUS URBAN DEVELOPMENTS	URBAN REQUALI-FICATION	URBAN MANAGEMENT	URBAN REGENE-RATION	GREENWAY	URBAN INFILL	GRID	BLOCK	MIXED USES	PUBLIC MOBILITY
PLANO DE PORMENOR PARA A PRAÇA DE ESPANHA	√		√	√		√	√				√
CENTRO DE CHELAS, QUADRA CENTRAL	√	√	√	√							
PLANO DE URBANIZAÇÃO DO ALTO DO LUMIAR				√	√			√	√	√	√

Table 1 | Comparative framework of three of post-urbanism projects

The three Lisbon case studies analysed here, exhibit the definition of a new planning phase, evolving from city science to urban politic. Given the fact that the city is basically already built, new trends are centred in its rehabilitation (architecture preservation and renewal), requalification (improvement of life style, namely through street and public place design), and the more profound urban regeneration processes. The development of two opposed tendencies may be observed: regional competition, using designers as image and identity makers and sustainable planning, evolving from culturalist town planning approaches to ecological design and democratic planning. Both make appeal to strategic management techniques, centred in the definition of a new after-city policy for a society in paradigmatic transition where urbanism no longer has a place. Urban governance, making use of sustainable planning, civic engagement and strategic management, comes up as a new disciplinary approach to the building of societal organization.

REGIONAL COMPETITION SUSTAINABLE PLANNING
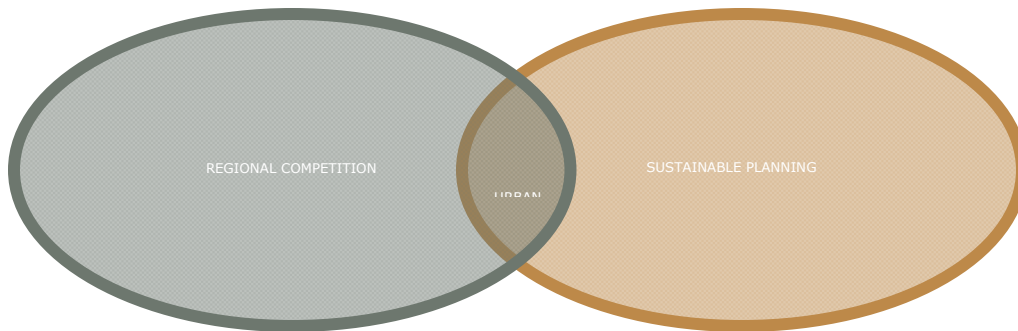
URBAN

[image] **6** | Post-urbanism: recent planning trends

[1] Corporativisation, creation of State Departments and institutes specifically created to study these matters.

[2] In particular the Dutch law of 1901, the Town and Country Planning Act of 1909 and the French Cornudet law of 1919, as well as the Portuguese law of 1934.

[3] Namely, the Urbanism Institute of Paris (IUP, Institut d'Urbanisme de Paris), in 1919. In Portugal, as a result of the dependence of foreign universities (in particular of the IUP), this stage came very late (1973).

[4] For example the group of Lisbon's municipality, quoted by Souza Lôbo, Margarida, *Planos de urbanização: a época de Duarte Pacheco* (Porto: FAUP, 1995), p. 155-163.

[5] See Ascher, François, *Métapolis ou l'Avenir des Villes* (Paris: Odile Jacob,1995).

[6] Sanyal, Bishwapriya, *Comparative Planning Cultures* (London: Routledge, 2005), p4.

[7] Ascher, 1995.

[8] A particularly emergent issue in the case of Portugal, where the network of motorways is mainly an invention of the end of the XXth century, after European funding. The study of the European environment agency - integrating, since 1994 the CORINE (Co-ordination of information on the environment) Land Cover of 1990 and 2000, using the Landsat satellite images - shows that Portugal is the second European country with the greatest urban growth during this time, following Ireland. Nevertheless, urban diffusion in the case of Lisbon must be put into scope since its urban surface of 3128 km2 (2000) not comparable to the American cases of Phoenix (46000 km2) or Los Angeles (sprawled metropolitan area: 86000 km2), which is approximately the size of Portugal (88900 km2).

[9] Bruegmann, Robert, *Sprawl: A Compact History* (University of Chicago Press, 2005).

[10] P. 571/90 of December 6.

[11] Manuel Cargaleiro is a Portuguese painter and ceramist. The project for his museum and foundation started in 1991 with the invitation to architect Álvaro Siza but after a first proposal, was abandoned in 1995, due to difficulties in the implementation of the Praça de Espanha plan, also led by architect Siza Vieira. The museum project was later commissioned to the architect's son, Álvaro Leite Siza. The

museum was finally inaugurated in December 2003, in Vietri sul Mare (Salerno) – Italy. A new project by Siza Vieira has recently been started for the municipality of Seixal, located in Lisbon metropolitan area.

[12] Siza Vieira, Álvaro, «Praça de Espanha - Implantação dos imóveis do Montepio Geral, Fundação Cargaleiro, Companhia de Seguros Lusitânia, Fundação do Oriente e de um edifício destinado a escritórios», January 1990 [report].

[13] Siza Vieira, Álvaro, 1990.

[14] The study was integrated in the Environmental Components of the PDM, representing an innovation within the framework of the country's Master Plans.

[15] Ambelis, the agency for the economic modernization of Lisbon, was created on May 26, 1994 and aimed at the modernization, diversification and renewal of Lisbon's economic base, aspiring to create occasions for the installation of new companies and economic activities.

[16] See Lourenço, Júlia, *Expansão Urbana, Gestão de Planos-Processo* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2003), p. 351-364 and Heitor, Teresa V., "A expansão da cidade para oriente: os planos de urbanização de Olivais e Chelas", in *Lisboa: Conhecer, pensar, fazer cidade* (Lisbon, Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2001), p. 72-85.

[17] Ornelas, Pedro, "Uma experiência controversa", in *O Independente*, August 18, 2000.

[18] Plan of Vale de Santo António, coordinated by EPUL, the public company of urbanization of Lisbon. The building was commissioned to a private office (architects Manuel Mateus and Alberto Oliveira) and the beginning of construction was celebrated by Mayor Carmona Rodrigues. The former Mayor Pedro Santana Lopes praised the new project as an "anchor-object, a requalification instrument for all this area of the city, which is so much ignored by Lisboans".

[19] Avenida Estados Unidos da América expansion and the ring road - both infrastructures were mainly useful to access to the hypermarket, although they also caused pressure to build a third bridge.

[20] Margarido, Manuel, *Alta de Lisboa: o presente e o futuro*, (Lisboa: SGAL, 2005), p. 56.

[21] Fogelson, Robert, *Downtown: Its Rise and Fall*, 1880-1950, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2003).

[22] Choay, Françoise, *O urbanismo: utopias e realidades*, (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1979).

Public and private values in planning architectural icons: in search of a rationale

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Introduction

Purpose-built architectural icons have appeared all over the world as components of "culture-led" regeneration programs in recent decades. In contrast to the profound tradition of great world icons, such as the Taj Mahal in India or the Pyramids in Egypt, these modern constructions were intended to become iconic and to thus become powerful and unique forms of attraction for cities. Planning history comes to see them as physical and spiritual embodiments of cultural capital in their respective urban environments. There is a belief that such buildings can bring about substantial economic benefits. It seems almost every city believes they need an icon or icons to appear culturally relevant and achieve what other regeneration winners have done. But given the scale of investment required, and the political and economic stakes, two questions need to be answered: what difference do they bring to a city and what rationales underpin the decision to build them? Important matters of public and private costs and benefits inform the discussion. Icon projects appear to be widely supported by public funds. Across this divide, issues arise around the distribution of benefits. The first two parts of the paper present a theoretical view on the difference that architectural icons bring to cities and the rationales behind the decision to build them. "Successful" examples of icons in Australia and Europe are discussed. The final part puts theoretical and practical considerations together and concludes with recommendations on what can be done to improve their performance.

1. Architectural icons and culture-led regeneration programs

Terms such as "architectural icon" and "iconic architecture" are readily found in urban planning literature but appear not to have been precisely defined. An interesting definition for an "urban icon" can be found in the Urban Icons Conference 2006 materials. Widely exploring the "urban iconicity" topic the combined conference materials provided the following definition:

> Urban icons, then, are signs born when symbols become images but are not thereafter limited to their incarnation as images. They originate in specific places – cities – and convey meanings that are not only urban but also national, global, religious, ideological, personal, political, commercial, emotional and in all ways historical, as mediated by the urban context. While as a subclass of symbols they are also (with signs in general) unstable carriers of multiple, perspectival, ideological and often contradictory meanings, they can also achieve some measure of universal, cross-cultural meaning[1].

It is notable that this definition includes reference to notions such as "urban environment" and "place representation"; urban icons must also possess a "circulation in the mass media" characteristic. The images of urban icons need to be media-friendly; their media image needs to be able to attract public attention in the long term.

I would like to argue that to define architectural icons additional features to the definition of an urban icon have to be found. First, they are buildings or collections of buildings and the spaces between them. Second, such constructions become icons when they transcend their original functional purpose. Third, the history of construction process of iconic buildings is usually remarkable and captivating.

Architectural icons function as distinct expressions of place in urban landscapes. They represent many things but most of all they represent the soul of a city, and sometimes a nation. Weston underlines the importance of possessing a "recognizable image" of an iconic world monument and to become "iconic", a construction needs to do no less than win the hearts of crowds, locally and globally. The degree, to which such constructions are leveraged worldwide as iconic structures linked to certain places, depends on the strength of their unique and intrinsic links to the place of their location[2].

Certain distinctive characteristics appear to be crucial for city planners and authorities charged with building iconic architecture. Engaging a world name architect appears to be an absolute necessity. The design itself must be innovative and of a large scale. Such ambitious projects are typically enormously expensive, and generally the majority of this expense comes from public funds. As Julier notes, location can be distinguished by a new building itself and by "civic patronage", meaning that the city has the money to carry on the project and has the taste to employ a famous architect[3].

There is, however, no guarantee - even in following these unofficial guidelines - that a city will become a proud possessor of another iconic building. There are buildings and structures all over the world that were built with an intention to become iconic, failed to do so and became forgotten. Some have failed to reach their visitors' number targets, or income generated estimates, for example: Santiago Calatrava's new wing at the Milwaukee Art Museum (USA); KIASMA Helsinki Museum of Contemporary Art[4]; the new buildings of the City Museum of Washington DC, the Royal Armouries museum in Leeds[5](Plaza, 2006). Some have even had to close soon after they were opened, such as the Earth Centre in South Yorkshire. Yet others become successful beyond expectations, examples being the Sydney Opera House or the Eden Project in Cornwall.

What determines the success of architectural icons is actually not so clear. More often the successes or otherwise of icons are written off as the result of fortune. But given the high cost of failure, typically hundreds of millions, should we not be looking into what makes an iconic building successful or not, and on whose terms, with some more accuracy?

There is also no clear evidence on the contribution of architectural icons to local economies. This may be because there is no "scientific proof" of what actually the contribution of culture-led regeneration is. The outcomes and value systems/judgments of regeneration have never been meaningfully established: "The rationale for measuring cultural impacts in relation to regeneration is not sufficiently understood or valued by stakeholders. Culture is not generally recognized in urban policy or environmental and quality of life indicators (such as health, education, employment, crime) and therefore is absent from regeneration measurement criteria"[6].

Many cities have been challenged by the relatively recent transition from industrial to post-industrial economies. As travel and technology bring people closer, cities are threatened with becoming "interchangeable". They have had to turn to unique "value-based" competitive advantages that are "non-price" competitive. This has brought a new focus in urban planning on creating competitive attractiveness.

In turn, cities have begun to develop their historic and cultural capital as a cornerstone of their "point of difference" in the competition between cities, in order to achieve sustainable competitive advantage. This focus on culture in urban development is now widely deployed by local, regional and national governments as a way to increase urban competitiveness, and this is where the specific construction of cultural centers began to take shape as a powerful city branding device.

"Culture-led" urban development began to appear as a concept in the urban planning literature from the late 1980s. "Culture-led" regeneration refers to a type of regeneration where culture can be employed as a driver for urban economic growth and "cultural activity is seen as the catalyst and engine of regeneration—epithets of change and movement"[7]. This type of regeneration brings along a number of distinct cultural projects, which claim for a uniqueness and aim to create place distinctiveness. Purpose-built architectural icons and other forms of flagship development projects form a big part of this type of regeneration.

The use of unique place values as a driver of city competitiveness was emphasized during the OECD International Symposium "Enhancing City Attractiveness for the Future" in Japan, 2005, where the role of culture was especially highlighted. Cities' attractiveness is a combination of environmental, cultural, social and economic elements. All components are equally important; however understanding that cities need to trade on unique values reveals new and important roles of culture - the ability to drive the distinctiveness of place. In recent years studies have been undertaken on cities' search for their distinctiveness. A well known work of this type is Markusen and Schrock who theorize urban homogenization and distinctiveness[8]. Montgomery's concept of cultural quarters as distinct and distinctive areas of cities that enhance city attractiveness is another contribution to the field[9]. Malecki outlined the ability local culture to add unique features to economies, underling the importance of creating and maintaining a distinctive local culture as an important tool for attracting investment[10].

The realization of the cultural sector's great potential for economic development brought architectural icons to the forefront of culture-led regeneration strategies developed by city planners. Put simply, the ambition that drives cities to undertake these projects all over the world is to build the world's great building and to become a "world city" because of it.

Architectural icons, therefore, are components of city growth strategy and are usually combined with place marketing strategies or/and enhanced amenities strategies in order to increase a city's attractiveness and competitiveness on a national or international level.

The overall role of flagship developments (including architectural icons) and regeneration programs is to benefit a local community by fighting social deprivation and bringing economic development. Yet economic development does not need to be narrowly defined to increase employment; the broader interpretation means achieving higher standards of living and increased quality of life.

The benefits of architectural icons are seen to be spread widely through public and private sectors. Icons contribute to economic development by enhancing the regional culture on offer, creating regional identity, increasing a region's attractiveness to people and businesses and generating a social and political climate open to innovation and change in regional governance[11].

It is commonplace for city authorities to argue that such cultural projects support surrounding businesses; increase business profitability; enhance property values in the area; attract well-educated work force and increase tax base for the region.
It is assumed that large cultural schemes such as architectural icons bring a positive impact for local communities through creating new jobs to the area and encouraging civic pride, and that they also have potential to contribute to creativity and innovation for the community, and (being common public spaces) can promote a feeling of equalization. These are frequent reasons cited as to why architectural icons should be supported by public funds.

Thus, to summarize the main findings, architectural icons are seen as a strategic component of culture-led regeneration programs that are brought in to revitalize an area, and stimulate economic development. The projects are usually developed and supported by public funds. The benefits appear, at least theoretically, to flow widely to public and private sector.

2. Three cases: Sydney, Salford and Bilbao

To demonstrate how this works in reality I would like to explore three "successful" examples of architectural icons: the Sydney Opera House, Sydney, Australia; the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao, Bilbao, Spain; and the Lowry at Salford Quays, Salford, UK. These cases have been chosen because of their wide recognition as successful

icons and flagship developments, and because all three cases are supported by extensive documentation.

Images of these three buildings are pervasive: we find their presence in advertising and tourism campaigns locally and internationally, representing their cities and nations. They stand as magnets for investors and visitors. Time has shown that all three were able to achieve their original purpose and are widely recognized as iconic architecture. Indeed their performances are used to demonstrate the possible success of an architectural icon, to the point where in 2007 the Sydney Opera House was invited to join UNESCO's World Heritage List as "a world-famous icon of architecture".

By exploring the real experiences of iconic architecture in Salford, Bilbao and Sydney in frameworks that were highlighted in the first part of the article I would like to challenge some of the theoretical propositions as to why architectural icons are made. I would like to look at how to answer the genuine questions that are raised such as: what difference does an architectural icon really bring to a city? What rationale is behind the decision to build them?

Architectural icon projects are usually undertaken as part of wider regeneration programs. Thus, Salford Quays were only part of the regeneration of inner city Salford. The Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao was part of the holistic Plan for Revitalization, which included improvements of several substantial areas in the Metropolitan Region. What is striking, from today's perspective, is that the Sydney Opera House project did not follow an official regeneration program. In the 1950s when the idea of new opera house for Sydney appeared, regeneration programs were not apparent in planning policy. I would argue that this iconic building became the first example of flagship development in the world, without having a formal aim to do so. It became a benchmark for the success of an architectural icon, and cities all over the world have since tried to emulate this effect.

An architectural icon aims to become a symbol of change. The success of an iconic building is measured by its ability to change perceptions (towards the place) for the better. In these terms, it is hard to argue anything other than that the Sydney Opera House was a resounding success: as Drew notes, the decision to build an opera house in Sydney and the choice of Utzon's unique architectural idea presaged a new epoch for Australia. It meant the transformation of an old British Australia to a diverse European multi-cultural Australia[12]. The Guggenheim Museum Bilbao also assisted to transform the city's image from a traditional steel and shipbuilding region with a reputation of violence from extremist Basque separatists into a thriving, contemporary cultural destination. Likewise, the Lowry was a symbol of new beginning for an industrial city after the Salford docks decline and their eventual closure. Subsequently, in practical terms, the notion of a symbolic "change" of a place, a region or a city through the effect of a culture-driven architectural masterpiece was successful in these examples, as all the theories had hoped it would be.

In each of the three cases, governments were the major initiator of enhancing urban attractiveness programs. Thus, Punter argues that it was the state that initiated the pursuit of global standards of design quality and urban amenity pointing out improvement projects of the Sydney Opera House and other improvement projects which "brought a new sophistication to architecture, public realm design and conservation respectively, and new and expanded cultural facilities to enhance the city's international appeal"[13]. It was the idea and initiative of the team established by local authorities to create the Lowry at Salford and it was not driven by national government or by business or by the demand of local residents[14]. The history of the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao reveals that promotion of innovative architecture was brought by the regional and provincial administrations, the Basque Government and the Bizkaia Regional Council[15].

Investments required to construct these three buildings were also primarily publicly-sourced. The costs of the Sydney Opera House were almost entirely funded by a State lottery. The Guggenheim was paid for with public funds by the Basque Government without central government support. In the case of the Lowry it was a National lottery that covered 70 per cent of the total cost of the project; the other sources of funding included the European Regional Development Fund; public-private partnership of the government-sponsored regeneration agencies English Partnerships and the Northwest Regional Development Agency; the local authority Salford City Council; other sources and private sector. It is worth noting that initial investments in grand cultural projects typically take many years to recover. According to Plaza the fact that financial planning of the Guggenheim Museum made it possible to recover the initial investment in less then a decade can be considered to be a world record[16].

There is a significant continued need to subsidize running costs and reconstruction costs which are usually largely financed by additional public funds. The budgeting schemes of the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao, the Sydney Opera House and the Lowry can be defined as market-orientated and are claimed to be the most successful in bringing beneficial impact on their respective local economy[17]. Even though, 25 per cent of operating costs of first two are covered by local and state governments; whilst the Lowry is generating more than 85 per cent of its own funding, leaving public funding to cover remaining 15 per cent.

So government was and is the major stakeholder in undertaking these architectural icons. But what inspired governments to take the risk and responsibility to undertake these grand projects?

The Sydney Opera House was a product of local competition between Australia's major cities, Sydney and Melbourne. The year 1956 became an important stage for Australia: the Melbourne Olympics allowed Australia to attract world attention, to grow its place in the international community and to grow national self confidence. Unfortunately for Sydney, Melbourne won the Olympic bid to host the Games. Sydney's response was to construct a unique building – an opera house worthy of a great metropolitan city that could propel Sydney to ascendancy over Melbourne and others Australian cities[18].

Similarly, the Guggenheim was an attempt by Bilbao to find its place among the leading cultural centers of Europe. The Lowry at Salford Quays was an answer to the rivalry between Salford and its neighbor Manchester. It is also true that the Sydney Opera House was a political opportunity for a great gesture before the NSW State elections in March 1959[19]. The idea of the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao and promotion of a museum's ability to increase quality of life for local population was a likewise an opportunity for the politically disfavored Basque Nationalist Party to regain Bilbao's favor and retain its voters in the region[20]. Given these factors, it is arguable that political reasons have more to do with the initiation of the concept for an architectural icon than many would care to acknowledge, especially when hounded by growing city competition on a national and international level.

As referred to above, the overall role of regeneration programs and consequently architectural icons is, at least theoretically, to benefit local communities. The governments of Australia and the United Kingdom have made wellbeing a national policy goal, and the aim of Bilbao was to increase the quality of life for its citizens. However, if one looks at promotional materials, design masterplans or feasibility studies of Sydney, Salford and Bilbao projects it is clear that the intention to raise the cultural profile of a place and place attractiveness was set in order to bring more businesses and more tourism into the area. The focus was on outsiders: visitors and investors. It assumes rapid economic growth; however it did not calibrate the degree to which this growth actually affected local people's wellbeing.

In Salford, for example, the city became able to attract major investment after years of decline. However many original residents were forced away and their houses were demolished. The development of Salford Quays and the Lowry has brought a new type of resident to the area. Henderson shows that "the Quays has not produces a cohesive residential community… a considerable proportion of the housing was being rented, in particular to a population of transient professionals, students and people living abroad"[21]. Promotional materials for the Salford Quays development operated with overstated numbers of new jobs that could have been created. Meanwhile, the 1999/ 2000 estimates revealed that only 20-35 per cent of the employees on Salford Quays were Salford residents[22].

The Guggenheim Museum certainly brought global recognition to Bilbao. However, its role was seen primarily as attracting tourists and not residents and workers[23]. The Guggenheim gives little support to local culture and artists and the international orientation of the Guggenheim explains why the promotion of Basque culture is not a goal of the museum and why regional artists are only marginally represented in the museum's collections[24]. Even though the Plan for Revitalization mentions the quality of life, there are no proposals in the plan for how this can be achieved[25].

The development of the plans for all three of these buildings was remarkably "top-down". In each case grand designs to promote the host city were mobilized by key elite groups manipulating the decision-making process. Government, whether regional, state or local, were the central stakeholders responsible for promotion, design, construction

and post-construction of the architectural icon project. Residents and local businesses had a very limited role in decision-making, a token gesture at best.

All three cases worked on the "standard iconic project scenario": world name architects were brought to the area by design competition organized by cities' authorities, whether, Frank Gehry for Bilbao or James Stirling and Michael Wilford for Lowry. It was an international jury specifically created for choosing the Jørn Utzon design of an opera house for Sydney.

In Sydney, a committee was specifically created to take decisions on how to build the Sydney Opera House[26]. By doing so decision-makers had the authority to direct revenue sources without voter's input. In Salford, despite the formal connections between local business and Salford City Council, businesses were not expected to meaningfully contribute with their views on the development[27]: "Rather it was used as a source of advice about the reactions of local business to the council's plans and as a means of persuading local business of the value of those plans"[28]. The architectural competition for the museum in Bilbao was "carefully designed so that its "international" character could not be defied and the Basques would be officially responsible for the architect's selection"[29]. There were concerns from the Bilbao community about the idea of building a brand new museum with international artwork, instead of promoting Basque art and culture. Community consultation did not take place in Salford either: "local people were not expected to play any part in developing the aims of the plan except through the (fairly limited) input of local councilors who in turn "sold" the plan to local constituents as bringing in job opportunities"[30].

Thus, to conclude the case study findings, architectural icons aim to transform perceptions towards its city for the better, and sometimes they certainly do. They are usually developed and implemented by a small group of key decision-makers, who often leave beside the main interest groups: business and residents. Government, whether regional, state or local, became central stakeholders responsible for the development and construction of architectural icon projects, in the most part using public funds. The elite groups that drive these projects do so in concert with a wider strategy of culture-led regeneration.

3. Discrepancies between theory and practice

Benefits to stakeholders Analysis of the distribution of benefits from architectural icons shows clear discrepancies between the planning theory of the beneficiaries and the real-life examples of such.

Iconic architecture is designed as a badge to "put city on a map". I have found no evidence of a flagship development which was not followed by an intensive city marketing campaign. As Julier comments, building architectural icons actually means creating "unique selling propositions" for a location[31]. But what outcomes does this policy bring to residents and businesses? The reality is that urban marketing strategies aim to provide fast growth to a local economy; this usually means a focus on short-term

incentives without a considered approach to long-term objectives. By providing jobs they also can exhaust physical and human capital. Further to this, radical growth does not always equal wealth or equate with a higher standard of living for most urban residents[32]. The sense of equalization is considered to be one of the most positive impacts that architectural icons bring to communities, but the contradiction lies in the questionable practices of whether these grand projects bring benefits that are "socially inclusive". Drawing businesses and people to an area may lead to negative outcomes to local communities; such as increasing pressure on existing infrastructure, environmental degradation, declining housing affordability and a growing welfare gap between those who reap the benefits of economic change and those who are "left out"[33].

Regeneration and flagship development projects proudly claim to benefit the people who live in the host city by improving communities without paying a high price for the influx of the new labor moving in. But the benefits of flagship developments appear to be quite narrowly spread. Often new businesses, new residents and some private interests leverage the benefits of an iconic building more then the original residents and tax payers.

Companies involved in tourism businesses appear to be the obvious beneficiaries of iconic buildings. However, other urban industries also stand to gain from flagship developments. Local aesthetics contribute considerably to the overall business climate of a city. The distinctiveness of a city, employed via cultural capital, creates a significant competitive advantage for businesses. Companies use cultural capital in marketing their products and services in any number of ways. Images of iconic buildings are widely employed by companies – in advertisements, websites or marketing campaigns that powerfully demonstrate in the blink of an eye their local networks and their global reach. International competitiveness of the firms located in a city contributes to that city's competitiveness[34], however the converse is also true: a city's competitiveness contributes to the value of the firms located in that city. Thus Turok justifies that "cities contain unique resources that makes firms in the knowledge economy are more internationally competitive"[35].

Business can therefore be considered a benefactor of city marketing and, thus, of architectural icons. But whether the construction of architectural icons is as beneficial for the residents as they claim to be remains a point of contention.

Rationale behind exclusion interest groups from decision-making The studies of Sydney, Salford and Bilbao indicate that major interest groups, residents and businesses were excluded from the planning processes, (despite being advised to the contrary in the proposal stages). Presumably, government does this to try and simplify the planning and implementation of these grand development projects. Unfortunately such a "top-down" approach brings serious negative outcomes.

By undertaking architectural icon projects, cities are attempting to enhance their regional identities in order to sharpen their competitive advantages. The sustainable competitive advantages of a city come down to its distinctive characteristics – i.e.: local

cultural capital. The success of architectural icons, it can be argued, is determined by how successfully culture is deployed in them. The distinctiveness that cities look for is located in places and in the cultural knowledge possessed by local people; they are gatekeepers of the local values.

Miles and Paddison point out the close relationship between culture-led regeneration to a sense of place. They claim that cultural development success depends on the engagement with local culture and community groups[36]. As mentioned, a building becomes iconic when it represents the soul of its city. Residents, local people, carry the culture and identity of the place inherently within.

Engaging world name architects and established regeneration specialists creates a danger of diluting the intrinsic sense of place. Truly distinctive characteristics come from deployment of cultural values that already exist in the place, not creative appendages brought from outside. As Julier claims "… any development of place-identity is one of nurturing pre-existing information resonates with the possibility that this is a process of appropriation and reappropriation rather than invention"[37]. Thus, in order to maximize the powerful potential effect of the proposed iconic architecture in a city, community consultation must be viewed as imperative in the planning process.

By excluding communities from planning and urban attractiveness strategies, cities may lose an opportunity to create truly iconic architecture, distinctive buildings which possess the local sense of place deep within them. In the three cases reviewed, local people were not able to have their voices heard before constructions began. Community consultations often had more of paper-work significance. Arguably there were opportunities lost by not fully deploying local cultural capital in their designs.

Even though there are benefits that businesses derive from the mere existence of an iconic building near their location, these benefits generally come to them for free. Businesses are normally excluded from the planning process, and even the prospective benefits to them, as such, are never communicated. Companies could be investing in landmark structures, but there is no necessity for them to contribute funds to such projects as government inevitably supports those using public funds. Thus, business enjoys the benefits of government-provided constructions, independent of whether they pay for them or not.

The idea of greater private sector involvement via contribution to construction funds of public assets is not new[38]. But there are obvious difficulties in bringing companies and private funds into culture-led regeneration programs. Entrepreneurial forms of city leadership and philanthropy have been widely criticized for diminishing public power and weakening state sovereignty. But in cautiously avoiding partnership with business, government decision-makers have birthed a new conundrum; the exclusion of companies from the decision-making process results in their apathy towards cultural projects, and yet they reap the benefits.

Government (local, state or regional) is the major stakeholder in these grand cultural projects - and practically the only one. This absolutely central involvement of

government in such a competitive process may not be desirable due to the distant relationship which government has with the market realm, and their incapability of making decisions isolated from politics. Governmental organizations are often blamed for not being efficient as business organizations and therefore steered to behave more business-like. According to Turok city authorities are distinct from firms because of their limited control over their assets and liabilities[39]. Cities are not profit-makers and the outcome of their input is often indirect and uncertain. Greene, Tracey and Cowling also agrees that city policy makers face their limits of what they can do to increase urban performance[40]. Often, a cities revenue from business rates goes to the national budget they may find no incentives to promote economic growth.

In 1980 the concern expressed by Peter Hall in his famous book "Planning Disasters" was about the inefficiency of the public sector, claiming that it was generally trying "to do too much". It seems those arguments still have currencies today.
Even though local, regional and state governments are in the best position to initiate architectural icons, the dominancy of government in planning and implementation of such cultural projects may not be efficient. Arguably, the efficiency of architectural icon projects can be improved via collaboration with stakeholders (which government in the best position to facilitate) and via receiving feedback from interest groups.

Ways to improve the situation Overall, not all cities need to have iconic buildings. Indeed, signature architecture does not guarantee urban development[41,42,43]. Architectural icon projects should not be replicated uncritically. The careful analysis of their contribution to economic development of a region is required; and their contribution in the wider economic framework of culture-led regeneration programs needs to be clearly understood and assessed.

Large sums of public money spent on architectural icons require development plans to be clearly explained and communicated to the public. Culture-led regeneration and architectural icon projects need to have clear and thoroughly researched long-term goals; promotional materials which just aim to sell an idea to the public often do not reflect the full reality.

The theoretical aim of culture-led regeneration is to benefit communities by increasing the quality of life; but this is not necessarily in line with the practical outcomes as reviewed in the case studies. Benefits often go to outsiders: tourists and visitors, at the expense of local residents. This could be avoided if genuine communication to interest groups (business and residents) becomes an absolute requirement during planning of an architectural icon. Communities deserve to know how public funding benefits them. The evidence which is open for public should be more transparent and methodology grounded.

The current research reveals that there is a lot of promotional material about the potential for cultural investments, but also, conversely, that there is limited published evidence of long-term regeneration outputs[44]. As Evans (2005) reasons, there are very few assessments to be found with actual evidence on regeneration effects, even less on cultural impacts within regeneration[45].

City planners and authorities need to recognize that such cultural projects require robust testing and greater assessment. Long-term evaluations and periodic reports are needed in this area in order to understand the contribution of cultural investment to local economies.

Evidence-based policy making and evaluation of culture-led regeneration programs and cultural projects would lower the danger of blindly following the "unofficial guidelines" potentially at great risk to the investors, and so ultimately to public funds.

More than this, it needs to be a transformation of such "guidelines" into an adequate methodology which would establish concrete planning mechanisms to determine the most effective deployment of cultural capital in designing architectural icons. Architectural icons do not need to be solely a product of fortune, and an informed analysis of their planning would reduce the risk.

Conclusion

In order to increase their competitive advantage, cities need to establish planning mechanisms that most effectively deploy cultural capital in place attractiveness. These planning mechanisms require the involvement of all stakeholders, of which government is probably in the best position to facilitate. Long-term evaluations and assessments of how architectural icons contribute to the economic development of their host cities are required. This will bring a deeper understanding of how the benefits are distributed among stakeholders and a more sophisticated awareness of the rationale of cultural investments. This requires access to such evidence from central stakeholders and collaboration with them on such a project. A methodology for such assessments needs to be developed. It could be used to examine existing architectural icons, and as a basis to appraise proposed new interventions. This could help policymakers to think more clearly and logically about the choices they face and could provide them with more relevant and improved information on which to base future decisions.

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Artistic genius, civil servant or shrewd businessman? Town architects in Flanders

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Introduction

This study will discuss town planning in small provincial towns as these often slip through the net of scientific studies. After a historical analysis of the ambiguous position of Belgian town architects, the main point will be on their role during the interwar reconstruction, starting from the drastic top down proposals by the central government up to the local private initiatives. With Dendermonde as illustrative case study, we'll focus on spatial (architectural) aspects of town planning and more specifically on the gable as transition between private and public.

Up till now remarkably little has been written on the role of architects in government service and especially on town architects. There are of course studies on famous modernist town architects who succeeded in implementing their vision like Ernst May in Frankfurt or Jacob Johannes P. Oud in Rotterdam. But even those studies often seem to ignore their municipal office or consider it as a negative factor for their work rather than an opportunity. Although some writers acknowledge that Oud realized his vision thanks to his municipal function, most of them stress that the economic, technical and bureaucratic aspects of this office caused the rift between him and De Stijl, the artistic avant-garde he was a member of. This already reveals that municipal and other public practices were kept dark for so long because of the individualist, artistic and idealistic claims of most architects. Oud himself for that matter was the first who minimized the role of his governmental function as to not jeopardize his meaning as an independent creative artist.[1]

Because of this artistic claim many architects did not want to become involved with town planning in the first place since this implied an integral vision that conflicted with their idea of the building as an artistic masterpiece.[2] One of the few architects who was and is always identified with his governmental office is the Dutchmen Willem Marinus Dudok, town architect of Hilversum from 1915 till 1954. But even in his case it is emphasized that his 'masterpiece' (the town hall) was realized in spite of the local government and thanks to the support from other architects. [3]

The Belgian case

Belgium is a small country with a young (°1830) but turbulent history, partially because of its central location in between Germany and France. It consists of two cultural regions (Flanders in the north and the Walloon provinces in the south) and a capital (Brussels) which can be considered a third region. Flanders (which will be dealt with here) is highly urbanized, yet only Antwerp evolved into a real city. Other Flemish towns can be labelled provincial.

Given its early industrialisation, urbanisation and bicultural character, Belgium was receptive to different foreign town planning theories (mainly from Great Britain and Germany) and a cradle of internationalism.[4] The destructions of the First World War offered immense opportunities to put these new town planning theories into practice. This went together with an increased governmental intervention, hitherto unknown in Belgium.[5] As a reaction some utopian architects radicalized and lost touch with the complex reality of urban society. Others accepted the increased governmental action and tried to blend in, partially because of idealism, partially because private patrons were harder to find in the aftermath of the war.[6]

In contrast to Germany where the prime of architecture and town planning between 1924 and 1932 is to a large extent attributed to national and especially municipal governmental initiatives, it is generally assumed that this politicisation had a negative effect in Belgium.[7] Especially for modernists, Belgium became more and more a land of missed opportunities, associated with a weak planning approach as opposed to its northern neighbour the Netherlands. One of the most famous pamphlets on town planning in Belgium is entitled: *Belgium, the ugliest country of the world*. Written by the modernist architect Renaat Braem in 1968 it blamed the architectural chaos and ugliness on the fact that architects had compromised themselves with capitalism and politics.[8]

This dichotomy between visionary architects and corrupt conservative politicians should however be nuanced. It can be noted for example that Charles Buls, one of the town planning pioneers in late 19th-century Belgium (whose preservation theories strongly resembled those of Camillo Sitte), was not an architect but a politician (mayor of Brussels). Furthermore one can wonder whether this influence of politics on architecture is always baleful. To answer these questions the practice of town architects is particularly illuminating as they constantly balance between public and private.

This is seen in the case of the Antwerp *Boerentoren*, the first skyscraper of the European mainland. Mostly Jan Van Hoenacker is considered as the architect and a private bank as the commissioner. Archival research has revealed however that town architect Emiel Van Averbeke was to a large extent responsible for the town planning concept with square and high rise and that he even made specific architectural plans. Afterwards the municipality sought a private commissioner and architect to develop and execute those existing plans for the 1930 World Exhibition.[9]

Image1.Emiel Van Averbeke, *Boerentoren*,
Antwerp (1929-1931).

Governmental town planning: the long 19th century

As Anthony Sutcliffe has rightly pointed out industrialisation in the 19th century demanded not only an increased private initiative but also a growing governmental interference in public and private property due to urbanisation and related problems of traffic, sewage and workers housing.[10] Tensions between these conflicting tendencies occurred already in the first half of the century in Belgium given its intense and early industrialisation. During the French occupation (1795-1815) there had been attempts at institutionalizing and centralizing governmental control of architecture and town planning, partly by introducing the office of provincial architect.[11] After the independency of Belgium in 1830, this control was reduced. According to the optimistic liberalism of that period private initiative would solve all problems. Architectural and town planning control (let alone governmental initiatives on those domains) were considered totally contradictory to the principles of the Belgian state.

The remaining governmental control was decentralized by the 'Municipality Law' of 1836. The mayor and aldermen managed the municipal works and the municipal council appointed architects and other personnel for the management, construction and conservation of municipal buildings. The law also gave the local government authority over the arrangement of space through alignment plans, building regulations and – after 1844 – the construction of roads. However, in reality town 'planning' often remained subject to private ground and real estate speculation. The laws of 1858 and 1867, issued to enable government intervention in architecture and town planning for public health, fostered private initiatives as well.[12]

Since more and more towns disposed of their own architect to answer problems of industrialisation and urbanisation, tasks of the provincial architects were gradually taken

over by them, as was legally established in the Municipality Law (art. 84, n° 2). The central government tried to regain control in 1869 by a ministerial circular stating that when local authorities were asking for finance, the higher authorities were to choose the architect or at least approve the local authorities' choice. In reality however architectural control remained local well into the interwar period.[13] In 1913 the Minister of Interior still stated that local administrations in Belgium enjoyed an almost absolute autonomy.[14]

Town architects: public and private

How did town architects fit into this? In France there was an enormous diversity in the way town architects worked. Some can be considered real officials with fixed wages; others were appointed after a competition for one or more assignments. Most of them cumulated different functions, in one or more municipalities or on different levels (for example local and provincial).[15] The limited data on Belgian governmental architects seem to support this image. Whereas in the Netherlands the office of town architect was already strictly laid down in the late 18th century with an official ban to design or execute private plans in the town concerned, this was certainly not the case for Belgium.[16] Provincial architects in Antwerp had to abandon their private practice officially in 1849 but in practice it was winked at until 1929.[17] Only in 1939 a law protecting the profession of the architect forbade private practices to all governmental architects, including town architects.[18] As a result town architects in Belgium enjoyed a lot of freedom till the Second World War.

Initially the tasks of town architects were closely linked to the upcoming industrialisation but from the 1860's onwards equal attention was given to the representative value of architecture and town planning. Simultaneously the town architect began supervising more strictly on private builders, drawing up and enforcing building regulations, participating in local commissions on city aesthetics and teaching at the local academy. As such he had an important economic role given the increasing importance of heritage-based tourism, especially in the coastal area. In 'medieval' Bruges for example the catholic municipality historicized the municipal image by subsidizing 'artistic restorations'. Though these restorations remained private initiatives, most of them were led by the town architects.[19]

By emphasizing aesthetics town architects defended themselves against '*the ignorance of engineers with their straight lines*'.[20] The main advocates of town-engineers were however private architects, just because town-architects were monopolizing not only big prestigious projects but also their private assignments.[21] On the international town planning conference of Ghent in 1913 (with Raymond Unwin, Joseph Stübben and Patrick Abercrombie) some stated that town-officials with technical, aesthetical and sociological knowledge, sufficient independency and legal power could act as an intermediary between the private initiative and the common good. Others like Louis Van der Swaelmen - one of the pioneers of modern town planning in Belgium - were more sceptical and stressed that an aesthetical town planning could not be resolved by one local politician or town architect since this would only lead to misuse of authority, tyranny and monopoly.[22]

For many architects the reasons to become town official were undoubtedly very down to earth. Since the building industry depended heavily on the economy, the municipal office guaranteed a fixed - though rather modest - income in periods of unemployment. Given the weak legal framework, the appointment as town architect in Belgium was thus seldom a reason to abandon private practice but - on the opposite - a way to boost it. In the absence of an official recognition of the profession, the title of town architect proved competence, as did their prestigious buildings, commissioned by the municipality.

In larger Belgian cities there was already an increased regulation of the office in the middle of the 19th century. In Ghent the number of employees in the department of Public Works was drastically decreased in 1848 while the remaining personnel was obliged full time in service of the city instead of doing private commissions.[23] In the capital the role of the city architect was reduced in 1863 to supervising instead of designing.[24] Provincial municipalities however openly allowed a private practice which enabled a smaller official remuneration. That is also the reason why the function of town architect was often combined with other jobs like teacher in the local academy and head of the fire brigade. Sometimes the town architect even acted as a private real estate developer.[25]

Now and then reproaches concerning conflicts of interest were voiced but town architects became increasingly creative in avoiding those. August Waterschoot for example (town architect of Sint-Niklaas from 1896 till 1936) used to this end his two sons and their private architectural careers. Stylistic investigations have shown that many plans of his son Leander were in fact designed by August Waterschoot himself who by using the name of his son avoided difficult questions. On the other hand both sons clearly cooperated with their father on public assignments.[26]

Image 2. August Waterschoot and sons, Mgr. Stillemansstreet, Sint-Niklaas (1930's).

That municipalities of smaller towns compensated their badly paid town architects by granting them a private practice, was more and more criticised. Many asked fewer but well paid full time officials, independent from private builders. [27] To no avail; though there was specialization after the First World War, this did not lead to restrictions on

private practices, quite on the contrary. Instead of employing one town architect full time for the increasing work, the different tasks were given to different half time officials, each with their private practice. This undoubtedly was cheaper since the appointment as official in itself could be seen as a reward, boosting their private practice.[28]

Town architects: politics and architecture

A town architect always answered to the mayor and alderman for public works but this relation varied from town to town. Given the growing intervention of the government in matters of architecture and town planning the choice of a town architect was of course partly political.[29] In 1937 the modernist periodical *Bâtir* praised several town architects for their resistance against the chaos of the past and the inertia of municipal services.[30] This seems to imply that for certain town architects the municipal government was an obstacle rather than an ally in realizing their vision.

Architectural reality supports this. The homogeneous regionalist art deco-oeuvre of René Doom (town architect of Roeselare from 1919 onwards) shows that some could impose their vision on the municipality. In Dendermonde there are several indications that Ferdinand De Ruddere (town architect from 1922 till 1950) had to oppose the municipal authority. In his public buildings he occasionally convinced the municipal authorities to adapt a more modern approach (for example in the gymnasium which he designed in a style reminiscent of Dudok) but in general he had to conform to their traditionalist view.[31]

To realize their own vision, some architects ventured even further into politics. In Antwerp Gustave Royers started a successful political career after his resignation as city engineer.[32] Others combined their executive office with an administrative one. Only exceptionally the town architect became at the same time alderman for public works[33] but several private architects cumulated the office of alderman for public works during the interwar period. In Roeselare for example the alderman for public works Alfons Van Coillie designed dozens of houses as a private architect in a style similar to that of town architect René Doom.[34] It is clear that a lot of architects – amongst which the town architects – operated successfully in the twilight zone of politics and architecture.

Image 3. René Doom and Alfons Van Coillie, Marketplace 4-8, Roeselare (1920's).

Interwar reconstruction: the contribution of town architects

On the town planning congress in 1913 the town-engineer of Ghent Soenen stressed that focus had to be on extending existing cities. According to him (and many others) the development of totally new town plans was highly irrelevant in Europe.[35] It reminds us that (town) architects were totally unprepared for the impending massive destructions of the First World War only a few months later. Approximately 80.000 dwellings were rendered uninhabitable in Belgium, roughly the same proportion as in France though with a bigger impact on smaller towns.[36] Dendermonde was one of those adopted 'martyr towns'. Of the 2.239 buildings only 98 (mainly run-down working-class houses) were left intact during the war.[37] These destructions offered huge opportunities for rationalization and modernization but for modernists Dendermonde quickly became an example of bad taste and as such a symbol for the entire nation.

The destruction of neutral Belgium caused international indignation amongst architects and town planners, partially because many Belgian architects had fled abroad. Already in February 1915 an international conference was held in London concerning the reconstruction of Belgium by the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association. There the idea of Belgium as one giant garden city emerged. The Belgian Minister of Public Works Georges Helleputte searched for a compromise between this English garden city idea and the German development plan.[38] Realising that private enterprise or local control alone could not provide the solution given the scale-up of the problems and the local conflicts of interest he tried to enhance the influence of the national government in town planning by a municipal directional town plan that had to be approved by the central government; as was already standard in many other European countries.[39]

After the war this idea of a drastic town plan quickly degenerated in an alignment plan. Reasons for this failed rationalisation and centralisation were that the central government was abroad during the war, the financial implications of such drastic town plans and the nature of the destructions (especially historic town centres) fostering a conservative view.[40] Already in 1919 the central government changed tactics, sponsoring local and private initiatives. Towns which were severely destroyed could get adopted by a Service of Devastated Regions and receive subsidies for reconstruction. In return they had to give account to the central government and present a layout plan which in most cases was nothing more than a slightly improved copy of the pre-war situation, made by the town architect.[41]

In Dendermonde the reconstruction was characterized by a persistent housing problem combined with a prestigious historicist reconstruction of the town centre and a conservative town planning. The layout plan by town architect Alexis Sterck (1921) containing the broadening of existing roads, the straightening of the river with construction of a new boulevard (the later Queen Astrid avenue) and the extension on the ramparts with a park and villa quarter was largely based on a pre-war plan by the famous Joseph Stübben, town architect of Cologne.[42] Stercks successor Ferdinand De Ruddere still recuperated those ideas in his town plan in the 1930's.

Town architects did get their hands on a lot of resources from the national Service of Devastated Regions.[43] Most of their subsidized projects were public but there were also private projects (for example the house of the mayor in Dendermonde). On the other hand this financial aid implied national interference. De Ruddere constantly had to adapt his designs leading to an open conflict with the regional head of the Service of Devastated Regions. He complained that De Ruddere had forgotten that he worked for his office and not as a private architect.[44]

Some tried to overcome this interference by joining the very organisations they confronted. The most flagrant example of this was Jules Coomans as town architect of Ypres, the most well-known martyr town. While the national and international opinion (among which Winston Churchill) demanded the preservation of the ruins, Coomans succeeded with support of the local government and population in implementing his own vision: reconstruction of the most important buildings in a historicist décor. When Minister Renkin appointed a comity to judge these reconstruction plans and to investigate accusations of monopolization by town architect Coomans and provincial architect Viérin, both became member of this comity! Even more remarkable is that Coomans spoke in this comity not as a party concerned but as an 'objective' representative of the Royal Commission of Monuments and Sites, another organisation of which he was a member. Because Coomans, Viérin and mayor Collaert crossed any proposition of modernisation or conservation of the ruins, the comity couldn't agree on a univocal verdict. Hence the Minister turned to the Royal Commission of Monuments and Sites. Again Jules Coomans himself pled and voted in favour of his own plans, with success.[45]

Image 4. René Doom and J. Vermeersch, garden city
 Batavia, Roeselare (1919).

For public housing outside the historic town centres, large scale initiatives by the central government initially bore more result. In the beginning of the 1920's the National Society of Cheap Housing built some experimental garden cities, the most famous being Batavia in Roeselare. Though these were national initiatives, they were often realized with the aid of local sections and town architects like René Doom in Roeselare. As a

result their radical character was tempered. Only a handful of radically modernist town gardens were realized (for example 'Little Russia' by Huib Hoste).

However, because of its socialist egalitarian associations, more and more (catholic) municipalities rejected garden cities and encouraged private initiatives in new neighbourhoods with a strict segregation of worker- and middle class-streets.[46] By 1924 the national government too chose to enhance the private initiative of the working class with an incentive system (to dam socialism and communism) rather than to provide large-scale housing.[47] This idea would culminate after the Second World War in the Law De Taeye, subsidizing a staggering 411.000 private family-houses between 1948 and 1973.[48]

In the 1930's there was a short revival of large-scale interventionist town plans as a way to counteract unemployment. In 1932 the municipality of Dendermonde was the first to organize a national town planning competition for the ramparts and the town in general. As such she wanted to gather ideas in anticipation of the transfer of those lands from the national government to the town. In organising this town architect De Ruddere was possibly inspired by the 1930 C.I.A.M.-congress in Brussels where the modernist plans of Ernst May (town architect of Frankfurt) were presented. Regardless of the appreciation of the functionalist C.I.A.M.-approach, there was a growing consensus amongst Belgian architects that town planning should be their domain.[49] The two published projects of the competition showed a highly rational town extension plan with attention for traffic and zoning; functionally as well as socially.[50]

Image 5. Gaston Brunfaut and Emile Henvaux, competition project
« Dendermonde 1935 » (La Cité, 1933, 12, p. 232).

It is often stated that such large-scale rational modernist efforts led to nothing because of local resistance. This has to be nuanced since in Dendermonde it was the municipality herself who organized the contest. It does seem true that town architect De Ruddere (who was a member of the jury but was also permitted to take part in the competition) prevented the execution of the competition plans; though not because he

disliked the ideas (since afterwards he recuperated a lot of them in his own town plan).[51] Raphael Verwilghen, a pioneer of modern town planning in Belgium who was also a member of the jury in Dendermonde, hinted at the real reason. He blamed the poor results of the competition on those municipal officials who were terrified that private architects were to come on the ground which they wrongfully thought to be their own.[52] A clear reference to town architect De Ruddere and his mix up of public and private assignments.

Town architects in Dendermonde, Roeselare, Ypres… did influence the reconstruction positively with their ideal plans, made by order of the municipality. These were not to be executed as such but functioned as inspirational guidelines for private builders on the most important places. Local leaders clearly understood that specific models could be more influential than vague legislation in convincing people to build a certain way.

The same can be said for certain municipal buildings. Apart from prestigious public buildings like schools, hospitals and monuments, the municipality sometimes took over the entitlement to compensation from private house owners to execute exemplary plans by the town architect. The houses by Sterck on the Grote Markt next to the medieval meat hall (1919) were one of those rare initiatives in Dendermonde which were positively received even by national organisations like the Royal Commission of Monuments and Sites.[53]

Image 6. Alexis Sterck, Marketplace, Dendermonde (1919).

Municipal building orders were however extremely difficult to realize given the dramatic finances of Dendermonde. The destructions, the presence of expensive facilities like the court house and the prison, and the impending acquisition of the ramparts from the state all lay a heavy burden on the small town. As a result the municipality of Dendermonde - more than in other martyr towns - had to rely on private initiative for reconstruction. Apart from the financial gain, private reconstruction of houses had the advantage of quick realisation. Disadvantages were the financial abuses, the neglecting of housing for the poor and the widespread competition between neighbours for the most decorated gable.[54]

The town architect was often depicted as a defence against these dangers of unbridled private initiative and as a promoter of professionalism.[55] One way in which he regulated private initiative was by parcelling out and selling municipal building lots. By doing this

the town earned money and at the same time could impose certain formal restrictions, connected to the sale. De Ruddere employed this tactic in Dendermonde for the Queen Astrid avenue (1935). The houses on this avenue had to have three storeys and be executed in Flemish gothic or renaissance to complete the picturesque townscape along the river. For the interiors the owners were completely free, resulting sometimes in a remarkable discontinuity between interior and exterior. The motive of these formal restrictions was aesthetical as well as financial. By imposing large, traditionalist and thus expensive houses, the municipality could raise the prize of the building grounds and use the money to lay the Queen Astrid avenue and the streets on the ramparts.[56]

Image 7. Ferdinand De Ruddere, Queen Astrid avenue, Dendermonde (1935-1940).

Since 1836 the municipality also had the authority to supervise and authorize private building plans on private ground but it is often stated that – certainly in Dendermonde – the municipality did not succeed in implementing her architectural ideas. An often repeated complaint in the immediate years after the First World War was that everybody in Dendermonde had reconstructed his house according to his personal taste, without any supervision or unity. [57] At first sight this seems true. Local building regulations contained few aesthetical elements and the actual building permits seldom show any commentary. The local advisory commission which was established after the war to look into the aesthetics of the private reconstruction didn't display a large activity either. Yet when walking through some of these streets today, they still radiate a remarkable homogeneity (which was also the reason for a large scale protection campaign in 2004).

Though it is true that in Dendermonde the reconstruction was largely the product of private initiative this does not mean that it was totally devoid of any coherence. Homogeneity was obtained not by official regulations but by more informal policies. When looking closer at the activity of the local aesthetical commission it becomes clear that the majority of those building permits which were approved without any comments, were in fact designed by the town architect and other members of that commission. The establishment of such a comity by the government therefore seems less intended to judge building applications as to promote and empower certain architects through their membership of that commission. People were officially free to choose their own architect but they undoubtedly knew that their building application would be more easily accepted if designed by one of the commission's architects and in particular by the town

architect. De Ruddere for example designed twenty two houses on the Queen Astrid avenue.

Moreover the municipal authority used these private commissions of the town architect as models for further private initiatives. Town architect Sterck in total built more than one hundred private houses in the centre of Dendermonde between 1919 and 1921, approximately one third of all the building applications in that period. De Ruddere built another hundred in the remaining 18 years of the interwar period; often the first and visual dominant houses of a street.

When analyzing De Rudderes 'oeuvre' it becomes clear that he designed traditionalist houses on important places like the Queen Astrid avenue, the main marketplace, the thoroughfares and the station square. In smaller streets and on the outskirts of town he used art deco. As such he set the tone and defined what was admissible and desirable in a given street. Though this policy was not written down, the streets themselves provide the evidence, as do those private clients who ordered several houses by De Ruddere, each totally different and adapted to the respective street scene.[58] That these projects appeared to the outside world as private undertakings was only to the benefit of the local government since private projects encountered much less political opposition than municipal ones.[59]

Provincial towns undamaged during the First World War showed a more modern architectural imagery but a similar interweaving of private and public commissions of the town architects leading to a homogeneous street image. In Sint-Niklaas August Waterschoot planned several quarters in which he and his sons designed hundreds of houses in a marked art deco design.[60] In Ronse town architect Albert Massez designed the first and most important private houses in different (publicly and privately) planned streets like the Jean-Baptiste Mouroitsquare (1935).[61] In discussing that square the modernist periodical *Bâtir* praised him for the opportunities he gave to young architects, for the houses he had built himself on that square and for the fact that he thereby provided certain limitations in materials and gables.[62]

Image 8. Albert Massez and others, Jean-Baptiste Mouroitsquare, Ronse (1935).

Afterwards: an evaluation

How do we have to evaluate such town planning projects? Undoubtedly De Ruddere designed the lion's share of houses in the Queen Astrid avenue himself to compensate for the economic crisis of the 1930's. Yet with his traditionalist architecture he also responded to a public need for lasting values and security in those years of crisis. A comparison between these traditionalist compromises and the rarely realized modernist projects shows that the first are still more appreciated and respected by their inhabitants because they reckon with their longings and the existing urban fabric. As such several town architects by a conglomerate of public and private commissions succeeded where most modernists failed: to enter - slowly but steadily - the idea of town planning in the mind of the public.

After the law of 1939 this mixture of public and private practices largely disappeared. As a result the office of town architect became less attractive and was mostly occupied by supervising technicians, clearing the way for mere profit seeking private companies. In Dendermonde, De Rudderes plan of a station street with Renaissance gables connecting the station square with the old town was still executed through regulations in the notarial deed of sale. The traditionalist villa quarter between the two remaining city gates was realized thanks to private commissions of De Ruddere and his successor Désiré Windey (though this was strictly speaking no longer allowed). However, when Windey tried to continue the policy of De Ruddere in the 1960's by extending the villa quarter on the ramparts, he failed. Private high rise blocks emerged behind the gates and the station street, damaging the small scale town.

Image 9. Station street, Dendermonde (1950's).

The last decade there has been a renewed interest for architects in governmental service. In 1998 one of the most renowned Belgian architects bOb Van Reeth was appointed as Flemish Building Master, advising the Flemish and local authorities on matters of architecture and town planning. As such the government is again more actively engaged in architecture and town planning. Following this, some towns have reinstalled and revalued the office of town architect. Antwerp disposes since a couple of years of a town building master who on his own initiative counsels the city on important public and private projects and is structurally embedded in the working of the municipality.[63] The town architect of Eeklo, a small provincial town, received the Flemish Culture Prize for Architecture in 2003. The main difference between these officials and their pre-war counterparts is that they merely supervise. Yet the enduring polemics

concerning possible conflicts of interest show that it remains difficult to balance between independency and loyalty, involvement and detachment, professionalism and politics, public and private interests, past, present and future. It is this compromise that makes town planning so interesting.

* All images were made by the author in 2008, except nr. 5.

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[32] Bertels & Van de Vijver, 2008, p. 8

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[34] Other private architects cumulating an official function were Jozef Viérin (provincial architect and alderman for public works in Bruges) and Camille Van Elslande (municipal councillor in Veurne who received from 1936 onwards all important municipal works in absence of a real town architect).

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[50] The award-winning projects were by M.C. Heymans and G.A.L. Brunfaut in cooperation with E. Henvaux.

[51] For example the North-South orientation of building blocks for maximum sun.

[52] Verwilgen, Raphaël, "Quelques réflexions au sujet du Concours pour l'Urbanisation de Termonde", in: La Cité, 1933, 12, pp. 238-239.

[53] Bulletin des Commissions Royales d'Art et d'Archéologie. 1922, p. 186. Smets, 1985, p. 95.

[54] Smets, 1976, pp. 169-174.

[55] Gilles, 1937, p. 1016.

[56] Vandeweghe, in press, s.p. Town architect August Waterschoot in Sint-Niklaas referred to the same financial benefits when promoting the lay out of a new middle class living quarter. Demey, 1998, p. 8.

[57] Bulletin des Commissions Royales d'Art et d'Archéologie. 1922, p. 186.

[58] Vandeweghe, in press, s.p.

[59] Barbara Miller Lane observed a different yet similar phenomenon in German towns like Düsseldorf, Celle and Cologne where modernist town planning projects received less opposition because they were designed by private architects. Miller Lane, 1968, p. 124.

[60] Demey, 1998, pp. 6-9 & 46-48.

[61] De Waele, Anneleen, Albert Massez (1871-1949) - van art nouveau tot modernisme -. (Gent: onuitgegeven licentiaatsverhandeling, UGent, 2006), pp. 100-103 & 115-118.

[62] Gilles, 1937, p. 1018.

[63] Devoldere, Stefaan, "Kristiaan Borret stadsbouwmeester", In: A+, 209, pp. 50-55.

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Changing roles of the public institutions in planning issues

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It is well-known that urban planning studies in Turkey gained significance during the republican period beginning from the second half of the 19th century. Urban planning studies which emerged towards the end of Ottoman Empire were not based on a certain system and also they had quite shallow implementations and they were mostly implemented by foreign planners. The new republican government, who speeded up the attempts to constitute new municipalities with the help of the various acts which were passed beginning from the declaration of the republic, took the first step to form the corporate body related to urban planning and the concept of municipality in the country.

The urban planning of Ankara, which was declared to be the capital of the country shortly before the declaration of the republic in Turkey, and the attempts to constitute the first local government which appeared as a consequence of the Ottomans' experience on the business of governing a city had a pioneer role and helped the republic to have an understanding related to municipality and city planning.

In those years, with the help of many acts passed one after the other, the municipalities were granted with significant responsibilities related to both city planning and economy. However, considering that it would be hard for local authorities to overcome the difficulties in the field of planning with the laws passed one by one, it was agreed to establish a central powerful organization which will be responsible for making the decisions related to city planning and also this organization was considered to be dependent to the government.

This above mentioned attitude played a significant role in the formation of corporate structure in urban planning beginning from 1930s and new regulations related to corporate and law were passed one right after the other beginning from that time. The first of this law was the one passed in 1930 and numbered 1580, Municipality Act. This law which was in force for 75 years was prepared being inspired by the French laws of that time and the laws granted equal rights to all municipalities and their corporate structures were shaped as one single type. Taking regular local services to middle-sized cities which appeared as a consequence of the policies which, at that time, aimed to make industry prevalent throughout the country, became mandatory with that law. Whereas this municipality act granted municipalities some flexibility related to their being modernized, in fact all municipalities were taken under strict control of the central government, which can also be named as "guardianship". Similar understanding of strict guardianship could also be encountered in Ottoman period. This approach regards municipalities as the natural extentions of the central governments. This centralist tendency roots back to the societies in Anatolia before the foundation of Ottoman Empire, but it still continues its existence although it loosened up partly. That meant for municipalities that they were dependent to the central government in most of the issues ranging from decision-making process to vesting authority and using sources. It was

made mandatory for all municipalities to have their urban planning prepared and their fields which they were responsible for were expanded with this municipality act. However, it did not handle the issue of source at all. Besides, another significant innovation that this act brought about was that all municipalities were supposed to constitute a budget considering the programme that they had prepared depending on their city planning implementation and then they had to submit it to the central government for its approval. The Buildings and Roads Act which was passed in 1933 was replaced with the Reconstruction Act and it aimed to contribute to the systematic progress of the urban planning and also helped cities experience a systematic development. This act made it compulsory for all municipalities to have their urban planning prepared for the following 50 years within 5 years. According to this act, municipalities were supposed to have their basic maps prepared primarily within the suggested period, and then they were supposed to prepare their city planning by themselves or have the units that they constitute for that specific purpose prepare it within 5 years. Thus, a new era started in Turkey in the field of urban planning and this lasted till 1956 when a new city planning act was released.

The fact that municipalities could not implement the authority for city planning which was granted to municipalities as a consequence of some financial and technical insufficiencies was noticed by the authorities in republican period very soon and a new foundation dependent to the central government and also named as "Municipality Urban Planning Committee" was granted with responsibility for planning so as to find an ultimate solution to the problem. This committee not only prevented municipalities from going into partnership and thus weakened them, but also strengthened the function of the central government related to this issue. The institution which was established under the name of Municipalities Bank, the function of which was to offer municipalities the financial back-up they needed in the field of urban planning was then rearranged as İller Bankası in the following years. It kept offering financial and technical supports to the municipalities throughout the country. Before 1950s, municipalities occasionally took the responsibility especially for the implementation of the plans, but the central government was found to be responsible especially for the preparation of the plans.

However, it is a well-known fact that these authorities were expanded against the local guardianship in time; moreover, as a consequence of the above mentioned changes, the responsibilities granted to the central and local government were confused with one another. This also made it hard for municipalities to play more active roles in city life and to undertake the services such as planning and implementing the plans, which were considered to be among their basic responsibilities. No municipalities could overcome their responsibilities without getting any support from the central government anymore. The rapid increase in the number of the people dwelling in cities caused the city related problems to come into prominence and the organizations constituted under the light of the available laws remained insufficient. Thus, the reconstruction act numbered 6785, which was considered to be the first real city planning act in republican period was passed in 1956. With this act, it was made voluntary for all municipalities to have urban planning prepared, but it was still compulsory to have urban planning for the cities the population of which exceeded 5000.With this act again, all municipalities were granted

with the authority to do urban planning and implement it within their borders. However, they were still supposed to send their urban plannings to the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement. The Ministry of Public Works and Settlement which was established after the reconstruction act was passed was founded as a central organization having full-control over all reconstruction works, and also it was granted with the authority to pass necessary regulations needed in the field. The reconstruction act, which generally assumed a centralist attitude, can be suggested to have a flexible understanding of reconstruction because the task to prepare urban planning was granted to municipalities completely. The ministry was only granted with controlling the plans. However, the changes carried out in the following years intended to limit the responsibilities of the municipalities. It is commonly accepted that 1961 constitution divided authority into two as local and central and that it granted municipalities with more power and autonomy.

As a consequence of that, it can be suggested here that municipalities in Turkey after 1960 were exposed partly less central guardianship. The fact that the majors of the municipalites were elected through elections also made them stronger and more effective. With the regulations in reconstruction act in 1972, the authorities granted to municipalities in the field of reconstruction were dispossessed and given to the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement. In this period, the effects of a heavy centralist attitude were visible. The reconstruction Act which was passed in 1956 and then modified in 1972 was found to be quite incapable of meeting the needs of city planners as a consequence of both its being too centralist and being not flexible. Therefore, after 30 years, it was discussed to pass a new reconstruction law and then the reconstruction act numbered 3194 was passed in 1985. With the help of this act, planning decisions in Turkey were systematized for the first time and directing development through planning was adapted in principle. Besides, another significant innovation that this act brought about was that the strict control of central government was weakened in planning; on the other hand, the authorities of local governments were strengthened. The authority for urban planning was granted to local governments and the ministry was granted no control over the local authorities, which were significant steps in making the local governments autonomous. The planning related authority that is granted to local governments which are considered to be the most basic mile stones of democracy brought the idea of constituting totally independent local governments in the foreground. However, an article of the law, which suggests a privilege to the ministry in urban planning and its approval can be considered to overshadow the autonomy of the local governments. Whereas some special cases were listed in the article, it is connoted here that the ministry could merge into planning process when it considered it necessary. Whereas it is an undeniable fact that the central government was granted with some significant responsibilities so as to furnish the coordination among the institutions throughout the country, the attempts to solve these problems through individual methods not only overshadow the positive attempts, but also lead some problems.

Although our country has experienced many phases since the declaration of the republic, it can be suggested here that urban planning has been basically considered as

local governments' business; however, the intervention of the central government has increased and loosened from time to time.

Today, things are very similar to the past; local governments are responsible for urban planning, however, many institutions of the central government still intervene the urban planning process of the local governments. Because no determined and consistent attitudes have been adopted in determining the political decision making processes which are supposed to direct the physical planning, and because different priorities have come into prominence in law making, a complete coordination among the institutions throughout the country has not been obtained and as a consequence of that, a chaos in planning and implementing of the plans have been encountered. The number of the institutions dependent to central government, which work in the field of urban planning as well as the local governments, has increased so dramatically that the chance for those institutions to work in coordination has become quite difficult. If we are to mention about these institutions in brief, we can mention about the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement, which works at local and central basis. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism which has the responsibility to watch over and to make tourism planning, The Ministry of Environment and Forest which has the responsibility for the planning process related to the coasts and forests, State planning Institution, Boğaziçi Reconstruction High Coordination Committee and some other similar institutions.

Besides, when we consider the local authorities responsible for urban planning, a complex urban planning organization structure appears.

Conclusion

It is observed here that all the laws related to urban planning passed beginning from the declaration of the republic seemed to be much in favor of the local governments; however, things have started to change dramatically, the laws passed in that field seemed to be strictly in favor of a centralist attitude. The discomfort that this strict state caused lasted in an increasing rate till 1985, and it resulted in a new reconstruction act which granted local governments with significant authorities related to urban planning.

However, an article in the new reconstruction act which still granted responsibilities to the central government to intervene, and the privileges granted to various central units in urban planning, all contributed to a chaos in the share of authority. The difficulties for the central government to take service to every corner of the country from a single center were learned through experience and as a consequence of that, the idea that planning is something based on governing locally was accepted as a general principle. Another thing is that granting full-authority to local governments in planning was not an ultimate solution and that new problems emerged. This experience helped the decision makers to understand that granting equal authorities to all cities, without considering their population density and some other characteristics was not a good decision. Granting authorities without considering the structural differences among municipalities with regards to demographic, social, cultural, topographic differences and etc., without any transition period resulted in many negative outcomes. Especially the municipalities

which were not capable of employing the authorities granted to them by the central government suggested that they needed a transition institution to get help. This case suggests that a regional governing institution, which can offer help to the municipalities with less population, without technical and financial capabilities in urban planning and which can function as the controller over them, and at the same time ensure the coordination between the central and local government has come to the light.

When we consider the things from the consistency of the plans prepared at the region and country scale and the plans prepared at urban scale, ensuring the coordination among the institutions, the absence of such administrative phases come to the foreground.

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Building Mexico City: formal and informal planning of the urban environment since 1945

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On 2 October 1968, the city and nation of Mexico changed course. The pivotal event was the massacre of 300-350 university students by the government near their housing complex of Tlateloco. Like the aftershocks of an even more catastrophic event, the earthquake of 1985, the political repercussions of the ambush at the Plaza of the Three Cultures continue to reverberate throughout society until the present day. In the harsh repression following in its wake, radical activists hid among the people and laid the organizational foundations of the social movements that would emerge full-blown after the natural disaster. As Vivienne Bennett confirms, "two decades of popular organizing… changed the face of civil society in Mexico."[1]

My paper examines the processes of formal and informal planning that resulted from the new waves of political protests following the student massacre. I tell three interconnected stories of city-building, each with significant impacts on the environment and the quality of daily life. The first is about Ajusco, probably the best-documented *colonia popular*, or "irregular settlement". In part, the success of its inhabitants not only in securing title to their self-built homesteads during the 1970-80s but also in creating an ecologically productive zone stems from the organizational and technical support of student activists.

The second story is based on the post-earthquake rebuilding of the El Centro district between the Zócalo and Tlateloco. The mobilization of its residents into a united front forced the government to rebuild their neighborhoods, resulting in 48,000 new housing units within a year. The ability of these working class people to resist displacement led the big business leaders to plan a new commercial "downtown" on a garbage dump in an area called Santa Fe. Like a phoenix, an instant city of modernist skyscrapers arose as the headquarters of NAFTA corporations, which employ over 70,000 office workers. It has also become the location for a similar mushroom-like growth of upscale condominium towers as well as the site for the largest shopping mall in Latin America.[2]

In each case, interventions by foreign agencies influenced the construction of Mexico City. In Ajusco, international non-government organizations (NGOs) helped install ecologically productive technologies. In El Centro, the World Bank helped pay for new housing while outside labor and feminist activists helped garment workers form a new union. In Santa Fe, the NAFTA treaty helped encourage American corporations to relocate their Mexican headquarters there, ensuring its success.

Ajusco

Ajusco represents a case study of alternative or informal planning brick-by-brick and block-by-block. It is a part of a much larger pattern of irregular settlements in the

metropolitan area that cover sixty percent of its land and houses over half of its more than twenty million inhabitants. Located on the steep southern rim of the Valley of Mexico, the Ajusco area in 1970 was a rural forest of ejidal land with few residents. Over the course of the next decade, it would become home to 150,000 people. While their efforts to build houses and a community may be characterized as heroic, there was certainly nothing romantic about their struggle to survive.

The fact that they settled on the hillsides of a remote mountain with up to 45-degree slopes did not reflect conscious choice but desperation from a lack of better options. Without level places to build, the area lacked all of the basics necessities such as water, electricity, roads, and sewerage. Moving illegally onto land they did not own meant they would soon face repeated waves of private and government demolition squads - "*desalojo* (eviction) machines,"- that tore down their homes and scattered their meager possessions. With nowhere else to go, many would return after these devastating raids to put the pieces back together again.[3]

While the plight of the settlers or *colonos* of Ajusco was extreme, it was typical of the housing problems encountered by newcomers to the capital in the post-1945 period. Starting with World War II, the national plan of economic modernization through import substitution gained sustained momentum. Between 1950 and 1990, the push of rural poverty and the pull of factory jobs would quadruple the population of Mexico City. Developing the economy was carefully plotted by government experts, but equivalent blueprints for worker housing and urban expansion did not exist. "In Mexico," Peter J. Ward comments, "the key problem was that until the late 1970s urban planners occupied no political space whatsoever."[4]

In this sense, the official plan was to have no plan at all. The privileged industrial sector benefited from the government's blind eye to the illegal takeover of public and ejidal land in two ways. Employers could pay lower wages to workers who paid no rent as well as less in taxes to the local government, which did not have the expense of providing them with infrastructure improvements and public services. Rent control imposed during the war created additional disincentives for private investment in the housing market compared to manufacturing. For three decades following the war, the economic plans produced what was called a "miracle," but since then they can be renamed a mirage. In the mid-1970s, real wages began to decline and unemployment rates began to rise, making more of the working classes desperate to find cheap housing.[5]

In the two post-war decades, most of the irregular settlements were built within the boundaries of the Federal District. Migrants clustered as close to the center as possible to gain better access to jobs, friends, transportation, and other public services. But in the 1960s, the district's political boss, Ernest P. Uruchurtu, launched a campaign against further congestion. Earning dubious monikers as the "Bulldozer Mayor" and the "Iron Hand", he became ruthless in forcing the settlers out of the Federal District. In 1966, he was himself ousted by the national party leadership over his opposition to an underground transit system in preparation for the opening of the Olympic games two

years later. Nonetheless, the new settlement patterns persisted. In effect, Uruchurtu's campaign further exacerbated urban sprawl, pushing it into the adjoining states.[6]

The occupation of Ajusco was a part of this legacy. Not suitable for farming, this rocky area began to undergo urbanization during the 1950s, when the government expropriated ejidal land for a new international symbol of Modernism, the University City (National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM)). Additional expropriations followed for the grounds of another global icon, the Olympics. Both projects created thousands of construction jobs; the land grab was on. Corrupt ejidal leaders and local officials conspired together in the illegal subdivision and sale of lots -sometimes several times over- to would-be homeowners. Large-scale builders also moved into Ajusco, marketing expensive houses in planned developments on the basis of such environmental amenities as cleaner air, lower densities, and less congestion. By the early 1970s, the occupation of the more accessible land north of the barrier formed by the railroad tracks was essentially complete.[7]

A second wave of settlement south of the tracks became much more contentious because it did not have the sanction of the landowners and politicians. The illegal takeover of the colonia popular Lomas de Padierna illustrates the ways in which the ensuing battle against the authorities forged the social bonds of community needed to undertake the physical planning of a neighborhood. An identity of place among the colonos was engendered in a process of self-defense that they called "*necesidad*," or the struggle for survival.

In 1971, a single mother in her late thirties, "Ursula", would emerge as the leader after her jerry-built shanty was torn down. Angry and in despair, she recalled that "when my house was destroyed, [the] colonos united; they rebuild my house with stone." She got involved, joined the water supply committee, and got to work painting the inside of barrels to prevent rust. Other committees laid out homestead lots and streets, set up a system of collective defense against the demolition squads, and organized a democratic assembly of government. Over the next three years, as other leaders were arrested and forced to move, more and more of the colonos looked to Ursula.[8]

Student radicals were also important in the informal planning of Lomas de Padierna that transformed the environment and the people's sense of identity. In 1972, students from the UNAM moved in to help organize the settlers for self-government and to build an elementary school. Like many other post-massacre students, they were members of the *Frente Popular Independiente* (FPI), a group that adopted a Maoist ideology of grassroots activism. Getting the school up and running within a year for about 300 children earned the respect of the colonos as well as giving momentum to the process of community-building. The students also helped Ursula and other members of the assembly petition the government for an official school, drinking water, and other public services.[9]

During this period of the presidency of Luis Echeverria (1970-76), government policy on the urban environment began to change from denial to incorporation of the irregular

settlements. He was deeply implicated as the Minister of the Interior in the ambush and repression of the students, but he also was an economic reformer. Rejecting the classic approach of anthropologist Oscar Lewis that the colonias populares represented pathological breeding grounds for a "culture of poverty," Echeverria adopted more recent counter-theories that they were an essential part of the solution to low-income housing. In 1973, he established the Trust for Urban Development within the Federal Distrist (FIDEURBE) as a formal planning agency. It was charged with mediating land disputes, legalizing ownership, imposing property taxes, and providing an infrastructure of urban services. Three years later, the government enacted an even more sweeping measure, the Law of Human Settlements.[10]

For the colonos of Lomas de Padierna, the new policies led to victory in the battle for land tenure, but at the price of self-government. In April 1974, local officials ignored the law and mounted a last-ditch effort to evict the community. Now well organized, however, three thousand residents responded to the ringing of the alarm bell of defense. Their united stand rebuffed the bulldozers and riot police. According to Ursula, "with this action our movement began to gain respect [from the local authorities]." Conceding defeat, they agreed to negotiate with her as the political boss or *caudilla* of the people. During the next four years of hard bargaining, the colonos demanded the right to the planning of land use, the self-construction of homes, the government provision of public utilities and services, and the cessation of police repression. Officials insisted that FEDEURBE had to govern the incorporation process, set land prices, and cut lot sizes in half in order to resell the recovered property at market rates.[11]

In the end, Ursula was willing to trade away self-rule in order to secure title to the land. She won concessions to keep the original lot sizes at a price of only 40 percent of market value. The student activists felt betrayed by the cooptation of the popular movement by the ruling party, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). Yet, they had to admit that Ursula had acted pragmatically on behalf of the residents. The settlement also brought the construction of an official school and the installation of piped water. By the early 1980s, many colonos took advantage of rising land values to sell their properties, changing the nature of community into a more middle class neighborhood.[12]

In 1976, a third, eco-centric pattern of irregular settlements became evident during of the presidency of Jose Lopez Portillo (1976-1982).   "The attempt to plan urban development," Diaz-Barriga proposes, "marked a redefinition of state policy from incorporation to containment of urban expansion, poverty, and collective organizing...." In effect, he argues that the Portillo administration adopted a technocratic vision of the environment that attempts to impose a rational order on nature.[13]

About 50,000 people were already settled in the area by 1976, when the invasion began south of the railroad tracks into an area newly designated by the government as a protected, ecology conservation zone. Soon 20-25,000 people were living in shanty housing, mostly build with bituminized cardboard as roofs, and low-grade boards or bricks called *tabique* for walls. The new colonias populares were known as Bosques

del Pedregal, Cullotepec, Dos de Octubre, and Belvedere. They were situated on 200 hectares of mountainside, above the city limit of 2,350 feet above sea level to receive water. Instead, the colonos had to organize to get their water supplies trucked in to the highest points and distributed from barrels to homes downhill through garden hoses. Electricity was supplied on an irregular basis to settlers who "appropriated" it by illegal hook-ups on utility company wires.

But the new intrusions in the green zone brought retaliation from the demolition squads. In 1977, the authorities retaliated with the *desalojo* machine, attempting to remove the colonos. Three times the people stood and watched their homes be destroyed and three times some of them returned to rebuild. But when the authorities returned the fourth time, they confronted an organized community determined to stand its ground and defend its homes. Holding them to a 72-hour standoff, the settlers attracted outside support from college students and labor union based NGOs. As the deadline approached on June 6, 1977, the police met a much larger crowd which was now armed with sticks and rocks. Again, the civil authorities retreated.[14]

What ensued next was an extracted, eight years process of political negotiation leading to the issuance of official land certificates for about five thousand households. In between, both sides marshaled environmental reports in support of their opposing positions. On the one hand, the planners contended that human settlements on the hillsides of Ajusco were destroying a fragile environment, they were way too costly to supply with urban services, and they were violating the master plan of urban containment. On the other hand, the eco-populists enlisted a wide array of external support groups ranging from nearby university science departments to global NGOs to formulate a counter-plan of the *colonia ecological productive* (the ecologically productive settlement). For instance, the residents' cooperative would plant and harvest 20,000 fruit trees as opposed to commercial deforestation under the government's current program. The community also proposed to install an environmentally friendly sewage recycling plant that would produce fertilizer and grow mushrooms.

In contrast, their expert allies could point a green finger of blame at the planners for maintaining one of the city's most polluted places nearby in the protected greenbelt, a gigantic garbage landfill. Both sides made credible arguments on behalf of the environment, but the garbage dump undermined the city's credibility. In the end, an extremely twisted and corrupt politics of appeasing social unrest by the ruling party accounts most for the successful outcome in the battle of Ajusco for the settlers, who won property certificates.[15]

For the environment, however, this new urban area had negative impacts. By turning eco-populists into property owners, the powers-that-be achieved their immediate goal of sapping the political strength of the grassroots movement. With the dissipation of the community's cooperative spirit, the projects to reverse environmental consumption into production faltered. Instead, the land basically was paved over by public authorities and private homeowners alike. Ajusco as a rural, open space and as an urban greenbelt reserve was gone. Since the 1985 resolution of the battle of Ajusco, this story has been

repeated literally hundreds of times in the ecological preserves. The result has been more sprawl and environmental degradation, as the government seems locked into a failed plan of urban containment.[16]

El Centro

On 19 September 1985, the earthquake had its most devastating impact on the El Centro district, the historic heart of the city. Human-made changes in the natural hydrology of the Valley of Mexico had turned the old center's sub-soils into a jello-like consistency. The shock waves of the earthquake were amplified by the ground underneath to the point where the taller buildings were swaying so violently that they were banging into each other, hastening their collapse. With a force estimated to be the equivalent of over 1,100 atomic bombs of 20 kiloton strength, the tremors also shook apart large areas of working-class housing, called *vecindades*. These two and three story tenements had traditional elements of a communal internal courtyard for privies, for washing clothes and dishes, and sometimes for cooking. Out of the rubble and the government's inept response to the emergency arose urban popular movements among residents of the El Centro district. As the critic A. Lazcano stated, "the 1985 earthquake represents the most important collective questioning of the government, and its failing paternalist system, in the history of Mexico." [17]

Unlike the "survival" communities forming on the Ajusco foothills, these were ancient places with identities of place deeply rooted in the foundations of the city's popular culture.   Clustered around the national sacred space, the central plaza or Zócalo, were working-class neighborhoods known as Alameda, Morelos, Guerrero, Buenavista, Tabacalera/Reforma, and Doctores. "Many [residents] identify with the community," Susan Eckstein remarks, "[they] take pride in their community. They view their neighbourhood as authentic, representing the 'soul' of Mexico City." Elena Poniatowska adds, "[their] profound historical roots endowed the quake-damaged areas with a strong sense of place." Their place-based organizations would provide the leadership for the growth of a new generation of urban popular movements with agendas of environmental justice and equity.[18]

The residents of El Centro had not only solid identities of place, but also strong class-consciousness through occupations that tended to cluster around the city center. Long ago, the Zócalo became established as a distinct locational advantage for civil servants, street vendors and storefront businesses, bus-drivers, and women garment workers jammed in sweatshops near the big department stores. "If anything," Diane Davis observes, "the Zócalo and the monumental state buildings that graced the area served to reinforce the social divisions that had long characterized the city: a petit-bourgeois east end filled with petty traders, street vendors, and small-scale merchants, and a more bourgeois west end filled with luxurious departments stores, fancy restaurants, and medium- or large-sized (in employees and fixed capital) commercial establishments that appealed to the middle and upper classes of the city."[19]

Already well organized when the earthquake struck, the residents of El Centro were better prepared than most disaster-victims to meet the political challenges of reconstructing their neighborhoods. Their success in attracting international funding helped them overcome bureaucratic and party resistance to grassroots participation in formal urban planning. To construct almost 50,000 modern housing units in a year would require the government to set up a special agency to by-pass all of the red-tape the project could anticipate if it had to go through normal channels. But like Ajusco, the gain of home ownership would come at the cost of democratic self-government. Facing post-earthquake uprisings on many fronts, the PRI was anxious to cut deals to contain populist revolts and appease the best organized and most vocal groups of united neighbors and unionized workers.[20]

In the post-World War II period, an identity of place was fostered in a classic, not-in-my-backyard (NIMBY) defense of residential neighborhoods against the wrecking ball of the city's urban renewal plans. With rents frozen, the only hope for the landlords to get rid of their tenants living in the vecindades was demolition. In addition, the official plan called for their replacement with a complex of International Style office, shopping, and condo towers that would mean property values would soar. Many other influential economic interests, those identified by Davis as the "west-enders", endorsed the makeover of the historic core into a glass-and-steel central business district with upscale hotels, restaurants, and brand-name boutiques like other "First World" capitals.

But standing against this powerful phalanx of Modernism stood an unlikely local hero, Ernest P. Uruchurtu. He would build a political "machine" independent of the national PRI hierarchy of power precisely among two of the community's main occupational groups: the street vendors and the bus-drivers. For members of the "informal economy" selling in the streets around the Zócalo, its markets had long been known to attract the largest, metropolitan-wide base of customers. Known as the "The Regent of Iron" Uruchurtu was ruthless in forcing the vendors to join syndicate-like "associations" to gain access to the public space. At the same time, however, he gave them legitimacy, and hence power to their Godfather-like leaders to represent 50,00 dues-paying members. For the already unionized bus-drivers, stopping urban renewal had direct effects on their lives and livelihoods. Saving their central residential locations meant less commuting time to their jobs, and perhaps their jobs too. Visions of a high-rise downtown included an underground metro system to move the office-workers, giving planners an excuse to force the anarchistic micro- and mini-buses off the streets.[21]

From 1952 until his ouster from office fourteen years later in 1966, Uruchurtu held the forces of Modernist planning to a standstill. "In fact," Davis suggests, "one might go so far as to say that the more formalized and powerful planning as a profession became, the more neglected were downtown areas of the city, and the less likely were concerted efforts to nurture a lively, socially inclusive place in which public life, public interaction, and public debate could flower."[22] On the contrary, El Central may have remained rooted in traditional identities of place and class-consciousness, but it certainly passed the test of a lively urban space of people in the streets.

In the years between the student massacre of 1968 and the earthquake of 1985, these bonds of community were strengthened in two ways. With the loss of their "patron" Uruchurtu, the street vendors associations had to band closer together to negotiate from a position of strength with the newly appointed PRI representative, Mayor Alfonso Corona del Rosal. After portraying the "Regent of Iron" as an out-of-control monster, Corona hoped that he could rebuild loyalty to the ruling party by lightening up on enforcement of the rules governing vendors' use of the streets. For the bus-drivers, a payoff was already in the works for their betrayal of Uruchurtu. Their year-long strike helped bring him down in the national legislature. For the drivers, victory meant pay raises and stronger bonds of union solidarity. Privatizing the bus service also gave virtual free reign to the little companies already clogging downtown traffic. As environmental historian Priscilla Connolly bemoans, "it is now generally agreed that the political power of the minibus cartels represents a serious obstacle to rationally planning the public transport system."[23]

In a second way, the post-1968 student radicals who joined the underground in the El Centro district helped further sharpen the communities' organizing skills. The solid foundations of their identities of place were ready-made for the activists to build grassroots movements around environmental issues of quality of life in the home, neighborhood, and workplace. As Bennett points out, "lack of housing, inadequate services, and speculation with land prices and rents characterized Mexico's cities in 1968 and they characterized Mexico's cities in 1983." Political mobilizations and to some degree, a measure of democratic participation became more deeply embedded in the popular culture of the barrios of the city center. In July 1979, the Union de Colonias Populares (UCP) formed with representatives from nine colonias and with over a thousand members. A year later, a second umbrella organization was established in the metropolitan area, the Movimiento Popular de Pueblos y Colonias del Sur (MPPCS). Gaining momentum, the next step for the neighborhood groups was at the national level, creating in 1981, the National Coordinator of Urban Popular Movements.[24]

By the time of the earthquake, then, the residents of El Centro were empowered by a network of oppositional community and labor organizations. "Ironically," Eckstein observes, "the government's effort in the 1970s to bulldoze the area had -from its vantage- the unintended effect of strengthening the community base of resistance to the housing crisis of the 1980s." Within in a month of the natural disaster, twenty-four neighborhood groups formed the Coordinadora Unica de Damnificados (CUD). It presented the government with petitions signed by 30,000 people, who demanded inclusion in the process of planning the reconstruction of the central area. The PRI sought to appease the CUD by announcing the government expropriation of the land. While this policy closed the door on landlord abuses seeking to get rid of their vecindades tenants, it opened the way for central planners to bulldoze their clean-sweep fantasies into a reality of an International Style commercial district. The CUD counter-proposed rebuilding in the traditional, vecendades style with updated infrastructure but the same low-densities and the same residents inside. In March 1986, the tenants of 200 of these housing units marched to the Zócalo to demonstrate their determination to participate in the formal planning process. The organizers of this

sit-in movement threatened to move 50,000 homeless people from the El Centro to the Olympic Village if their voices were not heard.

In 1987, the CUD worked out a deal with the government that was highly advantageous to the tenants but at a price of political cooptation and containment by the PRI. The political activists started another grassroots organization, the Assembly of the Neighborhooods/Asamble de Barrios. It gathered a list of rental tenants made homeless by the earthquake, compiling 50,000 names within a year. The movement also generated its own media star, "Superbarrio," a self-made street-theater persona. This super-hero provided not only a rallying point but a point of political satire typical of the city's popular culture.

Against such an array of protest tactics, national officials listened to party leaders not city planners in reaching a resolution to the protest movement. To safeguard the project from entrenched bureaucrats, it was given protective shelter by Manuel Camacho Solis in the People's Reconstruction Housing/*Renovacion Habitacional Popular* (RHP**)** program within the Secretariat of Urban Development and Ecology/*Secretari de Desarrollo Urbano y Ecologia* (SEDUE). In order to construct 48,000 household units by April 1987 required general agreement of the one-hundred-plus vecindades groups on a very limited set of blueprints. The "Convenio de concertacion democratica para la reconstruccion de vivienda" retained the low-rise, courtyard design for 38,000 housing units, but now they included forty square meters of space, private bathrooms, and kitchens with indoor plumbing. Another 10,000 units would replace high-rise towers designed by Modernist architect Mario Pani that had fallen down in the sprawling Tlateloco housing complex. At the same time, the pact excluded the populist leadership and substituted party functionaries in the administration of the plan. As Susan Eckstein argues, "autocratic rule at the national level is consistent with, and strengthened by, administrative democratization at the local level." [25]

The former rental tenants could return triumphant as future homeowners. Prices were heavily discounted and payments spread out over eight years. The World Bank funded about 60 percent, or $15.25 billion of the housing project and government subsidies further reduced the price to about one-fourth of market value. This low cost offer attracted seven out of ten residents to come back to their neighborhoods, at least temporarily. With an immediate doubling of value at a minimum, many residents could not afford to forego a chance to reap an instant windfall. But many others moved into new homes in their old neighborhoods, reestablishing identities of place. [26]

Equally important, populist struggles against party and official authorities over post-earthquake reconstruction fostered new identities as well. The remarkable story of the rise of a women's garment workers' union out of the ashes illustrates the ways in which movement culture reshaped urban politics. As Bennett notices, women had long formed the backbone of the neighborhood groups. But a different group of 40,000 women, the piece-workers in the sweatshops, were especially vulnerable to a male-dominated "patron-client" relationship on the job. The earthquake hit hard at the rows of

old factory buildings housing the garment workers in the Doctores district.

From 200-400 of these sweatshops collapsed, killing at least 800 workers. While many women still lay buried alive in the rubble, factory owners returned to dig out their sewing machines in order to set up shop somewhere else. One of the emerging leaders, Evangilina Corona recalled, "the boss, the masculine figure, the paternal image, the one who gives a pat on the back, the one who can grant permission, the one who pays cash in a manila envelop to unwed mothers who go to work at age fourteen. The boss, the patron, is always the reference point. Hard to believe the bosses demanded the recovery of their machines before the bodies of the dead."[27]

Out of the ensuing outrage, rescue and recovery efforts, and protest movements came a new group, the Nineteenth of September Garment Workers Union. Given support by outside NGOs of union organizers and feminist advocates, the garment union was able to confront the factory owners for back-pay and relief funds. In the process, the rank-and-file took on new gender and community identities. Labor historian Teresa Carrillo concurs, "the combination of gender- and class-based demands and interests has worked to fashion the union's functions and goals to resemble a combination trade union/social movement/women's organization."[28]

In many respects, the transformation of the sweatshop workers reflects how the earthquake changed social and political identities more than the physical space. The neighborhood groups and unions of El Centro formed an organizational core of post-reconstruction protest movements, but they were nonetheless typical of the urban popular movements created in aftermath of the natural disaster. Judith Hellman cautions against assuming they represent a structural change in Mexican political culture towards more democratic practices. Yet with PRI support down to only one in four voters in the Federal District by the end of the 1980s, the new wave of social movements opened up the official electoral process to multi-party competition for the first time.[29]

Santa Fe

The failure of modernist plans of urban renewal in the city center before and after the 1985 catastrophe pushed the residential zones of the affluent classes first to preserves along the grand Paseo de la Refoma, and then further out "where the air is clear" in the southwest hills of Interlomas, Cuajimalpa, and Santa Fe. For some business leaders, the chance to rebuild corporate skyscrapers on demolition sites along the prestigious Reforma was irresistible. But others sought ground outside of the high-risk zones of sinking, jello-like subsoils.

In large part, urbanization came relatively late to the Pueblo de Santa Fe because its rugged terrain had long kept it isolated from the main routes of settlement. This part of the ascending slopes of the Valley of Mexico is characterized by small desert-like mesas separated by steep *barrancos* or canyons that are difficult to transverse. Until the late 1970s, Santa Fe remained a poor village undergoing a one-two punch of urban

environmental destruction. Garbage was being trucked in as landfill to expand the edges of the mesa and sand was being gouged-out of the surrounding hillsides to create flat space for more tower-block, building sites.[30]

In 1982, the transformation of Santa Fe into a fashionable center of international trade and life-styles began with the building of a new campus for the Universidad Iberoamericana. Two years earlier, an earthquake had destroyed its historic site. Led by Manuel Camacho Solis, the federal and local governments gave the Jesuit school twenty hectares of landfill to kick-start the project. Designed by Le Corbusier disciple Francisco Serrano Cacho, this tribute to Modernism set the style for the architecture of the commercial district.

Both the environmental limits of the barrancos and the conscious design of the planners made it into an isolated island. Access is by automobiles only that routinely must pass through security checkpoints. Along the main highway paralleling the spine of the mesa, the plan followed the "logic of capital" by packing one skyscraper as close as possible to the next. Taking up early residence were NAFTA corporations such as Philip Morris, Pepsicola, Fed Ed, and Banomex (a Citicorp subsidiary). Carved into the terraced surfaces below sits a three-level shopping mall that like a tapeworm keeps growing new segments. A Sak's Fifth Avenue and a Liverpool department stores are recent additions.[31]

Across the street from the row of office towers is arising another master planned, large-scale development, City Santa Fe. Primarily condominium skyscrapers, it is marketing itself by highlighting its internationally renowned "starchitects," urban designers, and interior decorators. The master plan of a secure zone for ten residential towers was the work of the Jerde Partnership of Los Angeles (L.A.), which created other theme parks such as Universal's "Citywalk" in L.A. and the Bellagio Hotel in Los Vegas. Santa Fe's make-believe Emerald City is lifted three stories into the air above a monolithic parking structure that doubles as a medieval wall. Commercial shops, restaurants, and service centers accessible to the public are embedded into the side facing the commercial row of skyscrapers. The "City's" residential towers are each brand-named by architects, including the Serrano family, Bernardo Gomez-Pimienta, and Michel Rojkind. Landscape architect Susana Garcia has laid out extensive green spaces, bike trails, and recreational grounds. Only the residents will be permitted access to the Emerald City by having special passes to get by the security guards far below at street-entry level. Prospective condo buyers are assured that all their possible needs can be met without having to leave the "City" ever again.[32]

The expected traffic jams from a lack of planning for public transportation may turn the choice of a self-contained life-style into a necessity of survival. In Santa Fe, the planners remained true to the principles of modernist design.   Urban space and the pedestrian are subordinated to the primary demands of technology: the automobile and the highway. Plans for subway or surface Metro lines to Santa Fe are conspicuous by their absence. Yet, the barrancos restrict access to the flat mesas' interior highways,

creating choke points for traffic trying to integrate with the larger metropolitan network of roads.

Additional bridges can span the canyons but hold little hope of alleviating the traffic problem. Expensive bridges recently constructed have already brought nearby land under speculative development. Hilltops are being lopped off to create level ground for more mega-sized housing and office complexes. Moreover, the master plan makes no provision for moving people around inside Santa Fe between shopping, work, and homes. Except for those occupying the highest floors, the air pollution resulting from auto congestion is already generating a micro-environment of a more-or-less permanent haze, belying any notion that the air is cleaner in the southwest hills. Air quality may be further at risk due to persistent concerns that adequate environmental technologies have not been installed to vent gases begin generated by the solid wastes decomposing below the ground.

The ubiquitous construction cranes prove the success of the formal plan of Santa Fe in solving the problem of providing office space for international trade, but at a cost of making urban sprawl and congestion significantly worse. Like most private development schemes no matter how large the scale, the plans of Santa Fe represent fragmented pieces of urban space that ignore larger environmental contexts. For example, the City Santa Fe will have all of its thousands of cars enter and leave on a single road, the "Avenue of the Architects/*Avenida dos Arquitectos.*" Bordering the edge of a canyon, it is simply a crescent-shaped loop that feeds back to the main road fronting the row of corporate towers and the City's own façade of shops. Its plan contributes to traffic jams within the district in similar ways that Santa Fe's master plan adds to the metropolitan problems of too many cars, and too much congestion and pollution. Both formal plans underscore the costs to public health and individual quality of life resulting from designing pieces of urban space in isolation of their larger ecological setting.[33] Yet, Santa Fe as a case study in the shortcomings of planning by the private sector begs a final question of whether or not the federal government laid out an adequate plan on a scale large enough for the protection of nature and the inhabitants of the Valley of Mexico.

Conclusions

In the half-century following 1945, Mexico City was constructed without an overall plan for its expansion from less than three million to more than fifteen million people. The different environmental and social setting of Ajusco, El Centro, and Santa Fe produced distinctive outcomes. In Ajusco, illegal land invasions on steep hillsides led eventually to urbanization house-by-house and terrace-by-terrace. Identities of place remain fluid as rising property values generate a turnover of residents and gentrification of the built environment. For the more rooted residents of El Centro, pre-earthquake organization of neighborhood and labor groups helped give them political leverage after the disaster in forcing their way into the formal processes of planning the reconstruction. Their skill in securing the backing of the World Bank further strengthened their power to pressure the ruling party, the PRI, to rebuild their neighborhoods just like they used to be, except

better. In Santa Fe, the city's business leaders chose a theme park designer to imagine a new downtown in the style of global Modernism. With NAFTA money pumping into the urban economy, up arose a glass-and-steel ribbon of skyscrapers on a rugged, albeit fragile environment. The spine of its narrow barrancos have been made bigger by filling in their valleys with garbage and by cutting away their higher areas with mining equipment. The (re-)construction of each district has contributed in its own way to a deterioration of environment conditions.

The efforts of the federal government to address the needs for environmental planning for the Federal District and larger metropolitan area may be conveniently divided into pre- and post-earthquake periods. As Peter Ward contends, the leaders of the PRI until the late 1970s portrayed planning experts as dangerous competitors threatening to undermine the party's political authority. The Lopez Portillo and Miguel de la Madrid administrations (1976-1988) began a process of creating regional plans and environmental agencies; at least on paper. But even the most rudimentary enforcement of the new laws remained non-existent until after the urban catastrophe of 1985 and the national recovery of the economy. Since the late 1980s, the administrations of Carlos Salinas and Ernesto Zedillo (1988-2000) have taken positive steps to institutionalize and professionalize the environmental monitoring services. Moreover, the replacement of smoke-belching factory chimneys with residential apartment towers, and the constant announcement of new rules governing vehicle traffic and driver behavior have become normal parts of everyday life.[34]

But a holistic vision of the urban environment does not seem to be an integral part of the still more important, national economic plan. Regional planning no longer resembles Le Corbusier-like finished blueprints. On the contrary, it now draws flexible guidelines of general goals such as growth/containment strategies, green-space preservation, drainage maps, and highway networks. This type of framework approach also attempts to balance the perspectives of planning experts and the participation of grassroots activism. On a regional scale, the computer models of the academics can help visualize the flows of auto traffic, air pollution, waste water, electrical power, and so on. However, their dynamic, three-dimensional representations of virtual reality have the same authoritarian tendencies of "seeing like a state" as Le Corbusier's still-framed but no less dazzling images of tomorrow's city in-motion.[35]

At the local level, the post-modern planning mantra of "mixed use" reflects the experts' greater appreciation of the link between the vibrancy of the community's identity of place and the conservation of neighborhood's physical tissue. Yet, the narrow geographical focus of most NIMBY movements need to be turned from their defensive looking inward to a broader context of the ecological setting of the whole city. Like the fragmented pieces of the private developers' subdivisions, the plans generated within each local district needs to be plugged-in to an overall framework for the environmental protection of region's nature and people.[36]

The costs to public health and individual quality of life of putting national economic goals ahead of urban environmental planning are not difficult to expose in Mexico City.

Despite some meager, symbolic efforts to gain control of the overload of vehicles on the city streets, for instance, the larger plan is to promote the sale of more automobiles. In 1986, there were 1.3 million cars in the city, which increased at a rate faster than the population to 2.4 million ten years later. The professional politicians deem it expedient to keep the price of the government-owned monopoly in gasoline (and gas for water heating and cooking) low as proof of their benevolence to the masses. Moreover, stimulating the domestic market for new cars has been a high priority for the national government since this industry began undergoing massive restructuring in a globalized economy. "As a result," Priscilla Connolly states, "individual transport in cars and taxis has been allowed to dominate Mexico City unchecked and, in many ways, [it has been] actively supported by government policy." These national goals have meant a virtual stonewalling of proven schemes to reduce the number of vehicles on city streets and to coordinate public transport with the overall movement of people and goods within the metropolitan area. Equally important, the promotion of a car culture had silenced public education on the alternatives. "Car-owning Mexicans," she surmises, "are not usually prepared to walk more than half a block to their final destination and they do not usually have to."[37]

Although the health costs of air pollution from auto congestion may be impossible to calculate with precision, there is no doubt that it is taking a serious toll. Even by official standards, the air is polluted on 320 days of the year. In addition, the air has too many suspended particles at least half of the time. And the government does not measure many toxic substances in the atmosphere, making health risks difficult to measure. Nonetheless, statisticians estimate that bad air causes almost 500,000 children and senior citizens to suffer from eye and nose irritations, while it makes another 333,000 city dwellers victims of lung disease. Extensive interviews by scholars reveal a general perception among the educated classes and the political authorities that air pollution is the city's single worst environmental problem. Yet, the piecemeal and puny response of public policy to it underscores the political subordination of safeguarding Mexico City's environment to national economic goals.[38]

The examples of the piecemeal planning of Ajusco and Santa Fe illustrate a more mixed picture that results from confounding the protection of the environment with the politics of urban development. They offer cautionary tales of the abuse of environmental tropes such as "sustainability". Both the self-built colonias populares of Ajusco and the more formally planned Santa Fe district has satisfied the needs of its primary occupants. In Ajusco, "*necesidad*", or the struggle for survival, engendered not only a sense of identity but also an informal plan of residential neighborhoods. The colonos of Bosques del Pedregal were joined by local activists and international NGOs in making claims to constructing a utopia of an ecologically productive settlement. But enthusiasm among the residents for such a communal project of visionary scope was not deep-rooted. In the end, it was sapped dry by the PRI-sponsored grants of individual land titles. The example of Santa Fe sheds light on the limits of formal planning outside of regional frameworks. The claims of its plan to offering environmental amenities such as clean air and less congestion are very things its success is destroying. While satisfying individual needs for modern office, residential, and shopping spaces in the most trendy

international styles, Santa Fe contributes to a communal poverty by degrading the environment and quality of daily life.

In contrast, the rebuilding of El Centro illuminates the ways in which international, national, and local groups can work together to produce successful planning outcomes. In this case, strong identities of place and class formed a solid social foundation to build a defense of a traditional building type, the vecindades, and its communal style of urban life. After the 1985 earthquake, the rapid mobilization of urban popular movements in this historic district helped them get external NGOs to steer global relief aid through their grassroots organizations. Their insistence on low-rise housing in the reconstruction plan has helped to lower population densities at the city center along private landlords, who are reluctant to erect apartment towers in this high-risk zone. The massive addition of so much new low-income housing in such a brief period apparently had the secondary effect of depressing market prices. At the end of the decade, renters-turned-capitalists could profit from their NGO and government subsidizes, while new groups of would-be homeowners temporarily had an opportunity to buy an up-to-date unit in a central location. The reconstruction of El Centro as working-class neighborhoods also contributed to a reduction of traffic congestion by allowing its legions of service workers to remain living near their jobs. Finally, the empowerment of the grassroots in this case helped preserve the entire historic core from the planners' wreaking ball of Modernism. Under the direction of private investors such as billionaire Carlos Slim, some of its tarnished gems of the colonial era are now being restored to their Baroque splendor. At many levels, then, the rebuilding of El Centro has made a positive impact on the urban environment.[39]

Endnotes

[1] Vivienne Bennett, "The Evolution of Urban Popular Movements in Mexico between 1968 and 1988," in *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy, and Democracy*, eds. Arturo Escobar and Sonia E. Alvarez (Boulder, Colo.:, 1992), 255, for the quotation; ibid., 253-57. On the ambush of the students, also see Elena Poniatowska, *Massacre in Mexico* (New York, 1975). On the political shock waves following the massacre, see Susan Eckstein, "Poor People Versus the State and Capital: Anatomy of a Successful Community Mobilization for Housing in Mexico City," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 14, no. 2 (1990): 274-96; and Juan Manuel Ramirez Saiz, "Urban Struggles and Their Political Consequences," in *Popular Movements and Political Change in Mexico*, eds. Joe Foweraker, and Ann L. Craig (Boulder, 1990), pp. 234-46. On the earthquake, see Elena Poniatowska, *Nada, Nadie: Las Voces Del Temblor* (México, D.F.:, 1988), which was translated into English as Elena Poniatowska, *Nothing, Nobody: The Voices of the Mexico City Earthquake* (Philadelphia, 1995); and Teresa Carrillo, "Women and Independent Unionism in the Garment Industry," in *Popular Movements*, 213-33.

[2] On Ajusco, I draw heavily on Keith Pezzoli, *Human Settlements and Planning for Ecological Sustainability: The Case of Mexico City* (Cambridge, Mass, 1998); and Miguel Diaz-Barriga, "Urban Politics in the Valley of Mexico: A Case Study of Urban Movements in the Ajusco Region of Mexico City, 1970-1987," (unpublished Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1991). On the housing project in the El Centro, see Eckstein, "Poor People Versus the State," and Manuel Perlo, "Earthquakes, Reconstruction Programs and Housing Markets in Central Mexico City 1987-2000," (unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2004). The Santa Fe district is lacking scholarly treatment to date. For an useful,

albeit dated introduction, see "Santa Fe Mexico City:" en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Santa_Fe(Mexico_City) (accessed 27 December 2007); and "Asociacion de Colonos de Santa Fe," www.colonossantafe.com (accessed 27 December 2007).

[3] Pezzoli, *Human Settlements*, chaps. 7-8.

[4] Peter M. Ward, *Mexico City* (rev. second ed; New York, 1998), 159, for the quotation; ibid., 1-86, for an excellent overview of the national economy.

[5] Ibid. Also see Pezzoli, *Human Settlements*, chap. 2. Pezzoli illustrates the plight of the average worker by calculating that one day's minimum wage could buy 18 pounds of beans in 1981, but only 5.5 pounds ten years later. In a similar way, Susan Eckstein found in 1987 that almost all of her long-term, oral history respondants reported a significant decline in basic conditions of life. Many were reduced to one meal a day. See Susan Eckstein, "Formal Versus Substantive Democracy: Poor People's Politics in Mexico City," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 6 (1990): 213-39. Also see Mercedes Gonzalez de la Rocha, "From the Resources of Poverty to the Poverty of Resources? The Erosion of a Survival Model," *Latin American Perspectives* 28 (July 2001): 72-100.

[6] Diane E. Davis, "The Social Construction of Mexico City: Political Conflict and Urban Development, 1950-1966," *Journal of Urban History* 24 (1998): 364-415.

[7] Diaz-Barriga, "Urban Politics," 43-89. For a breakdown of the division of the two eidos forming this part of Ajusco (1,880 hectares/4660 acres), see ibid., 88 (table 8):

government expropriation   109 hectares   5.8%
illegal subdivisions   663   35.2%
land takeovers   171   9.1%

[8] Ibid., 97, for the quotation; ibid., 91-169. "Ursula" is the name given of this leader in the oral history taped by Diaz-Barriga.

[9] Ibid., 91-169.

[10] Ibid., 110-69. Peter Ward called the 1968 law, "probably the most important single piece of legislation in the field of urban planning in Mexico." See Ward, *Mexico City*, 163, for the quotation. On Oscar Lewis and his critics, see Janice E. Perlman, *The Myth of Marginality: Urban Poverty and Politics in Rio De Janeiro* (Berkeley, 1976); Eckstein, "Poor People Versus the State and Capital;" and Lucio Kowarick, "Social, Economic and Civil Vulnerability in the United States, France and Brazil," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29 (2005): 268-82. On economic and environmental reform in the 1970-80s, see Stephen P. Mumme, Richard Bath, and Valerie Assetto, "Political Development and Environmental Policy in Mexico," *Latin American Research Review* 23, no. 1 (1988): 7-34.

[11] Diaz-Barriga, "Urban Politics," 133, for the quotation; ibid., 101-69. Also see Eckstein, "Formal Versus Substantive Democracy."

[12] Ibid. In 1977, FEDEURBE was replaced by the Comision de Desarrollo Urbano (CODEUR), which conducted the final negotiations. The original lot sizes were 500 square meters. The sale price was forty pesos per square meter as opposed to the CODEUR offer of 100 pesos per square meter.

[13] Diaz-Barriga, "Uban Politics" 172, for the quotation; ibid., chap 4. Also see James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, Yale Agrarian Studies (New Haven, 1998).

[14] Pezzoli, *Human Settlements*, chap. 9.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid., 271-312.

[17] A. Lazcano remarks in review of Elana Poniatowska**,** *Nada, Nadie* [in *La Jornada*, 15 February 1989), as quoted in Juan Manuel Ramirez Saiz, "Urban Struggles and Their Political Consequences," in *Popular Movements*, p. 241, for the quoation; John C. Cross, *Informal Politics: Street Vendors and the State in Mexico City* (Stanford, Calif., 1998), chaps. 1-3; and Poniatowska, *Nothing, Nobody*, 1-78. For a hard look at the city's environmental problems, see Priscilla Connolly, "Mexico City: Our Common Future?," *Environment and Urbanization* 11 (April 1999): 53-78; and Fernando Romero, and Laboratorio de la Ciudad de Mexico, *Zmvm: Zona Metropolitana Del Valle De Mexico* (San Angel, Mexico, 2000).

[18] Eckstein, "Poor People Versus the State and Capital," 281, for the first quotation; Poniatowska, *Nothing, Nobody*, x, for the second quotation.

[19] Diane E. Davis, "Whither the Public Sphere: Local, National, and International Influences on the Planning of Downtown Mexico City, 1910-1950," *Space and Culture* 7 (May 2004): 208, for the quotation; ibid., 193-222. Also see Davis, "The Social Construction of Mexico City." For early planning efforts at

creating green spaces in the city, see Emily Wakild, "Naturalizing Modernity: Urban Parks, Public Gardens and Drainage Projects in Porfirian Mexico City," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 23 (Winter 2007): 101-23.

[20] See Eckstein, "Formal Versus Substantive Democracy."

[21] Cross, *Informal Politics*, chaps. 1-3.

[22] Davis, "Whither the Public Sphere," 209, for the quotation.

[23] Connolly, "Mexico City," 73, for the quotation; Cross, *Informal Politics*, chaps. 6-7.

[24] Bennett, "The Evolution of Urban Popular Movements," 252, for the quotation. Also see ibid., pp. 234-46; and Cross, *Informal Politics*, chap. 7.

[25] Eckstein, "Poor People Versus the State and Capital," 287, for the first quotation; ibid; Eckstein, "Formal Versus Substantive Democracy," 223, for the second quotation; ibid.

[26] Ibid.; Ward, *Mexico City*, 231-77; and Manuel Perlo, "Earthquakes, Reconstruction Programs and Housing Markets in Central Mexico City 1987-2000", (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California Berkeley, 2004). Perlo supplies detailed maps and tables of the rebuilt housing in the El Centro District. On Pani's public housing designs, see Miquel Adrià, Guillermo Zamora, Mario Pani, and Felipe Leal, *Mario Pani: La Construcción De La Modernidad* (México, D.F., 2005).

[27] Poniatowska, *Nothing, Nobody*, 222, for the quotation; ibid., 78-142, for many oral histories of women garment workers. Also see Teresa Carrillo, "Women and Independent Unionism in the Garment Industry," in *Popular Movements and Political Change,* 213-33.

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Erosion of local distinctiveness and place identity of Simla, a hill station in the Himalayas

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Tourism in Himalayan cities is growing very fast. In the summer months, thousands of Indian and foreign tourists flock there to escape the hot Indian summer and in winter, to experience snowfall and winter sports. To meet the rising demand for tourist accommodation, a number of facilities has been constructed over a short period of time. Himalayan communities have also experienced tremendous growth due to their own population pressure.   This has led to a loss of townscape character which has also been accelerated by the fast change in technology, construction systems, and building styles.

This study focuses on the fast growing Himalayan community of Simla in terms of its residents' and tourists' perception of its rapidly changing townscape character and development practices. Simla which is known for its natural beauty is a town tucked away in mountains covered with tall majestic pine trees. It also projects the image of a typical English town .s. These characteristics make the city and the region an attractive place for tourists. The study examines the physical attributes of the townscape of Simla through interviews with residents and tourists. The physical attributes of a townscape are an important part of the extrinsic dimension and are relevant to this study. The study primarily examines the changes in townscape character and developmental practices of Simla in terms of its residents' and tourists' perception.

This study is important because in recent years, Simla has emerged as a major tourist destination. This increase stems partly from the political unrest and lack of safety for the last fifteen to twenty years in the Indian state of Kashmir which for decades had been a major tourist destination in Northern India. The city of Simla attracts not only Indian tourists from different states, but also foreign visitors to India. For foreign nationals, a visit to Simla is often the first stage of a trek through the Himalayas. There is also an increase in weekend tourists from neighboring areas. Consequently, Simla has become one of the most popular tourist destinations in Northern India.

The relationship between tourism and the physical environment has been recognized by tourism planners worldwide. Many world renowned cities, such as Salzburg in Germany, Innsbruck in Austria, and Banff in Canada are widely acclaimed and popular among tourists for their physical setting and townscape quality. In the words of Tringano (1984:20) 'tourism and environment are inseparable.' Thus, environment, which attracts tourists, needs to be protected. This study of townscape character dealt with the urban environment which consists of both the cultural and natural elements of the city. The cultural landscape includes landmarks, unique historic buildings, and public spaces, and form the backbone of the urban fabric. Lynch (1996) identified landmarks as important to cities because they provide them with visual identity; they are the urban signatures by which a city is remembered. The natural environment includes the topographic

character, wooded areas or water bodies. Natural settings provide a backdrop for the city and play an important role in lending character to well known cities. Krippendorf (1997) clearly articulated that landscape quality is the capital in tourism and so must be managed properly. Tourism planners need to realize that it is the quality of the urban environment which attracts tourists. The lack of planning and management of the urban landscape will result not only in loss of visual aesthetics but also environmental degradation which may cause natural disaster and safety concerns.

Although a number of researchers have examined the reactions of the host resident population to tourists, relatively few have focused on the reactions of residents and tourists to changes in the townscapes brought about by tourism development. Kavallins and Pizam (1994), Canedy and Zeiger (1991), Lawson et al. (1998), Jurowski et al. (1997), Ryan et al. (1998), and Allen et al. (1998) have also conducted studies in the areas of perception and attitudes of tourists and residents. These studies examined issues of tourism, recreational development, and tourist destinations in terms of social, economic, and environmental aspects. However these are focused on the well developed resorts and/or urban destinations in the developed world and relatively little attention has been paid to Himalayan destinations such as Simla.   Singh (1985, 1989a, 1989b, 1991) and Singh and Kaur (1985) have completed a number of studies in the context of the Himalayan region but these studies focus on the non urban environment aspects of environmental concerns and sustainable development of the ecologically sensitive region of the Himalayas. Both Page (1995) and Law (1996)   pinpoint that very little has been done to explore issues and problems related to the urban design aspects of tourism. Also, hardly any research has been done to explore residents and tourists response to examine visual character of Himalayan townscapes.

The paper has two objectives. The first is to examine the historical development of Simla. The second is to examine the townscape character and pattern of development of Simla in terms of resident and tourist perception. The paper attempts to address the development of Simla in terms of townscape characteristics, to investigate how new buildings relate to their immediate surroundings and landscape. It also identifies the most and least favored parts of the city. The first section of the paper provides Simla, the site and gives a brief historical account of the city.   The second section deals with the research methodology, analysis and a discussion of the residents' and tourists' responses to the townscape character and pattern of development. The last section provides the conclusions.

The site description

Simla is about 225 miles north of the Indian capital of Indiai. The city is connected by an air, rail, and a network of good roads to Delhi via Kalka, a town at the foot of the Himalayan mountain range. The scenery from Simla to Kalka is breathtaking and the road passes through intact cedar, pine and oak forests. The train goes through one hundred and three tunnels through the mountains, on a journey which provides picturesque views of step farming villages, wooden houses and sloping roofs.

Originally, Simla was planned for a population of 30,000 to 40,000 but the present permanent population, with the inclusion of peripheral villages has crossed 200,000. It is located in the Shivalik range of the Himalayas in Northern India and has become a very popular tourist destination in recent times. Simla was carved out of mountains enveloped with mature pine forests, at an elevation of approximately 7500 feet above sea level. The dense and mature pine forests of the hill station generate an enduring imagery. These majestic trees are the pride of the Himalayan region and they greatly contribute to its scenic quality (Singh 2000). Historically, the British colonials created Simla as their summer capital because of its unique setting and its climate which was similar to that of England. The hill station not only was a haven from the hot Indian summer but its winter snowfall allowed for recreational activities such as skiing and skating. To create a sense of familiarity, the British recreated an English townscape in Simla. The image of the city was projected to revive memories of England, which is reflected today in a number of its buildings, which include the municipal corporation, state tourism information bureau, Church of Christ, and the State Bank of India.

Historical Background:

Simla was discovered by British army officers in the early part of the nineteenth century. At that time, it was a small hamlet, known as the abode of the local Hindu goddess, *Shamala.* In 1827, Lord Amherst the Governor General of British India built his summer residence in Simla. After this it did not take very long for Simla to become the favorite destination of young British officers. Far away from the conservative environment of Victorian England, Simla was a place of fun, fancy dress balls, horse riding, and picnics. It was also known as the place where unmarried British women went to find a suitable match (Lohumi 1999).

The town really grew after 1864 when the Viceroy, Lord John Lawrence made Simla the official summer capital of British India. The city was developed over seven spurs around an irregular shaped Ridge. Many important buildings were built in the last part of the nineteenth century. The Cathedral of Saint Michael and Joseph was built in 1882 and Rippon Hospital was built in 1885. The Gaiety Theater which was modeled after the Royal Albert Hall of London was built in 1887. The most well known and architecturally significant building is the Viceregal Lodge, the summer residence of the Viceroy which was completed in 1888. This building is presently known as the Indian Institute of Advanced Studies (Lohumi 1999).

For the travel convenience of British government officials, Simla was connected to Delhi, the winter capital of India by railway, via the town of Kalka. The journey from Kalka to Simla is virtually an uphill one. The connection was made by a narrow-gauge rail line link. Small 'toy trains' ran on this link making a long mountainous journey through 103 tunnels, covering a distance of 56 miles to reach Simla. The introduction of the railway system attracted many more tourists into the city. In addition to this for the convenience of the Viceroy General and other important British officials, a rail car was introduced. This covered the distance between Kalka and Simla in about three hours, almost half of the time taken by the normal train journey. Another important factor

responsible for the expansion of Simla was the installation of the Chaba power station in 1912. This provided the required power supply to the city (Lohumi 1999).

The urban form of Simla was based on segregation. This was an essential element in preserving the existing social structure with the British rulers at the top and the Indian population on the lower tier (Kanwar 1997). Simla has two major shopping areas. The first, the Mall road, was created to serve the needs of the colonials while the second, the Lower Bazaar, catered to the Indians. These two commercial areas are located in close proximity in the heart of Simla, at two different levels. The Mall road is located at the upper level and the Lower Bazaar at the lower level. Both these areas have mixed land use which includes shopping, office, and residential spaces. English type shops, catering to the elite, were built on the Mall road. Also, a Swiss hotel chain opened the posh Cecil Hotel. Nowadays the Mall is mainly frequented by wealthy Indians and tourists while the Lower Bazaar continues to meet the needs of a large number of Simla residents.

In the early part of the twentieth century, a color bar was instituted to prohibit Indians from the Mall and the Ridge. This was lifted later on during the first World War when Indian men were recruited into the British armed forces. The wives of these Indian army officers started appearing on the Mall as well as at the Gaiety, a theatre frequented by the British residents. Elite schools for the children of the British and wealthy Indians were built at this time. Examples are Bishop Cotton and St. Edward's for boys and Loretto Convent and Auckland House for girls. These schools were run by missionaries from Great Britain. After the end of World War I, there was hardly any development in Simla and the city continued to be the summer capital of India up to its independence in August 1947 (Lohumi 1999).

At the time of India's independence, Lahore, the capital of the adjoining province of Punjab was transferred to Pakistan. As a result, Simla served as the temporary capital for the state of Punjab. In 1956, the capital of Punjab was transferred to Chandigarh, a modern city designed by the world renowned architect, Le Corbusier. At this time, many government offices moved to Chandigarh. Another turning point for Simla came in 1971 when the city became the state capital for   Himachal Pradesh. It continues today to serve in this capacity. Another change came about in the late 1980s when the spelling of Simla was changed to *Shimla*, in accordance with the pronunciation of the local residents*.*

Tourism in Simla

Before 1947 when India was a British colony about 50,000 British officers and rich Indians visited Simla annually. After India's independence from the late 1940s to the late 1980s, tourist arrival to Simla increased to approximately 250,000 annually; this period can be described as the stage of involvement. During this time the city started celebrating the Simla Summer Festival which was marketed through various regional newspapers. A number of Hindi movies were also shot in Simla making the city popular among Indians. The number of tourists continuously increased. In late 1980s, an

average of 350,000 tourists visited Simla annually. The period 1980 to 2000 marks the third and development stage. There were 50 hotels at the end of the 1970s and in the early 1980s, the number of hotels increased to 75. *The Tribune*, a major regional newspaper, reports tremendous growth in Simla's hotel industry, from 98 in 1990 to 210 in 1998 (Singh, 2000).

In the early 1990s the annual tourist arrival increased to 500,000 and by the late 1990s, this number almost doubled to 900,000 (Singh 2000). During this time, residents felt the impact of tourism on their quality of life. The property values and house rents increased and also there was a shortage of drinking water. As a result some tension developed between the host resident population and the tourists. Tourist influx to Simla is still increasing and this trend is expected to continue in the coming future.

Research methodology

To examine the current issues and problems of the townscape character and development practices of Simla in terms of the perception of tourists and residents, a questionnaire based survey was administered at the siteduring the summer months of June and July in 2005. Fifty residents and fifty tourists were interviewed face-to-face in the heart of the city, the Mall Road and the Ridge.

These areas were deliberately selected because they are major activity areas of the city Many offices, good restaurants, shops, and emporiums selling specialty items of the region are located in the Mall and on the Ridge. A good mix of residents and tourists from all over the city are represented dailyand since the survey was conducted during the peak of the tourist season,there were many families from the different parts of India. The sample included residents older than twenty years of age who have beenliving in Simla for at least then years. The ten year residential requirement was included to ensure respondents' familiarity with the town. To avoid gender bias, the sample was stratified to include fifty percent male and fifty percent female. Also only one person per household was eligible to participate in the survey. The tourist population was defined as all those who had visited Simla at least once before to ensure that they too had some familiarity with the place just as in the case of local residents.

The questionnaire was divided into three sections. The first section contained questions pertaining to demographic information such as age, place of residence, and profession, and was identical for both target groups. The second section of the questionnaire contained questions targeted to each group. Residents were asked about their length of residence in Simla and about their satisfaction with the city. Tourists were questioned about their reasons for visiting Simla, their accommodation, their place of residence, and vacation period. The third section was again identical for residents and tourists; it examined townscape character, the pattern of development, the most favorite and the least favorite area.

Analysis and discussion

Age was classified into three categories: the first, between 20 and 30; the second, between 40 and 50, and the third over 50 years old. Date compilation shows that residents interviewed for the study included 24% between 20 and 30, 36% between 40 to 50 years, and remaining 40% over 50 years of age (Table 1). This selected sample of residents represented a wide range of occupations which included military personnel, health occupations, educators, businessmen, civil servants and agriculturists (orchard owners).

Table 1: Age Structure of Residents and Tourists:

Age Categories	Residents	Tourists
20-30	24%	16%
30-40	36%	20%
50+	40%	64%

Eighty percent of the residents who were questioned were born in Simla and lived there all their lives. When residents were asked whether they liked living in Simla,ninety percent responded that they were satisfied with living in the city. They stated that it was quiet, safe, and pollution free as opposed to the hustle and bustle of big Indian cities. The remaining ten percent of the residents said that Simla was boring and unexciting and they would like to move to a bigger city in the future. When asked about the influx of tourists to Simla, fifty two percent of the residents had a strong positive attitude and felt that tourism should be further encouraged. Twenty percent were somewhat positive while the remaining twenty eight percent had a negative attitude and did not think tourism should be encouraged. To the question on the impact of tourism, forty percent of the residents   strongly believed that tourism is making a negative impact. Twenty percent somewhat agreed with this while the remaining forty percent did not believe thisl. Residents commented that the cost of living shoots up during the tourist season and the city cannot meet the increased demand for water and electricity.

Data analysis shows that tourists interviewed for the study included sixteen percent between 20 and 30 years old, twenty percent between 40 to 50 years, and remaining sixty four percent over 50 years of age (Table 1). It also shows that sixty percent of the tourists visited Simla on more than two occasions. In response to the question about the reasons for selecting Simla as their tourist destination, sixty percent of the tourists responded that they came to Simla because of its cool climate, fresh air, and to escape from the heat of the plains. Sixteen percent said that they selected Simla because of its location and proximity to their place of residence. The remaining twenty four percent chose Simla over other hill resorts because of its unique character, magnificent scenery, and cleanliness (Table 2).

Table 2: Tourists' Reasons for selecting Simla as a Tourist Destination

Criteria	Percentages
Cool climate	22%
Fresh Air	10%
Escape From heat	28%
Location and Proximity	16%
Unique Character	12%
Magnificent Scenery	10%
Cleanliness	2%

Eighty percent of the tourists surveyed said that they would definitely return to Simla. The other twenty percent responded that they would like to visit some other new destination. Eighty percent of the tourists stayed in hotels while the remaining twenty percent stayed with their relatives and friends. It was interesting to note that tourists who stayed in hotels spent one to a maximum of two weeks in Simla while those who stayed with relatives spent more than two weeks. Five percent of these tourists also visited Simla in the winter season to experience the snowfall and enjoy ice-skating.

Townscape character

The townscape character of Simla has eroded since India's independence from Britain. When questioned about the character of Simla, the majority of the residents and tourists noticed and were concerned about the changing character of the city. Residents and tourists were asked to rate the new development in terms of its appropriateness to the surroundings. They were assessing new development in terms of construction method, building material, textures, scale and style. They were shown photographs to explain these aspects. New development appears in almost all corners of the city, and it is difficult to ignore it. Tourists who were visiting Simla after a long period were very quick to observe the changes. They were asked to rate these questions on 1 to 7 scale where 1 represented inappropriate and 7 highly appropriate. Table 3 summarizes residents' and tourists' ratings of townscape character. The overall mean ratings of these questions represented the townscape character. The average rating for all residents was 2.2 and for tourists it was 2.9. These ratings reflect a deterioration of Simla's townscape.

Table 3 Assessment of Townscape Character: New Development

Townscape Criteria	Residents' sample mean	Tourists' sample mean
Appropriateness to the place.	2.1	2.4
Appropriateness of building style.	2.3	3.1
Appropriateness of construction system	1.8	2.9
Scale, color and texture of new building material	2.6	3.3
Overall Mean Ratings of Townscape Character	**2.2**	**2.9**

To study the significant difference between the perceptions of both groups, the mean ratings and overall mean ratings of both residents and tourists were run through the z test for two independent groups on Excel. The null hypothesis for each criterion which states that there was no significant difference between the mean ratings of residents (n =50) and tourists (n = 50) failed to be rejected at α = .05 significance level. This shows that there were no significant differences between the perception of both groups. There is no doubt that the mean rating for the residents were found to be lower than that of tourists. This shows that residents were more dissatisfied with the new buildings and land development schemes as compared to the tourists. However, both these resulting mean ratings were below the middle value of 4 on the measurement scale of perception on a seven point scale where 1 represented inappropriate and 7, highly appropriate. These ratings reflect that both the groups noticed a deterioration of Simla's townscape character.

Eighty five percent of the residents were concerned about the inappropriate pattern of recent development which was described as characterless and an eyesore. The residents were also very nostalgic for the old Simla, its colonial character and cleanliness, particularly those who were born and raised in the city. They referred to the 1960s and 1970s as the "good old days." Residents also reported about the changing face of the Mall road due to the construction of a number of concrete buildings which do not lend to the local character of the older existing buildings. New buildings are not architecturally sympathetic to the existing buildings. Many of the old colonial buildings have been consumed by fire and residents complained that the remaining ones are not properly maintained (Jutla 2000). Simla which has become very congested and overcrowded over the past twenty five to thirty years is turning into a 'concrete jungle,' far from its original natural environment. Only fifteen percent of the residents thought that the change was positive in terms of cable TV, cellular phones, increase in public transportation, and private auto ownership. Eighty percent of the tourists also thought that the change was negative. The tourists who visited Simla in 1970s and early 1980s

romanticized the old image of Simla. The remaining twenty percent did not notice any significant change or thought that the change was unnoticeable. Twenty percent of tourists stated that the change was positive in terms of better train travel facilities, quality of hotels and taxi service.

Pattern of current development

In response to the question about the current practices of physical development, eighty seven percent of residents and eighty percent of tourists responded negatively to the way Simla was developing. Both groups agreed that the new development is haphazard, and ugly, resulting in overcrowding, and congestion. Lohumi (1999) reports that a number of high-rise apartment buildings have been built and are mushrooming in different parts of the city. They have even been constructed on lawns and tennis courts of old buildings. The Tenancy and Land Reform Act, which debars non agriculturists from buying land in the rural area is responsible for the congestion and the concentration of construction activity in the city. The increased demand for housing has led to property owners constructing multi story buildings, occupying one floor, and selling the others to pay for the cost of the land and construction. These high rise apartments have become very popular especially with out of state buyers since land ownership in Simla is confined to residents. People from other states have been buying holiday homes in the city. Twenty to thirty years ago this was not a common trend. Sharma (2001) reports that in the past many people lived in single or double story houses, and they rented their additional accommodation.

In the last fifteen to twenty years, the population pressure has added more cars, more concrete buildings and ugly unplanned buildings in Simla . This is also caused by the recent economic prosperity of the region. Many buildings are constructed rapidly and in many cases, without ecological, aesthetics and safety concerns. The residents tend to think that they can build almost anything with concrete pillars but this has proved to be untrue since many of these high-rise structures collapse because of improper construction, soft soils and landslides.

There is therefore an immediate need to identify the unstable slopes and establish no construction zones in the area.. Government authorities are reportedly ignoring all these incidents because of political pressure. They need to address the issues of sinking roads and buildings by setting standards for the design and construction of concrete retaining walls based on engineering standards and principles of sound ecology.

Urban Artifacts

Forty percent of the resident sample have been living in Simla for more than twenty five years. They were also nostalgic for some of the interesting streetscape details from the colonial past. The same feeling was also expressed by twenty percent of the tourists, who had visited Simla on several occasions before 1980s.   For example, many residents talked about the elegant design of the old red post boxes, decorative wrought iron fences, manhole covers on roads and also unique lion-headed public water taps on

the roadsides. The people surveyed wondered why these details have disappeared and why similar details are not utilized at present. This question takes us to issues of the preservation of townscape character. The responses of both residents and tourists suggest that new development must sympathetically link with the colonial history as well as the future development of the city. There should be a sense of continuity in the townscape character.

Favorite Areas

Both residents and tourists were provided with a list of distinctive areas in Simla. They were asked to identify their most favorite and least favorite parts of the city. Both groups were asked to identify the criteria which attracted them to these places and select any number that was appropriate for them. Eighty percent of residents described the Mall Road and the Ridge as their most favorite part of Simla (Fig. 1). This was because of location, a traffic free pedestrian friendly atmosphere, and people watching activities (Table 4).

Table 4 Criteria for the most favorite area.

Criteria	Residents	Tourists
Central Location	90%	90%
Pedestrian Friendly	75%	85%
Restaurants	45%	80%
Movie Theaters	60%	65%
Views	60%	80%
Activities for Children	70%	90%
People Watching	70%	80%
Shopping Facilities	60%	80%

Ninety percent of the tourists also identify The Mall and The Ridge as their most favorite place. Tourists indicated that the Ridge is particularly important because it is the place where the summer festival is celebrated and it is where Simla's well known landmark, the Christ Church, is located . The groups surveyed further elaborated that they always associate Simla with the image of the church on the Ridge. Some tourists commented that Hindi movies shot in Simla always included shots of the church. This illustrates the extent to which city images are promoted by Bollywood movies. The popularity of this

spot is marked by horse riding activities for children. The Ridge is also connected to the Lakkar Bazaar which sells the specialty wooden items sought after by tourists.

Residents and tourists described the Mall Road and the Ridge as the hub of the town, as crowded, fun and pleasant places. They are the two important pedestrian oriented urban spaces of Simla. They are centers of activity interlinked by important pathways. They generate a rich social life by attracting a large number of people. Both groups stated that they went there to meet their friends, stroll, wear their fashionable clothes and jewelry, and watch other people (Jutla 2000). People watching in urban plazas have been identified as a popular activity (Whyte 1990).

Sixty five percent of the residents identified the interstate bus terminal as their least favorite part of Simla. Fifteen percent of the residents could not identify their least favorite part and there was no consensus among the remaining twenty percent. The interstate bus terminal was again cited by fifty percent of the tourists as their least favorite part of the city. This area was described as congested, polluted, unsafe and unattractive (Table 5). There was no consensus however among the other fifty percent.

Table 5 Criteria for the least favorite area.

Criteria	Residents	Tourists
Congested	84%	90%
Polluted	80%	84%
Unsafe	90%	92%
Unattractive	75%	80%

 Singh (2000) reports that during the summer tourist season over 5,000 tourists arrived daily in Simla. This resulted in an increase of over 1500 vehicles entering into the city daily creating traffic congestion. The number of vehicles owned by residents has also increased sharply over the past few years; about 450 new vehicles are registered every month.

Conclusion

Simla was built by British colonials as a hill station to escape the hot Indian summers. Nowadays ays it has become a popular tourist destination and is expected to grow in the near future. This study examined current development practices of Simla in terms of resident and tourist perception. It concluded that there is no significant difference between both groups; they gave equal importance to the quality of the environment. The quality of building design and setting was found to be very important for both groups. In response to the townscape character, the study concludes that there is a strong sense

of feeling among the majority of residents and tourists that the character of Simla is eroding and that there is a great need for the protection and conservation of both the natural and cultural landscape. A strong sense of nostalgia was revealed among residents as well as returning tourists in preserving and promoting the British heritage.

This research highlights the need to maintain and enhance the visual character of townscapes. The issues discussed here also exist in other Himalayan hill towns such as Kulu and Manali. The study recommends that cities which draw tourists should be developed in the context of their history, architectural heritage, and landscape character. Visually attractive cities not only bring civic pride to its residents but also attract tourists and increased economic activity. The study concludes that residents and tourists perceive that the city of Simla is in danger of losing its unique townscape character as a result of its increase in population, economic growth, and tourist influx. For Simla to continue as a viable, attractive, and promising tourist destination, planners must pay attention to the preservation and protection of its natural and cultural landscape. They must also ensure that new development is based on conservation and not consumption of the natural environment.

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Clarence Stein's formative experiences and unbuilt projects – transforming classical training into modern design and planning sensibilities

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As a community architect, Clarence Stein integrated social and economic considerations into his designs.   A balance and linkages between the built and natural environments informed his projects from individual buildings to garden apartments to the proposed garden city at Radburn and fueled his advocacy of policies and programs supportive of housing, town building, and regional planning. He applied his late Victorian architectural education and progressive reform sensibilities at a time of rapidly changing technologies, increased professionalization, specialization, and government intervention in shaping the built environment. This paper examines his architectural education and training and his early unbuilt projects as a means to better understand how Stein transformed his classical training into a practice that engaged with modern design and planning sensibilities.

Stein's classical, formal architecture education at the École des Beaux Arts in Paris from 1905 to 1911 equipped him with design skills and an appreciation and understanding of form. Following his return to New York City, he entered into the office of Bertram Goodhue where the architect refined his professional skills and collaborative work ethic and gained significant experience with large-scale community design. At Goodhue's side, Stein also began to deepen his understanding of site layout beyond the strict classical arrangements of the Beaux Arts and to engage historical precedents relevant to the region.

Following World War I, Stein embarked on a particularly crucial and productive period allowing theory to freely inform his maturing practice—theory that evolved through a network of leading thinkers in design, regionalism, and urban development—theory that he cannily promoted through his political connections and writing. With his mentor Robert Kohn, Stein formed a cooperative architectural practice. During the initial years of this partnership, Stein worked on several unbuilt projects that reflected his evolving interest and expertise in site planning and application of regional materials and design techniques. Through an examination of contemporary primary documents, assessments of the École, pertinent biographies and studies on design and modernity, a greater understanding of Stein is obtained. During these early years of training and practice, the architect engaged a collaborative work ethic, a practice-based theoretical approach, emerging modern site design sensibilities, a commitment to addressing affordability, and community building informed by a regional perspective.

Ethical culture – learning by doing

In 1890, when he was 8 years old, Clarence moved with his family from Rochester, NY to New York City and initially settled in the northern section of the Chelsea Street

district. Shortly after moving to the city, the Stein's enrolled Clarence and his older brother William as tuition-paying students of the Ethical Culture Society's Workingman's School; his three younger siblings would soon follow. Founded in 1876, Adler's Society for Ethical Culture "sought to erect ethical purpose as the vital principle of living without reference to any kind of theological doctrine."[1] Serving society was a primary concern. Two years later, Adler opened a kindergarten, and then in 1880, the Workingman's School in the Chelsea neighborhood. Felix Adler integrated work, play, and moral instruction so that the children would "become accustomed to mutual aid and support."[2]

In addition to Adler, John Lovejoy Elliott, who joined the school in 1894, became a significant mentor and teacher of Clarence's. Elliott practiced and taught the principles of mutual aid involving his students in the activities of the Hudson Guild Settlement House and instilling in them his concerns about moral corruption and the deterioration of the urban environment, especially the living conditions of the poor. Through his work with Elliott in the Hudson Guild Settlement House Boy's Club and the summer camp in Netcong, New Jersey, Clarence observed the affects of the tenements on young people and gained a deep interest in cities, urban reform politics, and neighborhood life.

Following his education at the Workingman's School, Stein worked for two years with his father and two brothers at the National Casket Company but became restless, realizing that though his father had paved the way, a career with the company was not for him. Shortly after a trip to Europe in the summer of 1903, where his growing interest in architecture was stimulated by visits to Venice, Naples, and Paris, Stein decided to begin studies in interior decoration and the design of furniture entering Columbia University in fall 1903. After one year at the university, Stein decided to study architecture at the École des Beaux Arts. Though several American universities had architecture programs, family friend and architect Robert Kohn's experience at the school ten years earlier, Clarence's recent travels in Europe, and the prestige of the institution probably all contributed to his decision.

École des Beaux Arts – classical training

Stein's life was transformed in Paris. He quickly became enamored with its broad boulevards, medieval quarters, crowded, vibrant neighborhoods, great and small parks, and rich urban life. And so, the city itself contributed to his development as an architect. Further, Paris became a launching ground for trips to other parts of Europe. Over the next six years, he augmented his preparation for and training at the École with travels in England, France, Italy, Austria, and Spain. These experiences contributed to his growing interest in urban spaces and the layout of cities. Meanwhile, his classical, formal architecture education at the École equipped him with design skills and an appreciation and understanding of form.

While Paris certainly had its distractions, among them the museums, numerous parks, street life, and cafes, Stein's primary goal was to begin his architectural studies. Stein attended the school when its reputation was at its peak. In the hierarchical studio system, the newer students of the École (nouveau) assisted and learned from the

advanced ones (anciens). This collaborative approach and strong identity with a particular atelier made choosing one that much more important. "The attraction of the ateliers was twofold: an experienced master offering guidance, and a company of students sharing their learning."[3] Stein called this approach "mutual assistance" because he considered it similar to the concept of mutual aid he had been exposed to through the Ethical Cultural Society. He would return to this concept throughout his life and integrate the idea in his architectural practice.[4]

Like most aspirants with his level of education and training, he did not pass the exam on his first try that December.[5] He did gain a more holistic understanding of the "essentials one needs for architectural design."[6] Though the modernist movement was certainly underway in Europe, the École continued in its long tradition of emphasizing the classical orders and grand design problems. Consistent with this mind-set, Clarence praised the "Municipal Art" movement occurring in the United States – "City after city is working out schemes for the beautifying of their public places."[7] Still he did not support simply the "rehashing of old work" noting that people "are going to require something different . . ."[8] To achieve that "something different," the architecture profession required those with the skills to apply the qualities of the old "with the purpose not of copying it" but making it distinctively their own.[9]

Stein and his friend Ely Jacques Kahn, who had recently graduated from the architecture program at Columbia, were the only aspirants in their circle of friends to pass the exam in December 1907. Of "four to five hundred competitors," only the 60 with the highest scores gained admission to the École, and of those only fifteen foreigners could enter.[10] Clarence placed fourteen among the fifteen foreigners who successfully completed the exam.[11] Following more than two years of preparation and disappointment, Stein was a "full-fledged eleve de École des Beaux Arts" with the right to officially begin his studies at the prestigious institution.[12]

By February 1908, Stein had decided to enter the atelier of Victor Laloux. Consistent with the culture of the École, Laloux focused on the plan – "Laloux concentrated on the organization of a plan, with an intuitive balancing and proportioning of each part so as to contribute to the whole. He let his students leave facades until the last minute; one remembered him saying, 'You can put forty good facades on a good plan, but without a good plan you cannot have a good façade.'"[13] Stein would remain in Laloux's atelier for the remainder of his years at the École.[14]

Clarence also continued his studies through his travel often accompanied by his roommate, Henry Klaber. One of the more significant trips was to Bournville, England in August 1908. The prospect of visiting the model town, just four miles from Birmingham, particularly excited Clarence who saw it as a fairly successful alternative to the overcrowded tenements.[15] Along the broad tree-lined streets stood the houses with small, attractive gardens in front. "Bournville is like a park," he exclaimed.[16] At the time of Clarence and Henry's visit, roughly 586 houses stood on 456 acres of land and accommodated a population of approximately 2,800 residents, half of whom were

Cadbury employees.[17] An inexpensive rail line transported workers from the village to the city of Birmingham.

The trust form of ownership, limited profit, park-like setting, and variation in design all appealed to Stein as an alternative to the late Victorian industrial cities. During this time, Ebenezer Howard wrote his groundbreaking book, *Tomorrow, A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* outlining his concept of the garden city. The meeting place for the British Garden Cities Association in 1901, Bournville exemplified the physical realization of the garden city, so much so that the solution it represented overwhelmed the radical socio-economic proposal at the heart of Howard's treatise. As such, it began to gain popularity in England.

While Clarence appreciated the physical design, he admired the ideals of the model town as well. In the design of the homes and the concept of living close to the land, Bournville reflected the influence of William Morris, the late nineteenth century leader of the Arts and Crafts movement. Upon reading Morris' *News from Nowhere* the year prior to his visit, Stein had expressed general admiration for Morris' views but critiqued his vision. "[A]s long as human nature remains, those of us who would better things can only hope to repair here and there and always under the old rules of the nature of man. I doubt if we will ever be able to pull down and rebuild society."[18] For a pragmatist like Stein, Bournville exemplified the ideals of Howard, and Morris before him, realized within the current system, and at a reasonable profit to the trustees.

In fall 1908, as his first formal year of study at the École was drawing to a close, Stein began to think ahead to how best to focus his course of study. No student was allowed to continue at the École after his thirtieth birthday.[19] As a result of this system, gaining architectural knowledge, not the diplome, became the focus, particularly for the American students who tended to start later and typically did not intend to practice in France. Family friend and mentor Robert Kohn, who had studied at the École and later worked with Stein in architectural practice, advised Clarence that in the limited time he had left, rather than preparing for the major exams needed to advance to the first class, he focus on his architecture studies. Stein took this advice, and in the summer of 1911, at the age of 29 and after four years of formal architecture education at the École, Clarence decided it was time to go home.

Bertram Goodhue's office – collaboration, large-scale site planning, and housing

Clarence had always intended to return to New York City, writing in an early letter to his younger sister Gertrude, "Paris is the place to draw inspiration, but when it comes to work, to giving what little you may have, then it's your business to go home. . . . [I]t is my strongest desire to try to help at least a little in making New York more what Paris is, but different, not a Parisian New York, but a finer, more beautiful New Yorkish New York."[20] That fall Stein gained a position at the prestigious firm of Goodhue, Cram, and Ferguson. While employed at the firm over the next six years, Clarence refined his professional skills and collaborative work ethic and gained significant experience with large-scale site planning, including community design.

Though the firm of Goodhue, Cram, and Ferguson still existed, the two founders had drifted apart architecturally and intellectually well before Stein joined the New York office. In 1891, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue had begun work in Ralph Adam Cram's Boston office lending his already exceptional drafting skills to the firm's design work. The two architects shared an enduring interest in craftsmanship and Gothic architecture though Goodhue specifically advocated "the proper balance of machine-made and handcrafted elements."[21] The idea of a group of men each lending his skill to a project particularly appealed to him. The two architects began to drift apart in 1903 with the relocation of a branch office under Goodhue from the main office in Boston to New York City to oversee the commission for substantially expanding the complex at West Point.

In September 1911, Goodhue became responsible for the layout and architecture of the Panama-California Exposition in San Diego.[22] Shortly thereafter, Stein began to work for the architect. Considered by architectural critics as a master in combining traditional designs with a modern sensibility, Goodhue also preferred more regional influences, such as the Spanish of the American southwest and Mexico, particularly in his secular structures. Due to its strong association with what Goodhue considered the binding stylistic rules of classicism, the École did not impress the architect.[23] Apprenticed in James Renwick's office, Goodhue favored this approach to professional training.[24] Stein's detailed drawings of building ornament, structures, and urban spaces he produced one year earlier while traveling in Spain impressed Goodhue much more than the four years spent at the École and seemed directly applicable to the work already underway on the Exposition.

The strong-willed Goodhue encouraged a collaborative and cohesive office environment in some ways similar to what Stein had experienced at Laloux's atelier in Paris. Though he admitted to having no head draftsmen as a rule, he assigned architects increasing responsibility as their tenure with him lengthened, eventually putting them in charge when he was out of the office. Given Stein's understanding of Spanish design, evident in his sketches of Churrigueresque detailing that had caught Goodhue's attention during the interview, it is no surprise that in less than two years Stein was preparing drawings of the California Building, one of two permanent structures and the central building at the fair.[25]

At Goodhue's side, Stein also began to deepen his understanding of site layout beyond the strict classical arrangements of the Beaux Arts. The dramatic entrance to the fair over the Cabrillo Canyon with the California Building as the anchor certainly was consistent with classical sensibilities. Yet Goodhue also grouped the buildings in a more informal manner to take advantage of the site and to create a variety of intimate spaces off the main boulevard. He bound them together using the strong orthogonal central axis and creating a cohesive whole through the buildings' architectural unity.[26]

In *The Architecture and Gardens of the San Diego Exposition* issued to coincide with the fair's opening in 1915, Goodhue decried the classical tradition:

> From the first to the last of such expositions there has been apparent an almost constant progress in size and in magnificence . . . To house such enormous congeries of exhibits enormous groups of buildings have become necessary, and so all local, ethnic, and fitting character has been lost, and the architectural scheme and style, following the "easiest way," has taken on a rather colourless, classic character with rows of columns, triumphal arches, courts of honour, and the like—all very magnificent and often very beautiful indeed, but quite unrelated to anything inherent in the exhibits, or to the great event which the Exhibition has, as a rule, commemorated. . . .[27]

By engaging historical precedents relevant to the region, the fair initiated a revival of the Spanish colonial style in California. Goodhue also emphasized the relationship between buildings rather than an overwhelming grandeur noting, "We are beginning to find that the display of fewer things, well chosen and well related one to the other, is far more likely to arouse joyful appreciation. An artist, in creating a work of beauty, whatever it may be, chooses and eliminates his elements until he has formed a unified whole."[28]

Stein wrote the only other essay in the book, reflecting the esteem in which Goodhue held the architect's contributions to the project and his ideas on design and layout.[29] In fact, Stein took the opportunity to celebrate "the varied symmetry and underlying order of Latin cities" and to address the integration of this approach in American city planning practice:

> . . . for some time city planning has come to mean to us a great open place surrounded by colonnades.
>
> We have imitated the Piazzo San Marco in Venice, the squares of St. Peter's and the Capitol in Rome. But in so doing we have perhaps forgotten the charm of the approach to these big places. Their impression gains in force from the contrast with the narrow streets that give access to them, whose interest is due not to any symmetrical unity, but to the accidental variety of daily life. On the one hand, the great focal points and the main arteries of traffic speak of the dignity of government and the easy movement of commerce. But we need also the more intimate side of city planning, the by-ways with their little shops, the occasional drinking fountain at a street corner, the glimpse of some secluded garden through a half-open gate.[30]

His comments here parallel his appreciation of the urban fabric of Paris, with its broad boulevards and formal gardens and the more intimate spaces of the medieval quarters with their narrow, meandering streets. Although early in his career, Stein clearly was already considering the need to design spaces in accordance with their functions and

the methods to integrate grander and more intimate designs within a harmonious whole. The next major project, Tyrone, New Mexico, "introduced Stein to the complexities of town planning and the economies of housing design."[31]

Shortly after the Exposition opened, the executives of Phelps-Dodge Corporation (Phelps-Dodge) hired Goodhue to design a model mining town for them near one of their mines in the Burro Mountains of southwest New Mexico.[32] As in other company towns, company executives, including Dr. James Douglas (president 1909-16) and his son Walter Douglas (president 1917-30), believed that introducing certain amenities while retaining total control over the town would address labor unrest and increase worker efficiency. Owners of the largest copper mine in the country – the Copper Queen in Bisbee, Arizona – on the eve of World War I, Phelps-Dodge had decided to build their model mining town in New Mexico, away from the pro-labor legislation in the newly formed state of Arizona.[33] In addition, New Mexico had a ready, and cheap, labor pool of Mexicans coming across the border.[34]

Goodhue certainly felt that Hispanic influenced styles were appropriate for the project, but he had a much different image in mind than the ornate style of the California Building. "Mr. Goodhue seemed to be horrified at the ornate types of architecture and it appears is a strong exponent of extreme simplicity in design. He distinctly favors the Mexican type of architecture, provided it is pure and unadorned by modern so-called improvements."[35] Shortly after visiting the site, Goodhue wrote his office manager Mayers to "put a good man . . . at work on restudying the plaza plans" and simplifying the elevations of the cottages for the American employees. ". . . Of course I do not know which men are most available but would suggest Mr. Stein as the best if he is there."[36]

By the time he signed the contract with the company in late August 1915, Goodhue and his architects had "recast the earlier company-designed proposals for Tyrone designing a picturesque composition of space, form, and color integrated into a dramatic natural setting."[37] They proposed a formal treatment at the center of the town with the community's significant buildings surrounding the plaza. To create an interesting and picturesque townscape, they varied the massing of these structures with an arcade connecting them, unifying them, in a manner similar to that prescribed in the Spanish colonial towns. In addition to a formal axial walkway system within the plaza, the town's major boulevard, Mangus Street, ran parallel to the railroad and intersected the mid-point of the plaza's shorter sides, continuing to rond-points several hundred feet to the east and the west respectively of the plaza. These rond-points provided sites for other important buildings. As with the San Diego Exposition, Hegemann and Peets prominently featured Goodhue's work at Tyrone as an example of harmonious grouping of buildings and "the intelligent use, adaptation, and development of traditional forms."[38]

Phelps-Dodge's efforts to improve the quality of its workers' housing while insuring a certain profit provided Stein, who was already an aspiring housing reformer, opportunities to observe and deal with the hard realities of reducing construction costs and retaining decent conditions.[39] Housing costs were lowered by reducing room size,

increasing residential density, minimizing land costs, and using inexpensive local materials and building labor. Both the American and Mexican workers' housing were patterned on adobe design with no exterior ornament, though the residential areas certainly differed. Segregated from the American workers' housing and located in a minor canyon along a road running southeast of the plaza, the majority of Mexican workers' housing was grouped into six attached dwellings, each with two rooms. With its barrel tile construction and low wall along the front elevation identifying entryways into the individual units, the attached two-room Mexican units were a significant improvement over the tents and temporary shacks that constituted much of the worker housing in the mining camps.[40]   In single family and duplex configurations, the homes of the American workers were located along Hilltop Road that ran along a ridgeline and provided access to the community hospital southwest of the plaza. The architects achieved a pleasing effect in the American workers' housing through variations in massing, fenestration, porches, and color.[41] "These little houses show how the materials and, with proper simplifications, the architectural style used in the public buildings can be employed in the most modest private houses, thus producing a feeling of unity throughout the town."[42]

Within one year of beginning the project, Stein was working on several buildings, including the bank, shops, and warehouse, and was in direct contact with Walter Douglas.[43] During the second year, Stein visited the project in 1916 and early in 1917, making changes on the site and supervising construction.[44] Many of the major buildings were already under construction as was the plaza and housing. At the close of World War I, the price of copper steeply declined and the mines shut down. Still a significant part of the town as envisioned was realized.

Stein's understanding of architecture and planning also benefited from his ongoing activities in the Hudson Guild and the Chelsea neighborhood, which engaged his interest in working-class housing. Upon returning to New York City in 1911, Stein had again taken up civic reform work with John Elliott. He also became quite active in the City Club, acting as secretary of its City Planning Committee from 1915 to 1919.[45] In that capacity, he presented a series of papers discussing the essential role of planning to preserve residential neighborhoods, establish parks, assure housing reform, and mitigate traffic congestion. He consistently advocated the Garden City as "the ideal system" to address these issues, referring specifically to the new town of Letchworth. An essay on city planning outlined a simplified version of the neighborhood unit that would come to dominate his significant projects: "Think what an interesting group could be made of all these buildings, properly related and surrounded by trees in a small neighborhood park. Such a group would be a symbol of the best ideals of the neighborhood."[46] It was probably at one of these sessions that he first met Charles Whitaker, the progressive editor of the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* (*JAIA*).[47] Whitaker would introduce Stein to some of his most significant colleagues and collaborators: Lewis Mumford, Frederick Ackerman, and Benton MacKaye. An organization established in part for political reform, the City Club also provided Stein a means to make important political connections with people such as future governor Alfred E. Smith.

Though his employment in Goodhue's office introduced him to large-scale community design, Stein's work in the Chelsea neighborhood allowed him to grapple with more complex issues associated with development that had accreted over time and reflected his efforts to integrate his architectural training and experience with his ideals concerning community architecture. In 1918, Stein and his long-time friend and colleague Henry Klaber worked on a neighborhood plan for the area to address whether housing could or should be retained given burgeoning commercial and industrial development and large-scale public projects that had significantly diminished the residential areas.[48] Undertaken for the City Planning Committee of the City Club, the survey examined housing needs and projected future land uses in the area. Stein's training had taught him to first observe and consider existing conditions before drawing conclusions or making recommendations. Though crude, the approach he employed was consistent with the ideas of survey before plan being promulgated by the growing number of architects undertaking city planning. Though the committee accepted the transition underway in Chelsea as inevitable, Stein maintained that housing should be retained if at all possible proximate to workplaces. The connection he had made with Whitaker allowed him to more fully explore this perspective for a national audience.

Stein had begun writing a series of articles for the *JAIA*, the first connecting his and Klaber's work in Chelsea with the emerging national crisis regarding inadequate labor near war industries.[49] The broader and more significant second article outlined his support for government participation in meeting housing needs, particularly given the housing crisis anticipated with veterans returning to a housing market that had come to a standstill during the war. Rather than a federal role, he argued that state-run government housing programs created a greater opportunity "to try out various methods of building, aiding and financing housing," a position he would maintain for many years.[50] In his submittal letter to Whitaker, he discussed the City Club's efforts to induce Smith, then running for governor, "to favor the appointment of a commission by the next legislature to investigate the whole question of housing in New York State and what has been done elsewhere to solve the problems of housing."[51] With his participation in this and subsequent committees, Stein would have the opportunity to formulate and refine his ideas regarding the types of activities the state government should undertake.

Early architectural practice and projects

Following his brief stint in the military during World War I, Stein decided not to return to Goodhue's office. With his training completed, he wanted to establish his own architectural practice, which would allow him to pursue his interests in large-scale community design, broaden his efforts in housing reform, and pursue associations with collaborators in related fields. Stein entered into partnership with Kohn and, through his political support, connections, and tenacity, became a member of the new governor's Reconstruction Commission. As he developed his ideas and new connections, Stein acquired the resources he needed to implement his goals as a community architect. Several of his early projects reflect his arts and crafts sensibilities notably the individual camp buildings and dining hall for the Ethical Culture Society's Hudson Guild Farm in

Netcong, New Jersey and three homes designed for upper-middle income families in the New York region. During the period, he also refined his site design skills, displaying a modern sensibility in proposals for several unbuilt grouped housing projects.

Not surprisingly, the Ethical Culture Society was among his first clients.[52] In 1921, Dr. Elliott decided to expand the facilities at Hudson Guild Farm, the Society's camp in Netcong, New Jersey for city youths. Using fieldstones, heavy timbered roofs, exposed beams, and deep eaves, Stein brought the countryside indoors through site design and use of materials. The buildings – the Dining Hall, Rose Walter Cottage, and a building at Camp Aladdin – reflected the Arts and Crafts precepts of incorporating local materials and natural textual qualities and clearly articulating a building's structure.[53] With work begun on Hudson Guild Farm, Stein secured a job on the William Pollack House in 1922, also located in Netcong. This home, actually a renovated barn, and the Paul Rie and Edwin Wasser Houses designed within the next two years, all incorporated similar Arts and Crafts concepts and use of local materials.[54] The Wasser House in particular, demonstrated Stein's skills in site design as he integrated the home into the rolling landscape.

But Stein's unbuilt projects especially reflect his evolving interest and expertise in site planning. During this period, he undertook several grouped housing proposals, including Sunnyside Park in Shelton, Connecticut begun with Kohn in 1920; Fort Sheridan Gardens with Ernest Gruensfeldt; and the up-scale Spuyten Duyvil Housing Development in the Bronx. At the first project, designed with his mentor, detached and attached houses are grouped around loop streets. The site plan for Fort Sheridan Gardens uses the grouped housing to free up open space, incorporating a school and community park as well as smaller interior block playgrounds.[55]

In 1923, Stein designed Spuyten Duyvil Housing Development, the most clearly articulated of the three, for the Dunnock Realty Company, skillfully integrating the site design, elevations, and floor plans.[56] The seven apartment buildings bound an open space on three sides. Consistent with his work on the Hudson Guild Farm and the three houses, Stein used fieldstone on the first two stories thematically joining the buildings. In fact, he also incorporated the fieldstone into low walls that connect the three apartment buildings at the busy corner of Spuyten Duyvil Parkway, creating a clearly articulated border for the interior park. Stein confidently designed the site with a formal terrace and reflecting pool opening up to a larger park with informal walkways, making use of the gentle downward slope into the more picturesque section of the interior park and dramatically siting his apartment houses on the highest elevation on the property.

Despite this luxury project, Stein's focus had increasingly turned to ongoing issues associated with the post-war housing crisis, a crisis he believed was more permanent than the general public and many policy-makers realized. Upon returning from his brief military duty, Stein again immersed himself in New York State politics strongly supporting independent Democrat Alfred Smith for governor while lending his voice to calls for government intervention to address an anticipated post-war housing crisis. In November 1918, Smith was elected governor. He promptly established a bipartisan

Reconstruction Commission to reform government and address critical needs of the state at the close of the war, including housing condition, availability, and affordability.

In 1919, Stein, who had served as vice-president of the Fusionist Committee and strongly supported Smith in his campaign, volunteered his services as secretary to the Housing Committee of the Reconstruction Commission. Smith accepted the proposition, recognizing Stein's political skills and his insightful ideas on housing issues. Felix Adler, Robert Kohn, Frederick Ackerman, Andrew Thomas, and Alexander Bing all served in an advisory capacity to the Committee, which certainly had significant issues to address. The great post-war shortage of housing drove rents so high that tens of thousands of tenants could not afford them and were evicted, requiring them to double up with friends and relatives or ultimately end up on the street. Even though Smith opposed rent controls in principle, he urged the legislature to continue wartime emergency rent controls in response to a series of rent strikes in New York City.

Early in their 1919-1920 studies of New York City's housing problems for Al Smith, Clarence Stein, Edith Elmer Wood, Andrew Thomas, and other reformers, concluded regulatory approaches including rent controls, building codes, and turn-of-the-century tenement house laws widely championed by Lawrence Veiller were not sufficient.[57] Despite their wide adoption to address housing issues, these approaches, Stein and his colleagues argued, could not increase housing production or sufficiently improve housing quality for working class New Yorkers.[58]

> The poor of New York – half the population – has always lived in unwholesome, dark, left over dwellings because it did not pay to build new homes. The only difference between the present and so-called normal times is that a large and more articulate part of the population is suffering. The provision of adequate housing in decent surroundings for all the people is a public service. Until this is generally recognized we can not set up the necessary machinery, either to meet the present menacing shortage – or the shortage of decent homes for working people that has existed at all times. This can not be attained without the use of every possible economy.[59]

This new breed of housers was convinced of the intractability of the housing problem, particularly affordability issues, without proactive government intervention. At the beginning of the twentieth century architects, engineers, and other professionals trained in the planning, design, or building fields joined the housing movement.[60] The most progressive of these housers argued that adequate policy formulation and program implementation would require technical expertise working in partnership with the government. These technocrats included progressive architects, who were using new tools, including cost analysis, standardization, and social surveys, to realize a more objective and informed approach to residential design.[61] Stein certainly subscribed to this characterization of the architect as technocrat. In a speech before the City Club regarding the "housing problem", he emphasized the significance of a scientific

approach "[S]cience is not afraid of being cast out. It does not progress through the emotions. It seeks the truth."[62]

In addition to studying housing issues and needs, the Reconstruction Commission also sponsored a competition to demonstrate how to rehabilitate and construct more appealing and cost-efficient projects. Both Thomas and Stein entered the competition with proposals for new construction. Thomas designed U-shaped five-story apartment buildings retaining a significant amount of open space without sacrificing affordability.[63] Stein created an appealingly diverse design, grouping alternating combinations of two-story semi-attached two-family houses and apartment buildings around a shared interior space.[64]

Thus, modern housing emerged within a context of continued poor housing conditions and crowding due to the postwar housing shortage, increased accessibility to relatively inexpensive land outside the city center, improved large-scale development strategies, and communitarian concepts of shared open space.[65] Further, a greater variety of financing and ownership options allowed larger-scale projects to be developed. With roots in the housing reform movement of late nineteenth century Great Britain, limited dividend housing represented one example of a viable, philanthropic approach to addressing housing needs prior to federal assistance.[66] Philanthropic and limited dividend corporations favored this "perimeter block" design in their model projects. Combining lots created greater flexibility in site design, resulting in super-blocks that accommodated reduced lot coverage at an adequate profit.[67]

Though the elements were in place for innovation, the members of the Housing Committee were not yet ready to advocate a significant role for the state in the housing delivery process. In March 1920, they issued a report to the Reconstruction Commission outlining their findings and recommendations.[68] The recommendations focused on encouraging the private sector, with some governmental incentives, such as low interest loans and tax exemptions, to build housing for workers. At a special late summer meeting called by the governor to push the initiatives through, the majority of legislators approved extension of emergency rent controls, some revisions to the war-time rent laws that had led to rapid evictions and other tenant hardships, and limited municipal real estate tax abatements to encourage "moderate-priced" housing construction.[69] Without the comprehensive adoption of all the initiatives, particularly the system of government oversight and controls, the tax exemptions fed a boom of poor quality, speculative home building in Queens, Brooklyn, and the Bronx, which did not sell or rent at prices that working class families could afford.[70]

In 1920, with Smith no longer in office, Stein continued promoting his housing ideas in articles, many for the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects (JAIA)* and speeches before groups such as the Greenwich Village settlement house. Although acknowledging the necessity of government involvement in affordable housing production, Stein emphasized the role of the private sector primarily through the participation of limited dividend corporations. He considered community development and design as key components of such a program and recommended state as opposed to federal involvement to ensure a more informed and responsive approach to meeting

housing needs. In a 1921 article published in the *Sunday World* he stated, "We must recognize that in the larger aspect housing is a public need and a public service."[71] Further, "State credit must not be used to increase congestion, to build new slums. It must be used toward building new centres of population – garden cities."[72] A speech for the City Club reinforced this perspective.

To mark his fortieth birthday in the summer of 1922, Stein decided to learn more about post-war housing policy and projects in Europe by visiting them. On the voyage home, Stein drafted a proposal for a city planning atelier that would harness the strengths of his widening inner-circle of colleagues to address these issues: to examine "man's physical environment as influenced by social, economic and aesthetic needs and the technical means of creating new environments serving those needs" and recommend solutions, chief among them rural, regional, and national planning and the establishment of garden cities.[73] Thus, by the early 1920s, Stein already had amassed the architecture and planning skills to understand and address community building and housing needs, employed a collaborative approach, and had a key network in place to explore and implement his ideas.

Endnotes

[1] Arthur Meier Schlesinger, *The Rise of the City, 1878-1898* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933), pg. 329.

[2] Ethical Culture Society, "The Workingman's School and Free Kindergarten," [n.p., 1881], pg. 29.

[3] Richard Chafee, "The Teaching of Architecture at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts," in *The Architecture of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts* Arthur Drexler, ed. (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1977), pg. 89.

[4] K.C. Parsons, "Growing Up in New York and Paris: Clarence Stein's Urban Roots and Values," unpublished paper presented at the Eighth Biennial Conference on Planning History of the Society of American City and Regional Planning History in Washington, D.C, 1999.

[5] According to Chafee (1977), Stein's experience was typical.

[6] Letter his father, 15 December 1905 (Box 29, Clarence Stein Papers/Cornell University Archives (CSP/CUA)).

[7] Letter to his father, 5 February 1906 (Box 29, CSP/CUA).

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Letter to his parents, 12 January 1908 (Box 29, CSP/CUA).

[11] Ibid. A further requirement was that no foreigner could score lower than any of the 45 Frenchmen that were accepted. Stein scored "just after the twenty-fifth Frenchman."

[12] Letter to his parents, 6 January 1908 (Box 29, CSP/CUA).

[13] Chafee, 1977, pg. 96.

[14] Laloux became an honorary fellow of the American Institute of Architects in the 1920s, reflecting the esteem his American students had for him (Parsons, 1999).

[15] Letter to his brother Herbert, 13 August 1908 (Box 29, CSP/CUA).

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Letter to his parents, 3 October 1907 (Box 29, CSP/CUA).

[19] Chafee, 1977. Letter to his parents, 13 February 1908 (Box 29, CSP/CUA).

[20] Letter to his sister Gertrude, 11 August 1905 (Box 29, CSP/CUA).

[21] Richard Oliver, *Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue* (New York and Cambridge: The Architectural History Foundation, New York and the MIT Press, 1983), pg. 54.

[22] Oliver, 1983.

[23] Goodhue did not necessarily oppose classicism itself, but its strict formulaic application. A 1922 article in *Pencil Points* described his disparaging opinion of the École. His comments at the time about a recent hire perhaps reflected the way he felt about Stein when he first entered the office, "Mr. ---- went to the Beaux-Arts. *I hate to admit it, but he did.* But he didn't *graduate.* I have always maintained that the truants and bad boys of the Beaux-Arts turn out to be the best product of that—so far as I am concerned—lamentable institution." (Goodhue quoted in "Twelfth Night in Mr. Goodhue's Office," in *Pencil Points* [January 1922]: 21-26, 22).

[24] In 1884, when he was 15 years old, Goodhue began his training in the office of Renwick, Aspinwall & Russell. At the time, James Renwick, Jr. still ran the firm. Renwick had a strong understanding of historical styles, artfully adapting and applying them in projects such as the Smithsonian Institution (1846-55) and more strictly adhering to a particular style such as his skillful use of the gothic in Grace Church (1843-46).

[25] *Sturgis' Illustrated Dictionary of Architecture and Building* of 1901-02 defines Churrigueresque Architecture as "characterized by a disregard of the canons of classic design and the combination of its features, or members, or fragments of them, in the most incongruous and grotesque assemblages conceivable. Stucco and gilding was lavishly used, and broken pediments, twisted shafts, and contorted scrolls abound. High altarpieces, fantastic doorways, and picturesque towers are also characteristic. The result is, like nearly all Spanish work, highly decorative, and not without a certain theatrical splendour, but lacks the essentials of propriety, refinement, and structural reasonableness" (p. 601). "Stein's initials are in the 'Drawn By' and 'Checked By' boxes of the detailed drawings for the sculptural ornament of both the entrance and the tower windows of the California Building of the San Diego Fair. Because Goodhue admitted to rarely listing those in his office responsible for various projects, it is difficult to determine the extent to which Stein worked on the site design of the fair.

[26] Oliver, 1983. The buildings were all designed in the Spanish-colonial style with a pearl gray stucco used consistently on the temporary structures.

[27] Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, "The Architecture and the Gardens" in *The Architecture and the Gardens of the San Diego Exposition*, Carleton Monroe Winslow (ed.) (San Francisco: Paul Elder and Company, 1916), pg. 3.

[28] Ibid, pg. 4.

[29] Carleton Winslow, Goodhue's site architect in charge of the temporary buildings, provided the brief descriptions that accompanied the numerous photographs and edited the book.

[30] Clarence Stein, "A Triumph of the Spanish-Colonial Style" in *The Architecture and the Gardens of the San Diego Exposition*, Carleton Monroe Winslow (ed.) (San Francisco: Paul Elder and Company, 1916), pg. 11. Stein displayed his Arts and Crafts sensibilities, noting the significant role of Mexican and Aztec artisans in lending their skills to the Mission and Spanish-colonial architecture.

[31] K. C. Parsons, "C. S. Stein's Apprenticeship with Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue: The Mining Town of Tyrone, New Mexico 1915-1919," paper delivered at the National Conference on American Planning History of the Society for American City and Regional Planning History, Seattle, Washington, 1997, pg. 3.

[32] Oliver, 1983.

[33] Margaret Crawford, *Building the Workingman's Paradise, the Design of American Company Towns* (London and New York: Verso, 1995).

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Letter from Goodhue to Mayers, 14 July 1915, Phelps-Dodge Company Records of Burro Mountain Copper Company. Main Office: Tucson, Arizona, Phelps-Dodge Records, Tucson, Arizona (PDR/TA).

[37] Parsons, 1997, pg. 10.

[38] Werner Hegemann and Elbert Peets, *The American Vitruvius: An Architect's Handbook of Civic Art* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1922, 1988), pg. 107.

[39] The Douglases expected to make a ten percent profit on the Mexican and American miners' houses and fifteen percent profit in rents of the non-company commercial buildings.

[40] A total of 16 homes in duplex or single family configurations, each with three rooms, were also built for the Mexican workers. Though the architects requested more funding to improve the design and enlarge the layout, the Burro Company felt that the design already reflected a significant improvement over housing typically available to Mexican workers and did not approve the greater expense.

[41] In the American workers' housing lived the "technical and office men and foremen." The homes had a variety of floor plans and consisted of three to five rooms. A variety of subtle pastels were used in the exterior stucco, and the homes had indoor plumbing and lighting unlike the housing for Mexicans.

[42] Hegemann and Peets, 1922, 1988, pg. 108.

[43] Letter from Walter Douglas to F. M. Sawyer, Superintendent, Burro Mountain Copper Company, 21 July 1916; Letter from Thomson, Assistant to the President to Sawyer, 13 July 1916 (PDR/TA). Oliver (1983) refers to Stein as Goodhue's chief assistant on the project (p. 154). A short, undated article, probably from a local paper, also names Stein the "architect in charge of the construction of the mining camp at Tyrone."

[44] He wrote regularly to Goodhue. A set of five reports about the details of materials, color, and construction written in November 1916 is probably typical of the kind of reports Stein prepared during his site visits (Box 1, Folder 3, CSP/CUA).

[45] The City Club had been formed in 1892 by a group of Ethical Culture Society members and like-minded progressive politicians. Stein had begun to educate himself on city planning shortly after returning to New York. Given his previous experience in and sensitivity to the Chelsea neighborhood and relatively extensive planning activities occurring in the city, which passed the first comprehensive zoning code in the country in 1916, it is no surprise that Stein chose to take a leading role in the City Planning Committee.

[46] "City Planning," unpublished essay, 13 May 1917 (Box 11, File 20, CSP/CUA).

[47] Whitaker served as editor of the journal from 1913 to 1927. During this time, he moved the journal away from a focus on architecture to broader issues of housing and neighborhood development.

[48] Stein, "A Survey of the Chelsea District," 20 September 1918 (Box 11, File 20, CSP/CUA). Two major projects, Pennsylvania Station and Chelsea Park had resulted in the demolition of many residences.

[49] "Transportation or Housing" published in July 1918 discussed the inadequacy of the city transit system in getting workers from Chelsea and other nearby areas to their jobs in the New Jersey shipping yards. Though Stein acknowledged that extensions of the lines into Chelsea and Greenwich would begin to address the issue, he noted that housing needs would also have to be met before the transit solution could work. Specifically, he pointed to the inadequate condition and scattered location of the existing tenements.

[50] Clarence Stein, "Housing and Reconstruction," in *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* 6 (October 1918), pg. 471.

[51] Letter to Charles Whitaker, 8 September 1918 (Box 30, CSP/CUA).

[52] Stein's first project after leaving Goodhue's employ was the simple, colonial-influenced White Plains Meeting House. Completed in 1921, it was designed for Quakers in White Plains, New York.

[53] Camp Aladdin was managed through the Hudson Guild Settlement House.

[54] In fact, an article in the February 1931 issue of *Architecture* compared the design of the camp buildings with that of the Pollack House showing photographs that demonstrated the similarity between the buildings' interiors.

[55] Although several drawings of Fort Sheridan Gardens exist, including a site plan and alternate street and plot plan, no specific date or location is associated with the proposed project.

[56] The two- and three-bedroom apartments have foyers opening up to sizable living and dining rooms. Some have bay windows, while others have porches. The basements include small apartments for servants.

[57] Edith Elmer Wood had just written the pioneering *The Housing of the Unskilled Wage Earner*, an extremely influential contribution to housing studies and policy-making that used a variety of data, including statistics, to document housing needs in this country and persuasively argue for government involvement in housing production. Andrew Thomas was an architect who designed several model housing projects in New York City.

[58] A primary concern of the group was the drop in production from a high of 54,884 dwellings in 1906 to 1,624 in 1919 (Richard Plunz, *A History of Housing in New York City: Dwelling Type and Social Change in the American Metropolis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), pg. 126). Further, their March 1, 1919 survey identified a total 982,926 individual apartments in New York City, 587,851 in old law tenements, built prior to 1901.

[59] CSS, draft paper dated August 1920 (CSP/CUA, Box 11, File 21).

[60] See Kristin Szylvian, 1999, "Industrial Housing Reform and the Emergency Fleet Corporation," *Journal of Urban History, 25*(5), pp. 647-689. She broadly characterizes the progressive housing movement as one that combined proactive and reactive strategies ranging from advocating demolition and new construction to addressing health concerns and social uplift, applying Garden City concepts of community, planning to mitigate crowding, calling for alternative forms of tenure to reduce financial risk, and even promoting federal housing assistance (pp. 652-654).

[61] See Roy Lubove, *Community Planning in the 1920's: The Contribution of the Regional Planning Association of America* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1963); Carl Sussman, *Planning the Fourth Migration: The Neglected Vision of the Regional Planning Association of America* (Cambridge, MA: The M. I. T. Press, 1976); Richard Plunz, *A History of Housing in New York City: Dwelling Type and Social Change in the American Metropolis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990); Peter G. Rowe, *Modernity and Housing* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1993).

[62] Clarence Stein, "The Housing Problem." Report of the Housing Committee of the Civic Club of New York, 15 April 1921, p. 14.

[63] The project was a prototype for several philanthropic housing developments, including the Homewood Development of the City Suburban Homes Limited Dividend corporation in 1920 in Brooklyn and one on the Grand Concourse in the Bronx that he designed for John D. Rockefeller in 1928.

[64] The site plan and floor layout published in John T. Boyd, Jr.'s July 1920 article, "Garden Apartments in Cities," for the *Architectural Record* shows 24 4-room homes and 68 6-room homes on a site just over 3 acres in size. The interior space included three formal gardens and two larger playgrounds. Based on photographs in the article and other information, within one year, the project had been built at West 239th Street in the Bronx. This project is an indication of Stein's earliest work as sole architect, and it suggests a fairly mature approach to large-scale design.

[65] See Richard Plunz, 1990; Peter G. Rowe, 1993; and Gail Radford, *Modern Housing for America: Policy Struggles in the New Deal Era* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996).

[66] See Daphne Spain, "Octavia Hill's Philosophy of Housing Reform: From British Roots to American Soil," *Journal of Planning History*, 5 (2006), pp. 106-25, for an analysis of Octavia Hill's contributions to housing reform and the roots of limited dividend housing as transferred from Great Britain to the United States during this era.

[67] In his influential 1912 booklet "Nothing Gained by Overcrowding", architect Raymond Unwin touted perimeter block design.

[68] The Housing Committee presented its recommendations to the Reconstruction Commission on March 22, 1920. The governor passed along the recommendations to the legislature four days later.

[69] Paula Eldst, *Governor Alfred E. Smith. The Politician as Reformer* (New York: Garland Publishing Company, 1983), pp. 160-161, 164-168.

[70] See Clarence Stein, *Toward New Towns for America* (MIT Press, 1957), pg. 21. When Smith was re-elected as Governor, he appointed a successor committee to investigate the impact of the tax exemption law. In 1924 that committee issued a report acknowledging that the tax exemption had stimulated housing production. The committee recommended extension of the law only if "the means can be provided to insure that the benefit of tax exemption shall be enjoyed primarily by those families of limited income who are to live in the homes which this subsidy is designed to create" (*State of New York Report of Commission on Housing and Regional Planning to Governor Alfred E. Smith and to the Legislature of the State of New York on Tax Exemption of New Housing*, March 14, 1924, Legislative Document (1924) No. 78, 7).

[71] Louis Levine, "To Solve the Housing Problem, This Expert Says, the State Should Have Power to Hold Land and Develop It for Homes" in the *Sunday World*, 20 June 1921.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Stein's undated handwritten notes on United American Lines, Inc. stationary (Box 1, CSP/CUA).

Landscape quality as result of urban planning: the study case of Curitiba, Parana, Brazil

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Introduction

Starting with the assumption that cities cause significant changes on landscapes, as well as relevant environmental pressure, and they fall into a built environment context that is structured by pervious and impervious spaces, especially green areas, this study is centred around the hypothesis that the number of such areas is related to the urban landscape's quality and this quality, in its turn, is related with the city's environment qualitative aspects and its citizen's life.

Quality of life ratings usually refer to social, economical and infrastructure indicators, among others, without the proper interpretation of the human beings' satisfaction with respect to the space in which they live.

Evaluate the quality of urban landscapes can be an important instrument to interpret the citizens' welfare level with respect to the cities' environments. However, among the several landscape quality evaluation methodologies, there are insufficient methods aimed specifically at urban areas.

Within this context, Curitiba is an interesting analysis object, not only because of the broad acknowledgement its planning experiences have, but also because of its configuration as the pole of one of the fastest growing metropolitan areas in Brazil, during the last decades.

Since its origins, by the end of the seventeenth century, until the 1940s, Curitiba experienced a spontaneous growth process. Then, the first urban plan was implemented: the Agache Plan. Its purpose was to reroute traffic so that it flowed from the city's center out. In the 1960s, new proposals – Urban Preliminary Plan – laid out guidelines to minimize urban sprawl, reduce traffic in the city's central area, protect the historic district, provide an accessible and affordable public transportation system and build linear traffic street systems to provide direct, high-speed routes in and out of town. Initially, this plan was implemented in the 1970s. The 1980s was a decade marked by the expansion of green areas. Throughout the 1990s, Curitiba continued to add to its green areas and cultural sites. In the beginning of the 21st century, the specific time of the present analysis, the city is being faced with an urban landscape that is the result of this historic planning process.

In this context, the general purpose of this study is to check the relationship between urban form, landscaping quality and green areas seen as a subsidy to methodological models for a landscape assessment process and environmental quality management.

Fundamentals

Considering quality of life as the basic premiss, this study is based upon conceptual (city and landscape), theoretical (urban and landscape ecology) and methodological (landscape and environment quality management) grounds.

Conceptual grounds

Interpreted as a social, economic and institutional phenomenon (Mumford, 1998), as well as a physical and territorial process of conformation of the built environment (Soja, 2000), cities can be generically understood as a set made up of two basic systems (Hardt, 2006): natural and cultural. Their components integrate the total environment to which the human experience is associated (Gaddis, 2002).

Among its several definitions, the city can be interpreted as a set of pervious and impervious areas. Given to impervious spaces, almost "irreversible", the physical connotation of something which fluids cannot pass, one can associate visual effects, because many times our vision cannot go through them. Qualified as "reversible", in the sense they can be occupied and made waterproof, pervious spaces can be physically interpreted as something that can be penetrated and also associated to visual effects because many times they can be penetrated by one's vision (Hardt & Hardt, 2007).

Considered as environmental quality factors that must be protected (Boudjenouia, Fleury & Tacherift, 2007), open spaces, unoccupied or construction free, do not necessarily constitute pervious areas. Among these, we can point out green areas, which are considered as free spaces (public or private) in the city, with predominantly natural characteristics, regardless of the vegetation's size or origin – native, introduced or exotic (Hardt, 2000).

In a broad concept, the landscape can be interpreted as a dynamic combination of interrelated and interdependent natural (physicochemical and biologic) and antropic elements, which in a certain time, space and social moment form a unique and non-dissociable set, whether balanced or not, in permanent evolution, and producing mental perceptions and aesthetic sensations as an "ecosystem that is seen" (Hardt & Hardt, 2007).

With respect to their naturalness level, landscapes can be classified as natural, worked, cultivated, suburban or urban (Forman & Godron, 1986; Hardt, 2000). The areas of interest for this study evolve essentially from the two last typologies and in this ambit one can attribute a higher proportion of impervious areas, when compared to the previous ones.

Theoretical grounds

Hardt (2000) defines the landscape's ecology as the multidisciplinary study of interrelations between the several factors that contribute to the formation of structuring homogeneous landscape units of a certain space (Forman & Godron, 1986). The integrated systemic ecological approach aimed at the total environment and at the human experience starts to have an analysis fundamental factor in man's perception.

The ecology of landscapes has as its study object the several landscape typologies (McIntyre & Wiens, 2000), applying concepts of the general ecology to natural landscapes, while to cities' landscapes, object of this study, the concepts inherent to the urban ecology are used.

Generically defined as the visualisation of urban ecosystems, cities' landscapes are basically formed by:

a)   visual space, especially made up by the total environment (principally by the natural and built environments and secondary by the socio-economic one, thus resulting in social and environmental conditions) (Hardt & Hardt, 2007);
b)   perceptual mechanisms that depend on the human experience – personal ambience and behaviour, and life conditions (Harvey, 2000).

Methodological grounds

The concept of management is strongly associated to that one of quality.
The quality of a landscape represents its visual characteristics' excellence level (Hardt, 2000), whose diversity makes it difficult to define the evaluation in absolute terms, thus being necessary to use the help of methods based on value judgements (Cougo & Ribeiro, 2006).

Based on the observing the landscape as a whole, users or specialists, locally or by means of substitutes (e.g.: photographs, diapositives, films, pictures, etc.), direct methods realise appraising by determining a landscape value judgement in its whole, regardless of defining this evaluation's determinant components.

Indirect methods, which have the possibility of subjectivity reduction as their chief characteristic, process the landscape's disaggregation into its main components and visual elements, which are analysed by determining a value judgement and according to criteria established by specialists.

Associating the advantages of the previous methods, the mixed ones use the evaluation of subjective answers and the interpretation of the landscape's components that determine this kind of answer.

Materials and methods

Curitiba, capital of the State of Paraná, is located in Brazil's Southern Region, under the average geographical coordinates of 25º25'50" latitude South and 49º16'15" longitude West of Greenwich, between UTM coordinates 682.000, 683.000, 7.196.000 and 7.162.000, and at an average altitude of 934.6 m (IPPUC, 1999a). With 43,241.80 ha, the study area is delimited by the urban perimeter, which coincides with the municipality's legal administrative boundaries and is the pole of the metropolitan region that has the same name (Hardt, 2004).

As study units, 27 zones or urbanistic sectors were considered, subdivided into 120 territorial compartments, defined by the soil's use and occupation zoning in force until 2000, which was used as the basic configuration for Curitiba's present urban landscape **(Figure 1).**

Figure 1. Curitiba's soil use and ocupation zoning map in force until 2000
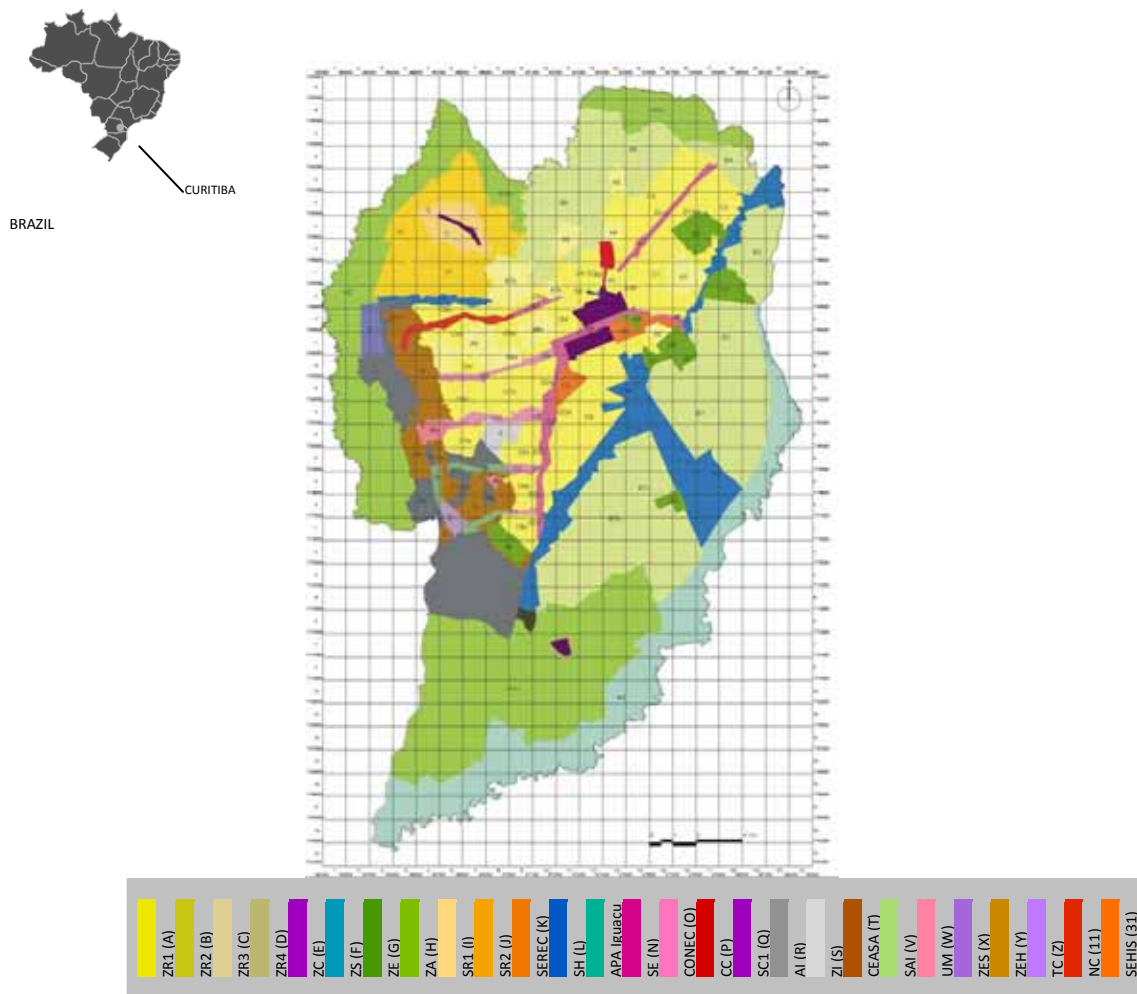
Source:
IPPUC (1999b)

Study Phases

Contemplating the total environment's natural and cultural systems' several components, as well as the characteristics of the human experience, the study development was structured into two basic steps, considering:

a) visual space, applying the evaluation indirect method as from the landscape's components;
b) perception mechanisms, applying the visual preferences evaluation direct method and the mixed method, based on regression analysis. These mechanisms reveal the satisfaction level that citizens have with the environment in which they live, thus establishing an uncommon way of assessing the quality of life.

Corresponding to the total environment's landscape's quality evaluation, the indirect evaluation method as from the landscape's components, was based upon a landscape units mixed system, irregular, corresponding to the specific physical limits of the 27 zones and 120 urbanistic compartments considered (study units), as well as regular, structured in a 125 per 250 m (3.12 ha) square lattice, thus allowing the choice of 568 sample units of the sampling system.

Based on the interpretation of sample units, based upon panchromatic aerial photographs from 1990, scale 1:8.000, with 1997 update, we obtained, by means of manual planimetry, the measurement of the following selected landscape components:

a) impervious area: built (e.g.: buildings, furniture, infra-structure); paved (e.g.: streets, paved or not, yards, sidewalks); others (e.g.: liquid surfaces contained in waterproofed spaces);
b) pervious area: with arboreal covering (e.g.: trees, isolated or in groups); with non-arboreal vegetation (e.g.: bushes, coverings); exposed ground (e.g.: naked earth, sand, gravel, small stones); others (e.g.: non-channelled water bodies and courses).

During the measurement phase, data were checked on field, in each one of the sample units considered.

In order to structure the landscape's components appraising system, besides the support found in references of several authors, the work was based on similar works and specific inquiries to specialists trained in landscape quality evaluation and related to the several areas involved, and then, an appraising system was adopted, considering several attributes for each element in the landscape, among which we point out: diversity, compatibility, singularity, mutability, complexity and visual broadness, and also, non-visual elements, representing other landscape's perception factors.
The result per landscape unit corresponds to the set of values of each landscape component in each square. In order to get the information's spatial relations into maps,

the urban compartments were distributed according to four classes represented by quartiles.

Comprising part of the landscape's quality evaluation through human experience, the visual preferences evaluation direct method – which includes assessing the levels of human satisfaction and, therefore, the quality of life –was supported by the 27 sample units with a pervious average area (main variable) closer to the own zone's average. These landscape units were represented by substitutes, under the form of photographs that were produced under photographic reproduction and survey specific criteria and conditions.

The sampling survey of visual preferences through the classification of the photographs into five landscape quality classes was carried out with Curitiba's population (252 residents aged above 7), from a stratified sample defined according to the city's populational structure, by genre, age, education and income. This same stratification, but including origin, was also used for the non-resident population (110 people aged above 7).

The measurement of landscape components in the photographs was made by means of the superimposition of a dot lattice, with a distance of 1.25 x 1.25 mm (totalling 9,600 dots), thus allowing to establish these elements' proportionality in the photographs. For the landscape's quality final evaluation through human experience, adopting the mixed method allowed the formulation of regression models based on the Stepwise technique. More than 2,000 alternatives were tested, among general methods and by evaluators categories and their strata. In order top make results feasible it was necessary to detail, in the field, the measurement of landscape components in the 568 sample units.

Getting the spatial relations of information into maps was also carried out by distributing the compartments according to four classes represented by quartiles.
In order to picture Curitiba's urban landscape's general situation, considering the total environment and the human experience, we developed the landscape quality integrated evaluation method, by determining two procedures:

a)   for each zone we added its relative position in each evaluation, thus obtaining the final position. Then, we indicated its landscape conditions recuperation and/or preservation priorities with respect to the total environment or human experience, according to the zone's final position, above or below the total average in each evaluation **(Chart 1)**;
b)   for each compartment, its position's values sum in each evaluation resulted in a new ranking, with a value scale ranging from 2 to 8 **(Figure 2)**. This allowed us to establish priorities for recuperation and or preservation of the landscapes' conditions.

Chart 1

Criteria to establish priority recommendations for preservation and/or recuperation of specific landscape conditions for urban zones in Curitiba

ZONE / COMPARTMENT	LANDSCAPE'S QUALITY EVALUATION			RECOMMENDATIONS			
	ENVIRONMENT TOTAL (A)	HUMAN EXPERIENCE (E)	INTEGRATED	intensive recuperation	extensive recuperation	extensive preservation	intensive preservation
	below the average	below the average		A / E			
	below the average	above the average		A		E	
	above the average	below the average		E		A	
	above the average	above the average				A / E	

A	priority for the total environment
E	priority for the human experience
A / E	priority for the total environment and the human experience

Source:
Information organised by the authors.

Figure 2

Relationship matrix of the human experience and total environment's landscape's quality resulting quartiles and the corresponding criteria to establish priority recommendations for the preservation and/or recuperation of specific landscape conditions for urban compartments in Curitiba

	TOTAL ENVIRONMENT			
QUARTILE VALUE	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**
4	ip: A ip: E	ep: A ip: E	er: A ip: E	ir: A ip:
3	ip: A ep: E	ep: A ep: E	er: A ep: E	ir: A ep: E
2	ip: A er: E	ep: A er: E	er: A er: E	ir: A er: E
1	ip: A ir: E	ep: A ir: E	er: A ir: E	ir: A ir: E

(HUMAN EXPERIENCE — vertical label on left axis)

A	priority for the total environment
E	priority for the human experience
A / E	priority for the total environment and the human experience
ip	intensive preservation
ep	extensive preservation
er	extensive recuperation
ir	intensive recuperation

Source:
Information organised by the authors.

Results

The results are presented according to the total environment and the human experience, as well as from its integrated evaluation.

Evaluation of the total environment's landscape's quality

Considering that both, environmental and social conditions, as well as the natural and cultural subsystems, for the total environment's landscape, evaluated as from their visual space, in an indirect form (technical method), the following features stand out:

a)   for the urbanistic zones, the environment's total visual quality class above the municipal average encompasses 84.50% of the city's total area (15 zones), where 70.73% of the population lives; the lots' occupation rate (52.72%) and the demographic density (29.33 inhabit./ha) are below the averages recorded for the city. These zones fall into a category above the corresponding municipal averages, in at least one if not in both types of green areas under consideration (with or without arboreal covering);

b)   for the urbanistic compartments **(Figure 3)**, the total environment's high quality visual class (upper quartile) occupies 55.68% of the municipality, housing 25.02% of the population. The lots' occupation rate (52.96%) and the demographic density (23.35 inhabit./ha) are below the municipal averages, configuring poorly consolidated urbanistic areas.

These results show that Curitiba's urban occupation historical process has reduced its landscape's quality, similarly to what Benevolo (2006) and Choay (2003) verified in several moments of the urbanization history.

Figure 3
Map classifying the quality of Curitiba's total environment's compartments urbanistic landscape
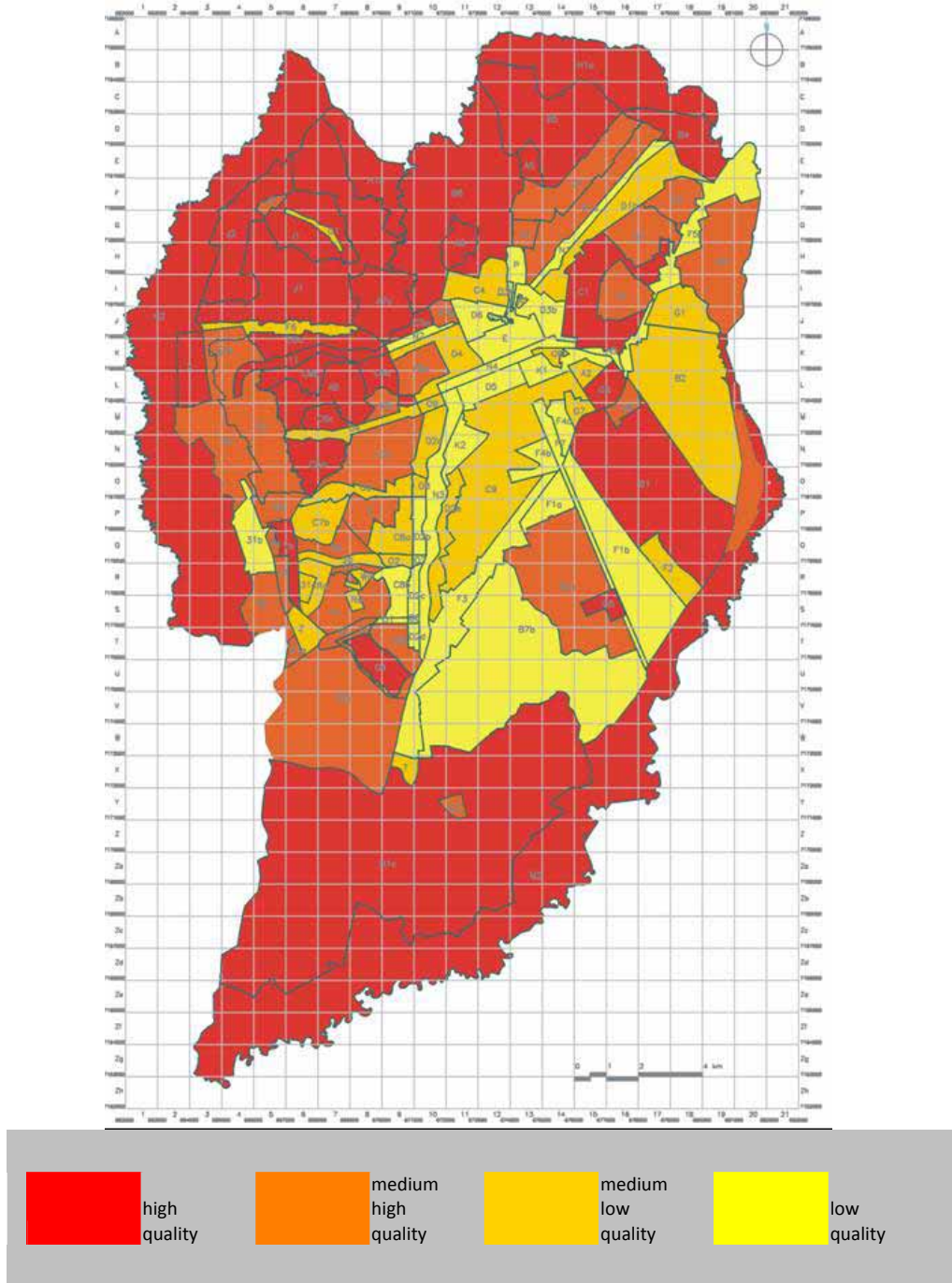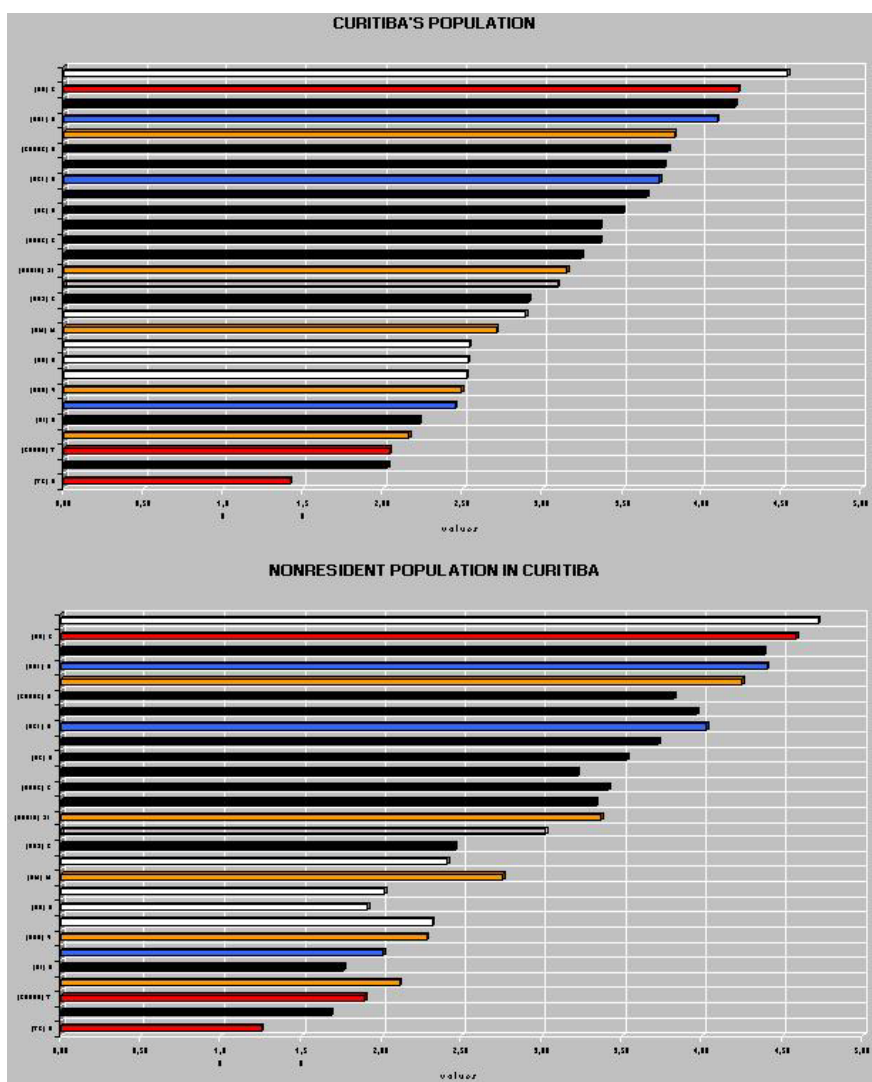

Source:
Information organised by the authors.

Evaluation of the landscape's quality through human experience

The direct evaluation of Curitiba's landscape's quality, allows an analysis of its population's visual preferences and the comparison with those of people not living in the city. Preferences analysed were both overall and by the considered categories:
For the urbanistic zones, Curitiba's population, as well as those who do not live in the city, evaluated as having visual quality above the municipal average, an area corresponding to 26.56% of the municipality, equivalent to 33.11% of the population, with a lots occupation rate (69.12%) and demographic density (56.89 inhabit./ha), higher than the municipal averages; for both populations, the same 14 zones **(Figure 4)** integrate this class, the five best coincide, with only one inversion of the third and fourth placed.

Figure 4
Chart classifying the landscape's quality through analysis of visual preferences of Curitiba's urbanistic zones

Source: Information organised by the authors. Obs.: The zones on the non-resident population chart are organised according to the position on the Curitiba population chart.

In the photograph typical of the first zone, preferred by all categories analysed, pervious areas predominate (56.67%) with a relative balance between non-arboreal and arboreal vegetation, respectively (29.60%) and (27.00%). However, for the set of photographs that constitute the higher visual quality class, the proportion of impervious areas is greater (52.17%), and one can notice a strong intention in the treatment of the spaces. According to the population, this is a fundamental aspect, as has been already verified in several periods in history, such as those related to the Renaissance and Baroque periods (Jellicoe & Jellicoe, 2000).

In the photograph typical of the last zone, the least preferred among all categories analysed, the predominance is of impervious areas (40.34%). However, the set of photos of the lower visual quality class shows a greater proportion of pervious areas (38.27%), with an expressive balance of trees (17.02%) and non-arboreal vegetation (17.72%). One can notice a marked lack of maintenance and care of these spaces in practically all of the photos typical of the zones that fall into this class, corroborating the previous affirmation.

The use of regression models resulting from the direct method (mixed method) allows the following analysis of the general human experience, as the average of Curitiba's and the non-resident populations:

a) for the urbanistic zones, the visual quality class above the municipal average as from the human experience (11 zones), is related to 34.51% of the municipality, containing 29.16% of the population, with a lots occupation rate (62.84%) and demographic density (48.72 inhabit./ha), above Curitiba's averages; contrary to what was found out in the evaluation of the total environment's landscape's quality (indirect method), the majority of the zones integrating this class, shows green area rates bellow the respective Curitiba averages;

b) for the urbanistic compartments **(Figure 5)**, the high visual quality class as from the human experience (upper quartile), encompasses 16.37% of the municipality, containing 17.78% of the population; the lots occupation rates (64.14%) and demographic density (48.78 inhabit./ha), are higher than the municipal averages, configuring urbanistically consolidated areas.

Therefore, the diagnosis is that the population's point of view is different in the various situations of the technical tradition. Historically, Curitiba's community had no stimuli to participate and this produced a relative passivity with respect to the decision processes related to the future of this intangible asset – the city (Choay, 2001).

Figure 5
Map classifying the landscape's quality of Curitiba's urbanistic compartments as from the human experience
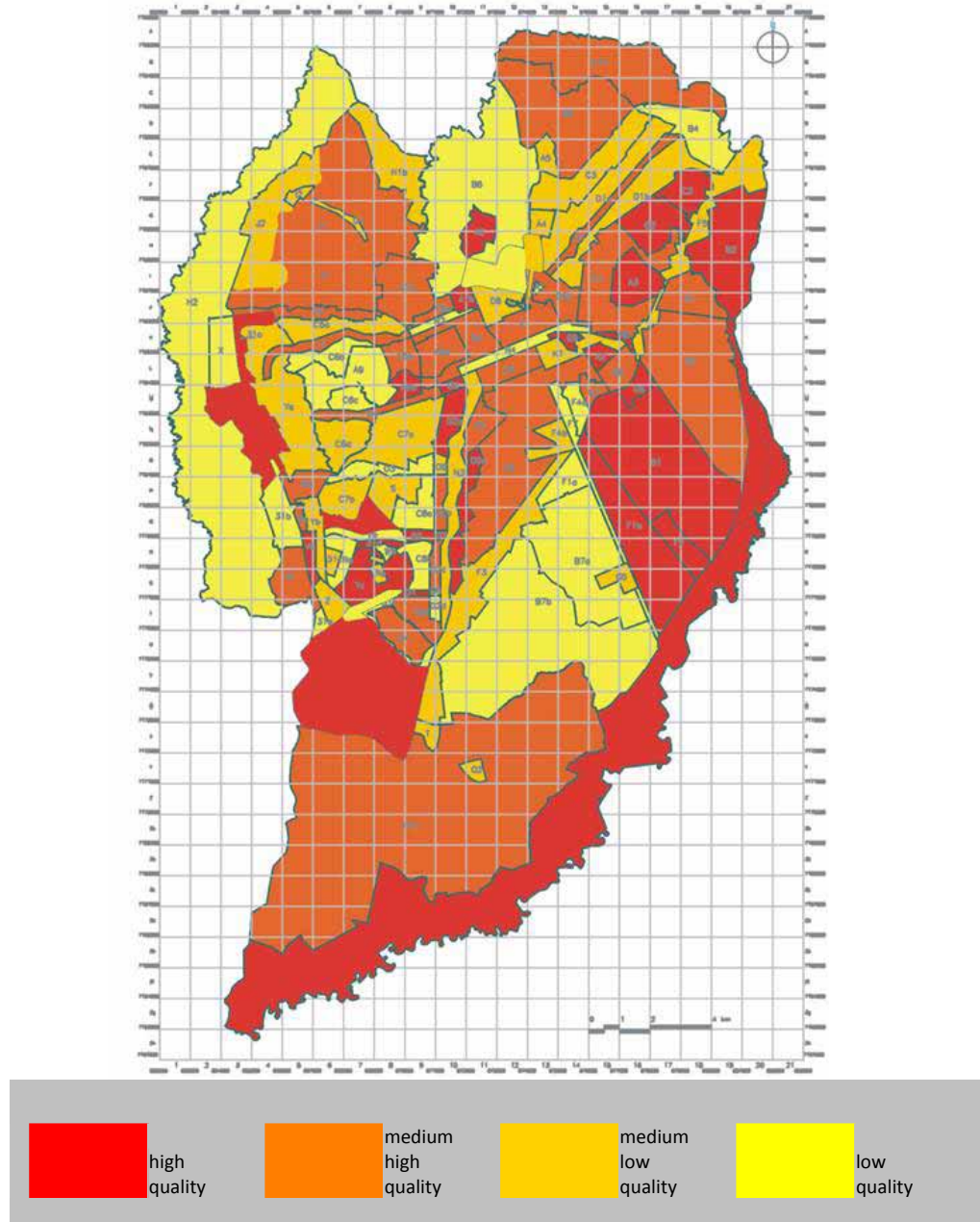
Source:
Information organised by the authors.

Integrated evaluation of the landscape's quality

The integrated evaluation method is justified in view of the divergence in the results found between the total environment's visual space's natural and cultural subsystem components evaluation (indirect method), supported on strictly technical grounds, and the interpretation as from human experience and its perception of the landscape, be it from an analysis of Curitiba's resident and the non-resident population's visual preferences (direct method), be it by the examination of these preferences by regression analysis (mixed method).

The comparative analysis of the results obtained from the methods employed shows that only 29.6% of the urbanistic zones did not present a difference in position above or below around 10% of the posts (3 positions) in both evaluation typologies. However, more expressive situations have been diagnosed for 29.6% of the zones, which presented more than 50% of positioning alterations (13 posts).

These data indicate that the integration of methods and techniques consolidates results, in the sense that it adds positive attributes and reduces negative features of each methodology. As a result, one has:

a) for the urbanistic zones, the class of landscape quality, higher than the municipal average, corresponds to 58.20% of the municipality's total area, containing 32.03% of the population, with a lots occupation rate (58.93%) and demographic density (34.13 inhabit./ha) slightly lower than the averages registered for the city. Therefore, they constitute a region of relative urban consolidation; of the twelve zones situated in this class, with exception of only one, all the others fall above the respective municipal averages, in at least one, if not in both types of green areas (with or without arboreal coverage);

b) for the urbanistic compartments **(Figure 6)**, the classes of higher landscape quality (very high and high) cover 37.89% of the municipality's space, with a lots occupation (61.53%) slightly above the Curitiba average, with 23.64% of the population and demographic density (30.66 inhabit./ha) lower than the Curitiba average. All of the compartments fall at least into one of the higher quartiles of vegetable quantity, with or without arboreal coverage (46.6% falling into both of the green area types recorded).

Therefore, one can notice that the traditional technical procedures can – and should – include new paradigms related to a greater direct participation of the population when building the urban landscape, which is, after all, the result of the accumulation of several historical periods (Soja, 2000).

Conclusions

Due to the difference of results between the procedures of technical base, based on a landscape's evaluation, starting with the decomposition of the natural and cultural

subsystems of the city's landscape's visual space components (indirect method), and the study of the human perception, stemming from the observation of visual preferences (direct method), and of its interpretation by means of regression analysis, (mixed method), one can infer that the landscapes' quality evaluation methods are not mutually exclusive. Therefore, it is necessary to integrate the different landscape appraisal methodologies, thus allowing the intrinsic urban environmental values to be joined to the subjective conditions of landscape observers, which reveal the levels of human satisfaction and consequently, the quality of urban life.
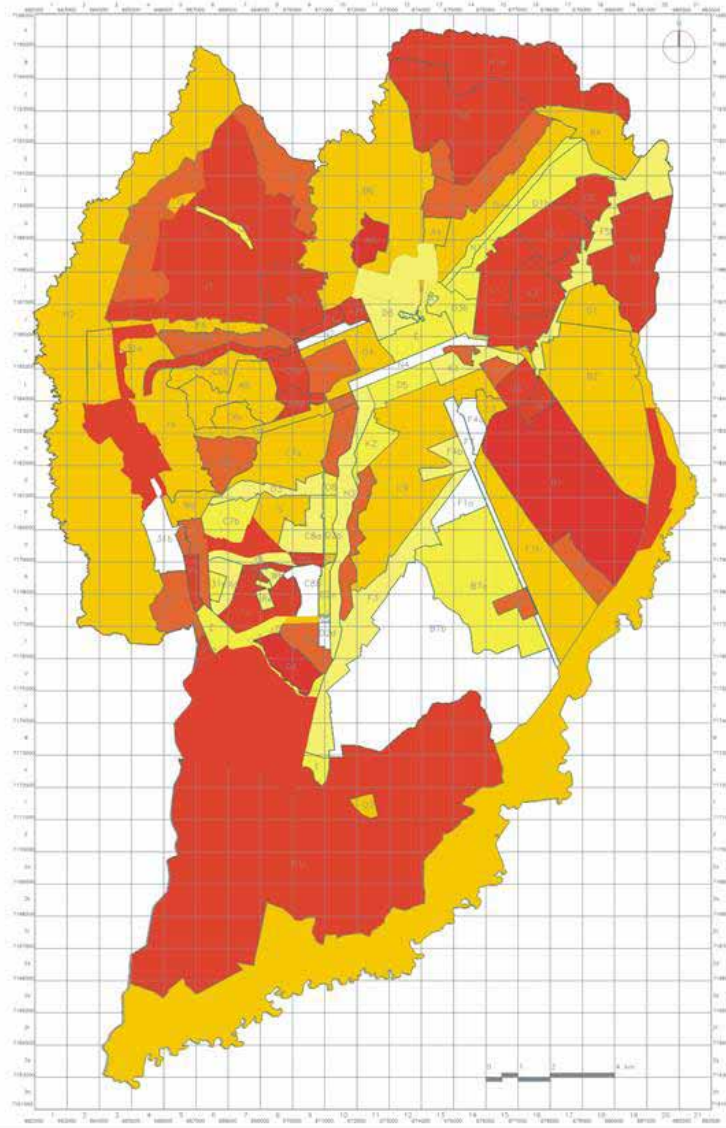
From the results obtained, spaces with a significant presence of vegetation, arboreal or not, usually have better visual quality attributes, which confirms the hypothesis that pervious spaces having vegetable covering represent elements that foster the quality of the urban landscape's quality. Thus the importance of green areas in the context of organising a town's landscape, once they are considered priorities for landscape preservation and/or recovering measures, in order to assist the decision process of a city's management.

The model proposed (integrated evaluation) has advantages related to the monitoring of urban environmental conditions, through the analysis of the visual space (indirect method) and the establishment of the man's satisfaction level in relation to the urban space, by means of the interpretation of the human experience (direct and mixed methods), establishing a simplifying instrument to evaluate quality of life, with the possibility of comparing different urban centres, at different historical periods: past, present and future.

Without too many technological, technical, material and financial resources, this study permits its future applicability by any municipality minimally prepared for the urban management process. However, uniting more specialised techniques and procedures will allow the simplification and speed-up of processes.

Thus, a set of procedures was established to assess the prospects of the planning for the future, based on the experiences from the past.

Figure 6
Map classifying the quality of Curitiba's urbanistic compartments landscape's

| | very high quality | | high quality | | medium high quality | | medium quality | | medium low quality | | low quality | | very low quality |
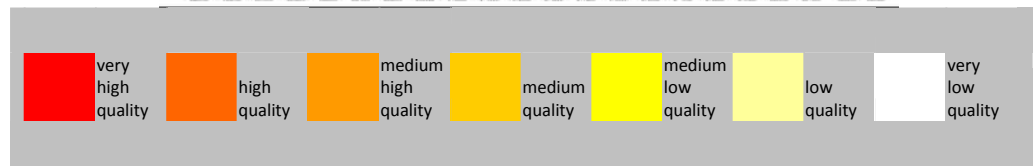
Source:
Information organised by the authors.

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The green belt concept in Caracas, Venezuela: transfer and uses

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Introduction

The problem of the unlimited urban growth, real or virtual, as a mainstream subject of modern planning was anteceded in proposals like Ebenezer Howard´s agricultural belt and Sir Patrick Abercrombie´s green belt of London. Those proposals sought to establish a threshold between the rural and urban area, analogous to the pre-industrial image of cities enclosed by barrier or a wall.

Indeed, a green belt surrounding the city was one of the elements of Howard's scheme that was rapidly adopted by urban planners in Europe and America, in order to restrict the sprawl of cities. In Howard´s original model, the city was encircled by an agricultural or country belt of 5,000 acres that would work out as a cultivation area of permanent production of food for the community; as Howard described it, an "outer ring of the town are factories, warehouses, dairies, markets, coal yards, timber yards, etc, all fronting on the circle, which encompasses the whole town, and which has siding connecting it with a main line of railways which passes through the state" (Howard, 1973, p.55). The agricultural belt and the railway lines would serve as a double ring for controlling the city's expansion.

But it was Raymond Unwin (1863-1940) who advocated and used the term "green belt" (GB) as synonym of "country belt" for encompassing the open spaces with parks, sport activities and agricultural areas around the city. As technical advisor of the Greater London Regional Planning Committee (GLRPC), he proposed a GB around London, in order to both compensate the lack of open spaces within the city and control the urban sprawl.

With an initial area of 150 square km, the GB was eventually contemplated by the GLRPC in the *Green Belt Act (London and Home Counties)*, issued in 1938. The GB was also recognized in the Greater London Regional Plan (1943-44) masterminded by Abercrombie (1879-1957), who incorporated this area as a reservoir of green and rural areas as well as a provider of fresh food for the sprawling capital (Abercrombie, 1933, 98-99). After World War II, the New Towns policy resumed some of Howard's tenets, while the *Town and Country Planning Act* of 1947 confirmed Abercrombie's GB as a 11.2-mile-wide strip around the city, what would amount and 6,177,634 acres by 1959.

This conception of a green area around the city was rapidly adopted by regional planners of Europe and America that were trying to restrict the urban sprawl of their cities. That was the case of the Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA) – founded in March 1923 by Lewis Mumford (1885-1990) and Clarence Stein (1882-

1975), among others – which analyzed the models of public intervention in European countries, especially the British gardens cities that would inspire metropolitan GBs.[1] Letchworth and Welwyn served as models for Henry Wright projects in Sunnyside Gardens (1924-29) and Radburn (1929). In the latter were included parks that can be seen as internal equivalents of the green belt within the limits of the neighborhood unit.

The urban growth of Caracas

Fuelled by the beginning of the oil exploitation and the end of the dictatorship of Juan Vicente Gómez (1908-135), between 1920 and 1940, the urban area of Caracas passed from 9,810 to 81,295 acres (Table 1, Figure 1), what meant a rate of 238.5 acres/year (Table 2). Such a speedy growth evinced the need of an urban plan for what the Californian planner later labeled as Latin America's "instantaneous metropolis" (Violich, 1975, pp. 272-79).

Table 1: Urban growth of Caracas between 1889 and 1971

Year	1889	1906	1920	1940	1950	1971
Area (Acres)	6,000	6,231	9,810	81,295	84,507	773,412

Source: DE LISIO, 2001

Table 2: Rate of urban growth of Caracas between 1578 and 1971

Period	1578-1906	1906-1920	1920-1940	1940-1950	1950-1971
Acres/Year	4.2	74.4	238.5	321.2	1,035.6

Source: DE LISIO, 2001

Table 3: Urban population of Caracas between 1891 and 1971

Year	1891	1920	1936	1941	1950	1961	1971
Population	72,429	92,212	203,342	561,415	704,567	1,675,278	2,630,260

Source: DE LISIO, 2001

Plan Monumental de Caracas (PMC)

In April 1938 was created the *Dirección de Urbanismo* (DU, Direction of Urban Planning) at the Government of Caracas Federal District (GDF). One of the DU's first tasks was to prepare the new plan for Venezuela's booming capital, whose main instrument of urban control was hitherto the 1930 ordinance of Civil Engineering. Elaborated with the advice of a group of French *urbanistes* led by Maurice Rotival, the so-called "Plan Monumental de Caracas" (PMC, Monumental Plan of Caracas) focused

on the renewal and extension of the urban centre (Figure 2), while establishing guidelines for the expansion of the capital within its region.[2]

The PMC partly responded to the concern by Eleazar López Contreras's government (1936-41) for sanitary and environmental deterioration of the Caracas center, which was evinced in severe problems of traffic, disordered installment of new services and infrastructure, uncontrolled densification of residence and other activities, and the engulfment of nearby green areas by the metropolitan sprawl.

In order to strengthen the relationship between the capital and its hinterland, the PMC incorporated the category of "Region of Caracas", which structured the communication of the urban core with surrounding sport clubs and garden-city-like suburbs through modern roads. Also within this region the PMC proposed to preserve the natural beauty of tropical countryside by banning the occupation and construction of grounds that not were suitable for urbanization, which became labeled as "Zones of Reforestation". In one of the PMC's graphic documents, these areas just represented a 200 m-wide border around the city; however, it can be considered the first attempt restrict the urban sprawl with a green ring. As the gem of that ring, at the north of the city, the El Avila hill was highlighted as the ideal place for rest and practice of mountaineering and other sports, with his vantage points, restaurants and hotels that did not seem to be in conflict with the idea of green area (GDF, 1939, p. 23).

Plano Regulador de Caracas (PRC)

As the first planning body of national scope, in 1946 was created the *Comisión Nacional de Urbanismo* (CNU, Nacional Comisión of Urban Planning), including a Technical Direction that grouped some of the DU's former members. The CNU's great contribution was the elaboration of the so-called *Plano Regulador de Caracas* (PRC, Caracas Master Plan), also issued for Venezuela's five major metropolises. Published in 1951, the PRC somehow completed the 1939 PMC, but now integrating proposals of the former DU with others elaborated in the early 1940s by the *Ministerio de Obras Públicas* (MOP, Ministry of Public Works). Including Rotival himself – who now came to Venezuela claiming to be a "planificateur" than a "urbaniste" (Rotival, 1964) – in the PRC participated some of the members and advisers of the former DU; but the PRC relied on a much modern groundwork than the Haussmannsque principles that had partly inspired the PMC (Almandoz, 2006). With Carlos R. Villanueva as a member and Robert Moses and José Luis Sert as advisers, the CNU featured architects and engineers that had been educated in Europe and the United States, but were now closer to the heritage of Bauhaus and the International Congresses of Modern Architecture (CIAM) (Martín Frechilla, 1996). Under the guidance of Francis Violich – a planner from Berkeley that was responsible for introducing the zoning ordinances to implement the PRC - the CNU staff was also in contact with Richard Neutra, Eric Mendelsohn and Marcel Breuer.[3]

In order to emphasize the location and organization of urban activities, the PRC divided the city's structure according to the concept of "communal units" – a hybrid resulting

from Le Corbusier's *unite d'habitation* and Stein's neighborhood unit, among other influences (Villoria and Almandoz, 2002). Such a concept was not only applied for numerous residential areas, but also for the distribution shopping centers, civic centers and recreational activities. The PRC's urbanization limits were initially fixed below the 905-1,000 meters above sea level throughout the hills and mountains that contour the Caracas valley, though the need of further and more detailed studies in order to establish definitive boundaries was recognized (Figure 3). Since most of these areas presented topographic and environmental peculiarities, they were classified by the PRC as "Reforestation Areas", so that the erosion of the mountain slopes could be prevented, as it was the case of the El Avila above the 1,000 meters (CNU, 1987). Considering that the population of the Caracas region only amounted 359,000 by then, these areas can be said to have been defined more on environmental than demographic grounds.

Plan Urbano General de Caracas: 1970 -1990 (PUGC)

Three years after the disappearance of the CNU in 1957 – prompted by the end of Marcos Pérez Jiménez's dictatorship (1952-58) – the new democratic government of Rómulo Betancourt (1959-63) created the *Oficina Municipal de Planeamiento Urbano* (OMPU, Municipal Office of Urban Planning) of the Caracas Federal District. In addition to dealing with the permits of urban growth and construction in the booming capital, one of the OMPU's main competences was to elaborate the Plan Urbano General de Caracas: 1970-1990 (PUGC), aimed at controlling the physical expansion of the population metropolis. As a body close to the conception of the English master plans (Almandoz, 1993), in the PUGC participated Rafael Valery, Omar Hernández and Alberto Morale Tucker,[4] who were familiar with the RPAA's theories of Open Space and England's New Towns program (Chacón and Almandoz, 1992 and Morales Tucker, 1991).

Inspired by the English experience, the PUGC proposed the urban development of the Tuy and Guarenas valleys of the Caracas region, where satellite towns of industrial and commercial nature were strengthened, in order to de-concentrate the capital and avoid its eventual conurbation with nearby centers. Within this regional background, the plan also contemplated to adopt the El Avila National Park as northern border of the capital's urbanized area, while establishing a *Zona Protectora de Caracas* (ZPC, Protective Zone of Caracas) that extended the urbanization limits in other directions (OMPU, 1972).[5]

Even though at the north of Caracas was launched, by the late 1960s, the Boyaca Avenue – also known as the *Cota Mil*, because it followed the northern curve 1,000-m above sea level – the PUGC restricted the construction of roads that could pave the way for urbanizing the ZPC. Though sport activities were permitted, the plan also lowered densities in areas close to the ZPC, so that there would be a transition the urbanized and semi-rural belts (Figure 4).

Plan de Caracas 1990 (PC1990)

By 1969, a presidential decree established the *Área Metropolitana de Caracas* (AMC, Metropolitan Area of Caracas) that comprised 5 municipalities and more than 11,000 hectares, which was enlarged in 1972, by another presidential decree, to more than 66,000 hectares.[6] Integrated by the same team of the former "municipal" office, the new "metropolitan" OMPU prepared the *Plan de Caracas 1990* (PC1990), which can be considered as the continuation of the PUGC. The PC1990 confirmed the ZPC and the El Avila National Park as great recreational reservoirs for the Venezuelan capital; however, it did not establish new limits for the area, but rather focused on the plan's operative aspects (OMPU, 1972).

1978: Plan de Caracas 2000 (PC2000)

By 1978 the OMPU designed the Plan de Caracas 2000 (PC2000), aimed at updating and reformulating some of the PUGC's goals and proposals. The PC2000's ambit was a 663-square km *Area Metropolitana Total* (AMT, Total Metropolitan Area) that was included between the ZPC and the southern border of the El Avila National Park, whose combined function as metropolitan green belt was thereby consolidated (Figure 5). Jointly with a so-called policy of "concentrated decentralization" – which encouraged the development of alternative metropolises such as Maracay, Valencia and Puerto Cabello – the green belt sought to correct the excessive growth of Caracas, in view of the severe constraints imposed by the physical environment (OMPU, 1978).

Among other recommendations concerning the ZPC, the PC2000 proposed a regime for introducing recreational activities in that area, so that it could be more accessible to the community. Such a policy also intended to raise the ratio of public spaces for recreation, which by the late 1970s had been estimated at 1.5 m2 per person – far below the 10 m2 established by local and international norms. ´

Past and present of the Caracas green belt

 As it has already been mentioned, the creation of the El Avila Park in 1958 and the launch of the Boyaca Avenue in the following decade were decisive barriers to fend the capital's expansion towards the north. By 1972, the 66,295-hectare ZPC consolidated the protective ring that was completed by the Macarao National Park.[7] Those measures lowered the city's annual rate of urban expansion from 1,035.62 acres during 1950-71 to 680.8 in 1971-94 (De Lisio, 2001, p. 212). As it was evinced by the OMPU plans along the 1970s, the main reasons for boosting the ZPC were to stop the exorbitant sprawl of the metropolitan outskirts, while trying to prevent the destruction and deterioration of green areas and other natural resources.

The creation of the ZPC implied a considerable decrease of the area originally reserved for urbanization, what unleashed an increase of densities in the valley of Caracas. The decree established that landowners of agricultural, industrial, commercial or residential properties could remain in the ZPC if they kept the same conditions existing at the

moment of the decree's passing. This meant that agricultural, recreational, scientific, military activities and public services were permissible within the ZPC, if the decree's conditions were met by landowners or developers. The ZPC's positive effects thus included the prudential and discretional control in the land use and the rational planning of the capital's region, while trying to maintain the valley's environmental quality.

Conclusions

Even though this paper is a partial result of an ongoing doctoral research, some conclusions can be outlined. After the strong influence of French academic urbanism in the 1939 PMC, modernist concepts such as the communal unit, as well as zoning ordinances and other instruments of urban control, were incorporated by CIAM representatives – presided by Sert - and regional planners – such as Rotival and Violich - to the PRC and later plans of Caracas. Although it was anticipated in the PMC and the PRC, the green belt was really shaped in the OMPU plans, as a component of regional policies that, inspired on the English New Towns, tried to avoid the conurbation of Caracas with nearby metropolises.

Comprising the ZPC (1972) and the National Parks of El Avila (1958) and Marcarao (1972), the Caracas green belt shows some features of Howard's proposal, though it is closer to Unwin's "country belt" and Abercrombie's "open space". The issue of the Plan de Ordenamiento y Reglamento de Uso de la Zona Protectora del Área Metropolitana de Caracas (1993, Management Plan and Land Use Regulation of the ZPC) allowed suburban residence as an activity, what finally altered the original idea of green belt around the Venezuelan capital.

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Endnotes

[1] "Elements of their vision were reflected in the activism of the New Deal of the 1930s, the new towns proposals of the 1960s and 1970s… Despite these initiatives, RPAA's broader vision was ignored by most twentieth-century policy makers, and many of the concerns first raised in the 1920s remain largely unresolved: the impacts of suburban sprawl on cities and countryside; how to reconcile the automobile and highways with the design of communities and regions; and the need for high-quality affordable housing." (Seltzer,2000; http://www.lincolninst.edu/pubs/PubDetail.aspx?pubid=274)

[2] Arrived in Caracas with Jacques Lambert – also a member of the Paris-based office of Henri Prost - Rotival worked with Venezuelan architects and engineers, one of them was the later renowned Carlos Raul Villanueva. This episode is assumed as the birth of Venezuelan *urbanismo* (Almandoz, 2006).

[3] In order to recreate the professional climate of the CNU, we rely on an interview – especially made for this paper - to Professor Victor Fossi, a former assistant of the commission.

[4] The leading member of the team and later director of the OMPU – which he joined in 1968 – Morales was trained as Architect at the Central University of Venezuela (UCV), before getting a master degree in Urban Planning at Harvard University.

[5] In relation to the Avila hill, the PUGC recognizes its function as limit of the urban development towards the north of the city, with which it has forced her to spread towards other cardinal points, saving the obstacles that have been objected. This expansion, after occupying the relatively flat areas of the principal valley and of the secondary valleys, they started occupying intensively the zones of relief injured in the hills that border and define the city. For this motive, there appears the utilization of these zones for urban development purposes always and when its uses with principles of conservation, knowledge of the geological conditions, and respect to the topography and the environment (OMPU, 1972).

[6] The decrees were issued on June 11, 1969 and July 20, 1972.

[7] The Macarao National Park has its precedents in the Decree of 1926 of the government of General Juan Vicente Gómez which declared Macarao as National Forest, with the purpose of protecting water resources that the city would need in the future. In 1936, the government of the General Eleazar Lopez Contreras decreed the protection and reforestation of the zone. The Protective Zone of the AMC incorporated Macarao as part of the zone, contributing to the posterior creation as National Park in December 5, 1973 (Decree N ° 1529).
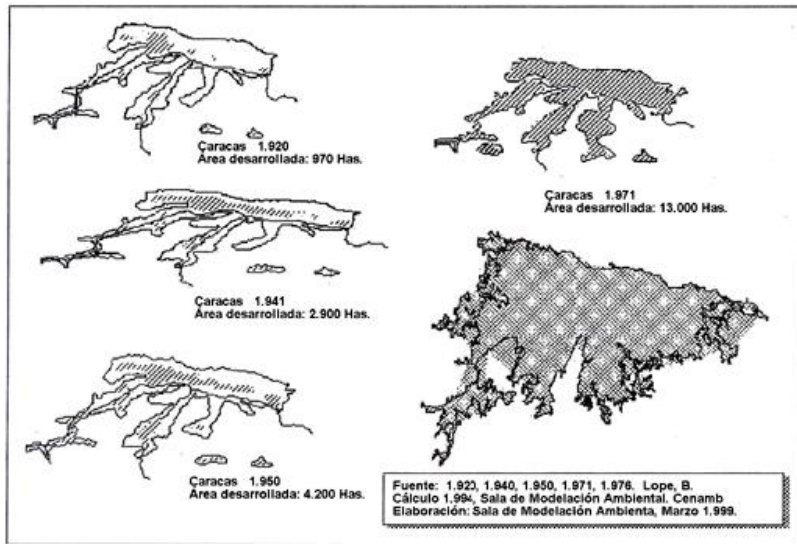
Appendix

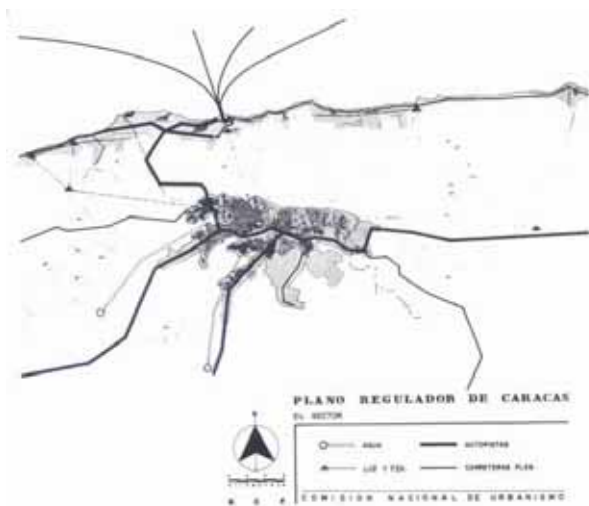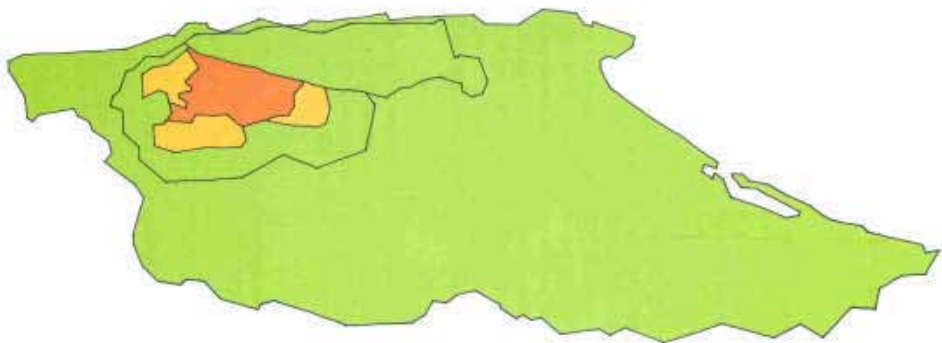Figure 1. Urban growth of Caracas between 1889 and 1971 (De Lisio, 2001)

Figure 4. PUGC 1970-1990

CONTEXTO DE ESTUDIO

región metropolitana
área metropolitana total
área metropolitana interna
área metropolitana externa

A new private planning ideal: the case study of a planned community in the south of Brazil

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This study began with the aim to understand the origins and conflicts about *Jurerê Internacional*, a private planned neighborhood in *Florianópolis*, capital of the *Santa Catarina* state in Southern Brazil. A very audacious project, the first in this region, what began as a high class residential project turned into a reference of the city. The many controversies that surrounded the project remain since its approval in 1981. The impacts in the environment, the social exclusion process and the effects in the local historical heritage, including the constructed one, exemplify that. However, one concept was frequently used in the reference literature and also in the marketing of the entrepreneur: "planned community".

Planned community is a term frequently used by Brazilian real state promoters to designate a private planned residential area with luxurious services and commerce. It works actually as a small independent city disconnected of the structure and life of the city in which is located. With its own regulation and identity, as if it does not belong to urban reality, the planned communities have become a dream of Brazilian population: a safe place isolated from the chaos outside. Much more than a commercial product, the planned community utopia is highly connected with the recent changes in the Brazilian urban planning matrix and ideology and, consequently, this is the start point of the present paper.

Theoretical References: utopia, ideology, and urban planning

Many authors already had explored the relation between ideology and urban planning as a practice conditioned by political, economical and social interests. According to Choay, no theory of urbanism escapes a certain "landslide"[1]. The landslide mentioned by the author is the union of a speech of scientific intention with utopia traces. Choay completes that the scientific speech is operated by the settlement of a statement of facts in a value judgment[2]. The theory of urbanism also has a certain mystifying nature where later and independent versions may proliferate, once that it is formed by two kinds of speech: one from the architecture treatise written, that consist in the application of norms, and another one derived from utopia.

The same author characterizes utopia as the society reflected by an inverse mirror: the relation between the ideal imaginary society as an inversion of the real and criticized one. However, it is necessary to attempt for the fact that the utopian models not always are opposed to the existing reality; they can appear, in contrary, to strengthen it. In these molds utopia cannot exist isolated from ideology[3]. In fact, utopia finds its place when articulated with the processes of intervention of the Real, passing from speech to practical policy, or better, a Project to confer visibility so that utopia gains effectiveness

and objectivity. As for the Brazilian cities, the urban plans, that in most of the cases are not completely followed, become ideological speech and not practice.

> *"The urban planning in Brazil became identified with the intellectual activity to elaborate plans. A self-closed activity, disentailed of the public policy and of the concrete action of the state, even though, eventually, it looks for justifying them. In the majority of the cases, however, it intends, in the truth, to occult them"*[4].

The main agent of urbanism concern is the urban crisis phenomenon. This one is seen as irrational; therefore it needs to be coordinated, or better, rationalized. The opposition between urban crisis, real and unreal problems come to strengthen the question of ideology in the urban planning, therefore it hides the true conflicts in the social area. To solve the crisis, city planners try to explain the reality in an objective way, knowing and dominating it to try to say everything what the space is or should be. It is common, therefore, the presentation of diagnostics, where are listed problems of impossible solution, since they are originated in another sphere. These diagnostics are, in the majority of the cases, detached from urban reality, especially because they do not truly dialogue with all the diverse segments of population, emphasizing a process in which the dominant interests prevail. Governmental actions try to minimize the conflict by attenuating the disorder of urban crisis phenomenon and its consequences. To discipline the urban chaos and to try new forms of cities ordinance appear as the challenges of the urban planning, even if it is known that the city itself is not a result only of this process.

> *"It was popularized the dominant idea that the urban problems derive from the lack of planning of our cities. The idea of `urban chaos' became a common-place, and its cause was a urban planning lack (...) The urban plans start to have value by itself and not for its results (...) This autonomy of the plans, its displacement from reality are connected with the production of an enormous armory of ideas about the city and about urban planning that are stimulated from itself therefore it does not have any relation with the real city. It is the urban planning as ideology that will dominate – and still it dominates – the urban planning in Brazil"*[5].

Since 1960´s a new accumulation crisis of the capitalist system became present, being used as its landmark the oil crisis in 1973. The current phase of capitalism development, described as flexible accumulation, financial capitalism, post-fordism or post-industrial, corresponds to a new organizational structure based in technological advances and, consequently, in a new labor division; to an acceleration of capital concentration and to the aggravation of social inequalities; to an emphasis in a global level competition and consumerism, among others. Although many of the actions only seem to legitimize the supervenience of the system in a structural crisis since the beginning of last century[6], they bring changes in the speech about the urban situation and about the present social relations.

It is important to notice that the neoliberal proposals had started to disassemble the matrix of the modernist urban planning, effective for more than a century. With roots in the Illuminism, from which it receives its positivistic and holistic inheritance, the ascension and consolidation of this way of analyzing and proposing the urban planning were given during the capitalist expansion of the postwar era. In this period, as remembers Harvey[7], the government is the central figure of the accumulation system, guaranteeing, side by side to the great capital, a mass market. Welfare State combined the control of the production and the work with a massive investment in social policies. Therefore, the main agent is the intervening State, possessor of the rationality capable to stimulate economic development and to correct social dysfunctions. Modern urbanism, embedded in this source, has an enormous political and social enrollment, demonstrated during the several International Congress of Modern Architecture (CIAMs). And it is from this matrix that appears the plans of ideal cities, projects for a better society, such as *Ville Radieuse* of Le Corbusier[8]. Even thought changes occurred in the movement, tending more to formalism and to a commitment with the capitalist accumulation[9], modern urbanism obtained, at least in the countries of central economy, a true urban reform, with the mass construction of housing, subsidies by the government for the public services and magnifying of the urban infrastructure, among others. In Brazil, the modern planning had the utopia to take the country to development. Such utopia was emptied of its social content after 1964, year of the military coup and beginning of the dictatorial period, but that took it to its consolidation, established in national plans of development (PNDs), through the temporal coincidence with an authoritarian and centralized government[10].

Before its true collapse, the modern matrix was being attacked since the 1960´s by social movements in favor of the inclusion of ethnic, national and religious minorities in the urban debate and by the critics of the functionalist space segregation, the formal rigidity and the massing of the fordist period formulated by authors like Jacobs, Berman, Lefrebvre and Venturi. Therefore, being contested by the new accumulation model, which asked for more flexibility and less governmental intervention, among others, its base was not already solid. The requests were answered inside the urban planning also with more flexibility, territorial spalling and less state intervention, but at the same time, with public-private partnerships, a so called bigger participation of the civil society and by the adoption of strategies capable to dribble the economic crisis while generating competitive solutions.

According to Harvey[11] the compression of the space-time relation through the internationalization and the emphasis in the financial economy and through the technological advances, is one the most important aspects of this "Postmodern Condition", once this aspects, in special the neoliberal globalization, made possible the acceleration of the capital function time (production-exchange-consume) and, consequently, the acceleration of product style time. The author explains that this is another step of the annulations process of space by time, already initiated by modernity. However, this does not mean that the space loses its meaning. On the contrary, the economy becomes even more sensible to the location. The lack of economic regulation and the instable model of financial accumulation associated with the technological

developments allow the relocation of enterprises and changes in the spatial configuration (spatial fix) to be easier and faster. From it emerges the necessity of a pro-business environment in the cities in order to attract this capital each time more mobile. Such configuration promotes competition among cities to locate investments and resources, thought the location of enterprises, thought tourism or through the attraction of new users with capital to expend. Harvey[12] calls this time of urban governance of *urban entrepreneurialism*. In recent studies about the Brazilian contemporary urban planning, this model has been called *strategic planning*. Rose Compans summarizes well what it is consisted of:

> "*The strategic planning constitutes the main instrument of adaptation of the local institutional forms to the objectives of the competitive insertion, adjusting an agenda of physical interventions and of modifications in the legal and administrative structure to the observed marketing trends in the dynamics of global economy. Attributing strategic relevance to determined action and projects, it excludes the possibility of those others, not included in this agenda, to be accomplished or even demanded. On the other hand, the strategic planning favors the construction of political alliances with the enterprise segments and the public marketing, both conferring legitimacy to the established priorities and to the participation of the private sector in the management of the public affairs. By these terms, it became a privileged vehicle for the adoption of the competitive entrepreneurialism in the governance of cities*"[13].

The strategic planning appears as the unique solution for the urban problems in this postmodern condition, making cities competitive and efficient. Inspired in Barcelona´s preparation experience for the 1992 Olympics, the strategic planning is the one that aims to restructure a city both economically and spatially. Through the constant publicizing of this experience, the notion that the "Barcelona model" could be adopted in any other city, regardless of its characteristics, became popular, as the modernist model type of urban planning, so scrutinized. Catalan professionals founded consulting services for the elaboration of the plans world-wide, like TUBSA; universities and research institutes promote courses and studies programs within these ideals; public organizations and the civil society become defenders of the adoption of this models. International agencies, such as IMF and IADB, not only finance the projects, but also promote this model of planning rewarding the "good practices" of urban governance, as the quote of IADB demonstrates:

> "(…) an important part of the good urban governance involves the adoption of a commercial approach to many of the services and administrative functions of the cities (...) a commercial approach is also prerequisite for involvement of the private sector or eventual privatization of urban services"[14].

Among the most important authors of the strategic planning are Manuel Castells, Manuel de Forn and Jordi Borja, former mayor of Barcelona. The three have already published papers and books that are used as manuals of urban reform by their statement that if the cities are willing to obtain a role of promoters in social economic

development are necessary: a radical political change through a promoting governance based upon a popular leadership; urban valorization projects of public and private investment by quick and strong interventions; and, at last but not least, the identity and the image that the city has of itself and the one it projects to others.

This model of local intervention is based in two strong words for the postmodern condition: synergy and strategy. It is believed that a plan of local interventions localized in a fragmented pattern would stimulate actions of revitalization and renovation in and of the whole city. Among the advantages usually are cited the facility of getting resources through public-private partnerships (projects and negotiations case by case); least time for execution, adapting itself to localized interests and to the period of different governments; and, a greater visibility for the projects, allowing the local population engagement. A fragmented urban planning would also have more agility and flexibility to adapt to changes. Acselrad[15] says that it has been invented an urban planning *just in time*, in reference to de production model based in the demand. The analogy between the city and the enterprise or with the merchandise already shows the transference of entrepreneur techniques, as marketing and aggressive competitive strategies, to the urban governance.

Actually, it is possible to say that the strategic planning consists in a plan to adapt the cities to the new stage of capitalist expansion, through the spatial fix and the legal and political structure adjusted with an economy based in the advanced third sector and in the high technology industries and also through the promotion of a pro-business environment. It is possible to distinguish the emergence of two process of urban revitalization: a material one and a symbolic one. Among the direct interventions in spatial reality, like already said, the urban planning becomes fragmented with the main concern of certain areas of the city to attract investments. The interventions must prioritize the spatial organization and the construction of structure that attracts investors, by the improvement of the transportation system, by the creation of financial and entrepreneur's districts, by the installation of advanced communication services and by the local financial advantages, like the cut of taxes. Meanwhile, the city also has to make itself attractive to inhabitants and tourists, therefore the necessity of location of exclusive high class residential areas and the necessity of qualified services and goods with the investment in leisure and consume areas, such as shopping malls e cultural centers, and in qualified tourist structure[16]. By any terms, this is an unequal treatment of the city with the unequal provision of investments and the priority of areas designated for the capital of any means: the city is a luxurious merchandise[17].

The social consensus constructed in favor of the project is based upon the promise that the fragmented interventions would benefit the whole city through sustainability, through development and through the (post) modernization[18]. However, the main social justification is the job improvement. In the case studies in Brazil, the high costs of the actions, the low tax resource and the lack of investment in social protection show that is not the local population that gains with the project. Fernandes[19] also remembers that are the national economical politics which have the most influence in the aggregate level of jobs.

In the symbolic process of cities transformation, there is a reconstruction of urban subjectivities through strategies like city patriotism. The construction of symbols for the new city through the promotion of new spaces, cultural and sportive events; the urban governance by charismatic leaders; the improvement and the publicity of the local identity by the urban marketing transforms the city life through the more importance given to the image, to the representation than the one given to the real object, in the case, the city itself. Certainly, this image must be of a positive future for it, producing the consensus through the self-esteem and the pride of the inhabitants. Actually, the strategic plan must be extremely positive: the problems should be ignored so they cannot create a negative image of the city for future investments.

By these terms, beside the effects in the urban space, there is the act of symbolic violence against the city[20]. The process masks the real urban identity, eliminating contradictions and homogenizing the space through the refuse of any other image or representation of the city. This manipulation combined with the physical interventions promotes gentrification processes with the expulsion of population segments that do not interest the city-enterprise, confirming the social cohesion of the promoted simplified image. The de-politicization, since the city is no longer a truly democratic space, is another guarantee for the investments. This way is possible to understand the importance of ideology in strategic planning, letting the interventions be considered as of public interest. Thus, the strategic planning is a "speech plan"[21] that accomplishes its ideological goals by masking the real city.

It is important to remember that the model exposed by Borja and Castells seeks to adapt a hypothetical local socialism to the new inexorable trends of global capitalism. Contradictory goal, but that does give importance to the quality of life of the complete city, proposing the construction of housing and improvement of structure and public services for the poor. It is the way that the strategic plan has been adopted that only prioritizes the highest classes' interests. One example is the *Strategic Plan of the City of Rio de Janeiro*. According to Vainer[22], although the social participation is one of its requirements, it had not open space for public participation and discussion. In other terms, according to the author, it is another urban plan that legitimizes the economic interests, in special by treating the local social inequality as a landscape problem that constringes and inhibits the investments in the city. Rose Compans also analyses the plan methodology, realized through the Catalans consulting service, including Borja himself, and concludes that the result of it is according to the requirements of strategic planning since it should be "*in favor that the most dynamic and strongest sectors are the protagonists of the re-launching of the city*"[23]. Even most important is to understand what are the real consequences of being effectively adopted in Brazilian reality, since, as Arantes says,

> "*(...)it seems much less reasonable that in such context somebody minimum responsible – to say the least – can imagine a city government that is basically limited to promote businesses, that feels alright considering a competitive race*

where is very obvious that some will go well in the accurate measured where others will lose"[24].

The emergence and adoption of this model demonstrate a new conception of the urban space and a new ideology for urban planning. The promotion of cities competition leads to urban reconstruction for a global capital space, configuring agile and deep changes processes for the Third World cities. The changes are not only material, but also symbolic, interpreting the city only as part of the economic accumulation process[25]. The postmodern condition, in fact, seems to strength the role that cities play in the "spectacle society"[26], producing images of a new way "to make" the cities and a new way "to live" the cities. These images simplify urban identity, empting the social content and the diversity of the urban life, which are its proper conditions. Remembering what Lefebvre said in the beginning of these changes, this new image of the city: *"(…) incorporates and at the same time dissimulates social relations as also the way these relations are"*[27].

Florianópolis and Jurerê Internacional

Florianópolis, capital of the *Santa Catarina* state in Southern Brazil, has been receiving a lot of attention since the ending of last century. Located in a very dynamic area of the country and close to the neighbors of the *Mercosul* Argentina and Uruguay, most part of its territory is situated in an island of great beauty and a fragile ecosystem. The city is considered the state capital with better quality of life in Brazil, based on the UNDP/UN - 2000 and published in the major medias of the country and in that closest others. With the valorization of new ways of life in Brazil, such as a straighter relation with nature and security from urban violence, *Florianópolis* has become an island not only in its obvious geographic way, but also a dream city in the middle of a chaotic urban reality. But it wasn't always like this.

Florianópolis, at the colonial time *Desterro*, was a strategic area of the Portuguese colonization plan for the New World in South America. During the battles between the Portuguese and Spanish Crows in search of the metal richness of the continent, *Florianópolis* was considered the last safe port on the way to the Silver River (*Rio da Prata*), a connection to the new areas of exploration, and the middle point in this route from *Rio de Janeiro*. To ensure the control of the area, Portugal began a massive plan of occupation in which were planned some drastic measures for the island, such as the construction of a fortification's system and the immigration of families from the Islands of Azores, also controlled by the Portuguese Crown. This was a very important moment in *Florianópolis'* history that determined its form of occupation until the present, a central area that unites the administrative, military, religious and commercial functions and controls the interior of the island. In this last one, it was conformed a hierarchal net of small communities in which the *Freguesias* were the most important ones, since there existed branches of that functions. However, with the end of the territories' disputes and the new forms of economic exploitation of the conquered ones, *Florianópolis* became only a port with small proportions, reason why it was deactivated in the beginning of the 20th century, and the capital of the *Santa Catarina* Province, after a Brazilian state.

Actually, it is the administrative function that will dominate the city's economy until the 1970´s and that will make possible for the city to grow.

The city enters in the 20th century with a fragile economy and literally disconnected from the Brazilian reality. With most of its territory located in an island, the connection with the continent was the first obstacle to transpose. In 1926 was built a bridge, *Ponte Hercílio Luz*, imported with the English technology of steel construction that cost ten times the city budget. The bridge changed the physical aspect of *Florianópolis*, since it stimulated other improvements in the city, like new streets and new urban services. But it didn't change its economy.

Contradictorily in a conservatory way, Brazil was entering its industrializing period. Leaded mostly by *São Paulo*, others southern Brazilian state capitals were also going in this direction. It is from one of these, *Porto Alegre*, that a team was hired by the local political leaders to make the first urban planning of *Florianópolis*. Approved in 1956, this plan was inspired in the modernist movement, mostly in the progressive kind of Le Corbusier's theories, and projected a city based in the modern technologies. According to it, *Florianópolis'* economy should be stimulated by the industrialization and the construction of a modern port area. It also previewed the implantation of a research and college institution and the development of the tourism, secondary functions. From these propositions, these last ones were privileged by the local interests, even with the new urban plan of the 1970´s that had the same inspiration. *Florianópolis* became the polarizing city in the state area with the constructions of the road connections with other ones and, inside it, with other areas of the island. Although the development of the city was idealized in the Southeastern direction of the island, as in the diagnostics of the plans, these investments had been dislocated to the sectors north and east of the island, mainly by the pressure of the land proprietors in this axle, a mixture of public and private agents[28]. The fastness of its growth was based in the expansion of the occupation for the tourism, activity that will be its major economic base from this time on.

Florianópolis' main attractive points are the beauty of the environment and of the landscape; the form of dispersed occupation of the territory; its geographic position, in the center of an extremely dynamic area of the Brazilian territory and near of important countries of South America; the climate, more cold than other areas in Brazil, what also can bring strong climatic changes caused by the influence of polar masses; and the quality of life of the city.

The tourist activity in *Florianópolis*, less present until the decade of 1970, had two factors for its posterior vertiginous growth: the opening and the tarring of the BR-101, road that connects the city to the national highways, and the immigration of a great number of workers of the middle class when of the consolidation of the island as capital of the State, receiving headquarters of state agencies, and with the implantation of the Federal University of *Santa Catarina*. However, the most important factor was the integration of the interior of the island to the center of the city through the construction of the linking roads on top of the old colonial ways. In the 60´s, the SC-401 was

constructed, binding the central area to *Canasvieiras*, a coastal area, before a *Freguesia*, now a neighborhood designated for leisure and summer vacations mostly for tourists of the neighbor countries. At the same time, were constructed the highways SC's 402, 403, 404, also for the coastal areas *Jurerê*, *Ingleses* and *Lagoa da Conceição*, respectively, and expanding the areas of leisure and vacations. At a first moment, are the proper inhabitants of *Florianópolis* who construct residences for the summering, producing the expansion of the city occupation. This type of urbanization, extensive and of low density, still configures most of the beaches' occupation of the island.

The 1980s consolidated the tourist activity in the island, making of *Florianópolis* one of the points most visited by middle classes' tourism in Brazil. But, it is during the beginning of the decade of 1990 that a new standard of exploration of the island is adopted, combining the influence of the local elites with the interests of national and foreign economic groups and with sights to the attraction of a clientele of high income. If until then the tourist activity depended on local capitals or in the maximum regional ones, this situation changed with the intensive investment from external agents.

With the emergency of a competitive scenario between cities for attraction of investments, *Florianópolis* also turned itself in this direction. Although its natural characteristics always have attracted tourists and new inhabitants, who also searched a life "more calm", *Florianópolis* tried to adjust itself to the new world-wide parameters, with the construction of urban infrastructure and promotion of the city's lifestyle that joins the traditional culture and occupation to the modern installations. This union between the old and the new seems to be a new way to live in the city and, in propaganda for the municipal managements, a new way to make the city. The union between the exuberant nature of *Florianópolis* and the modern installations also can be faced in the same way. Thus, partnerships of public and private investments appear in prominence in the city for the attraction of high classes, new inhabitants and tourist. These great urban-tourist enterprises differ from the previous forms of growth of the coastal areas by the planning and execution in block of the land division and the infrastructure, previously gradual. The local airport was raised to the category of International, with flights to Montevideo and Buenos Aires that last less than an hour and a half. Ouriques[29] intents to the intense process of commercialization of the land, with a real state explosion in certain areas. The main road of connection with the coastal areas in the north of the island (SC-401) was enlarged. All the process seems to have culminated with the nomination in 2000 by the UNDP/UN of *Florianópolis* as the Brazilian state capital of better quality of life, as well as its metropolitan region. *Florianópolis* became published in the major mass medias. Exclusive hotels, condominiums and land divisions in the molds of luxurious tourist areas were constructed. The highlight among these is *Jurerê Internacional* that marks the entrance of the city in the logic of post-modernity[30].

Jurerê Internacional is the first private planned neighborhood in this region. A very audacious project, what began as a high class residential project turned into a reference of the city. The *international* last name appeared to differentiate the new enterprise of

the previous one, made by local entrepreneurs and politicians, called *Jurerê Nacional* or National Jurerê. The *Habitasul Group*, the entrepreneur group originated in another Brazilian state, considered that if beyond the infrastructure demanded for the municipal law it was installed others types of urban equipments and spaces of leisure, the enterprise could be equalized to the world-wide famous beaches, as the ones located in Miami (U.S.A.) or the Mediterranean (Europe). Therefore, this would be "an international" urbanization and this last name would serve, therefore, to differentiate the "lifestyle of the first world".

The architectural styles of the constructions can be classified in two types: a first model dates from the beginning of the enterprise and, the other, appears in the decade of 1990, with the valuation of *Florianópolis* and of the proper place. The first one follows a pattern directed to middle classes, with structure in concrete and bricks, many times apparent. However, constructions in this style exist in lesser number and are, literally, dimmed by the most recent. These last ones are connected to a turning point of the development when it was contracted the North American company Edward Durell Stone Architects (EDSA) for the elaboration of an urbanization plan and landscape for the area. This plan marks a strategy change: from a tourist coastal area to a high class tourist coastal area with services and infrastructure of an independent neighborhood. Therefore, the area beyond keeping the tourist character became a residential area of the city. It was constructed new habitations by the *Habitasul Group* imposing a new edification type and new infrastructures, as the sanitation system that had valued the enterprise still more. The new adopted style is clearly connected to the place of origin of the company idealizer of the plan, Fort Lauderdale in Florida/USA. But their inspiration is not restricted to Florida since an entire block of apartment buildings, named *Il Campanário*, is being erected around a small tower directly imported from Hitchcock's Spanish California: the convent tower from the top of which Kim Novak falls twice, in the unforgettable movie *Vertigo*[31]. And more, the adoption of this model is contradictory regarding the goals of the company to valuate the local culture and to the affirmation of Hélio Chevarria, associated director of the *Habitasul Group*, that the "*differential of a real estate enterprise today is the integration of it with the history and the environment of the place. Jurerê Internacional already was created with this vision*"[32].

The *Habitasul Group* has a strong presence. The architectural projects must be approved not only by city institute of urban planning but also by the entrepreneur. It is in charge of the investments, the urbanization, the property and use of the land, the commerce and services offered and the infrastructures, such as a security system with a great number of cameras that control the whole area. The Group says, in its website, that its mission is to create and to develop "*planned communities*" by "*the permanent management of the entrepreneur*". Also, the group looks for "*to announce and to institute in the community a calendar of activities, generating events that valuates the communitarian self-esteem and increases the values of the properties*"[33]. With activities managed constantly by the entrepreneur, it can keeps the idealized goals when of the projection of the community and monitor the changes of the same one.

According to survey carried through by the *Habitasul Group*, the motivators for the public interest in *Jurerê Internacional* are, in order, the tranquility, the beauty of the beach and the security. There are approximately 4,000 permanent inhabitants, number that, added at the summer tourists, in the high season reaches 9,000 people, without counting the daily visitors. In commercial terms, the enterprise also can be considered a success. The last stages had more than a 100% valuation in only one year. In *Jurerê Internacional*, the emergence of new models of quality of life with a narrower relation with the nature and the movement of the high classes in suburban residential condominiums were extremely important to this valuation. These new ways of lives create a new kind of daily movement: almost 7% of the inhabitants of *Jurerê Internacional* work in bigger centers located even in others states of Brazil having to be dislocated to these cities by plane every day.

The daily bases of *Jurerê Internacional* are defined by the changes of the seasons. As the climate in *Florianópolis* is configured by a period of higher temperatures and another one with a sufficiently rigorous cold, the beach cannot be frequented constantly. In a coastal area occupied mostly by second residences, this means that for the most part of the year the place is relatively empty. Thus, the direction of community of *Jurerê Internacional* restores much more in the common interests of proprietors and inhabitants than in bonds of proximity and solidarity. And, in this way, it also can be sufficiently fragile and temporary.

The many controversies that surrounded the project remain since its approval in 1981. The impacts in the environment, the social exclusion process of the traditional population and the effects in the local historical heritage, including the constructed one, exemplify that. Among these, one that detaches is the economic, in special because of the increase of the cost-of-living during the high season and the unemployment in the low one. The traditional community of the area sold its lands and changed its jobs from the old activities to combine it with the jobs in tourist activity. However, the jobs generated by the enterprise do not differ in such a way from the ones from other parts of the island: badly-remunerated, disqualified and temporary. Helton Ouriques[34], characterizes well this hand of workmanship: temporary, of great rotation, without working regulations and sub-wage-earners.

Still, the tourism of high standard forms true "enclaves" in the territory that privatizes the nature, segregates the space and debilitate the local culture and the local landscape, as *Jurerê Internacional* confirms. Ferreira[35] recognizes well that the objective is *"to take care of a demand of private consumption of high class, without significantly modifying the picture of lacks of the local communities and without valuing a more rational exploitation of the local resources"*. Ouriques[36] explains that almost 50% of its sampling, formed by inhabitants of *Florianópolis*, believes that there are areas of the island destined exclusively to the tourists and that they fell discriminated or even forbidden to frequent them. Most of the inhabitants of areas near *Jurerê Internacional* also expose the privatization of the area, the restriction of the use of the services, beyond the negative constraint and effects in the environment[37]. Therefore, the problems of the population nearby are related to the basic infrastructure, as the accessibility to the

garbage collection and the system of sewer, that are only leagued to the enterprise; the water lack during the high season, due to overload of the system; and the inefficient system of transports, after all, who lives in or frequents the enterprise has an individual automobile and does not depend on a collective system of transportation.

When approved, the impasse generated inside the local institute of urban planning (IPUF), richly detailed by CECCA[38], resulted in the biggest crisis that the public institution ever faced, with the resignation of diverse employees and also of its director, Etienne Silva, and even of its president, Fernando Ferreira de Mello. Currently, the enterprise is investigated by the Brazilian Federal Police for the suspicion of purchase of ambient licenses and other diverse irregularities of the project. According to representative of the *Habitasul Group*, Clóvis Calliari, "*the laws we do and undo*". It seems that it was what really happened in this case. After several appearances in criminal pages of national newspapers during 2007, *Jurerê Internacional* opened 2008 in their first page and on the cover of the more important national magazine (*Folha de São Paulo*, *O Estado de São Paulo*, both jan. 2, *Veja São Paulo*, jan. 9) as a 'must' meeting point for conspicuous consumers.

This demonstration of business and political power corroborates the statement that in post-modern times, fiction and show have a convincing force stronger than (or at least similar to) that of reality[39]. These facts also confirm the truth of what Harvey[40] points out about the role of mercantile culture for the increase of the monopoly power a city has on the attractions of her natural setting in its competition with others for spendthrift tourists.[41]

By any terms, *Jurerê Internacional* has become, through public and private interests, one of the city's new symbols. It represents the first total private planned neighborhood in this region. With a high cost funded by an external entrepreneur group, it marks also the emergence of external parameters of urban planning in *Florianópolis* and the entrance of the international post-modern architecture in the city. In an area that increases the land value exponentially, with the provision of luxurious commerce and services for the tourists of high income, a standard of occupation that is as close as possible to Miami, isolated and protected from the "invasion" of the other ones that "do not belong" to this dynamics, the enterprise became one of the postal cards of the city, configuring an image that represents the interests of the dominant classes – socials and economics ones – but does not reflects the reality of *Florianópolis* as a whole.

Final considerations

Although the objective of this inquiry is not to study the changes of the matrix of the urban planning, they are sufficiently connected with the types of utopian speeches in these terms: one of change of the reality and another one of affirmation of the same one. While the modern utopia, presented in the CIAMs, searched the social equality and a universal better quality of life, its exhaustion represented, in contrast of what its critics intended, the utopia of few: fragmentary, exculpatory and homogenizing. In this way also are the visions of future derived from these models: while the modern utopia

glimpsed a standardized future, without freedom of choice, currently, the future vision is a past and future mixture of highly segregated ghettos and the famous watched freedom, "the big brother". Therefore, the contemporary urban planning does not represent the end of utopia, as some authors affirm, but the end of the universalizing utopia.

Fiction has alerted what men, much less realistic, do not want to see or understand. As diverse authors already had certified, the space organization reflects the proper society. If the planned communities are the Brazilian contemporary utopia and if the speech and the practice of urban planning are in this direction, this is a decisive moment not only to think about the future of the cities, but also to think in what kind of society we are planning.
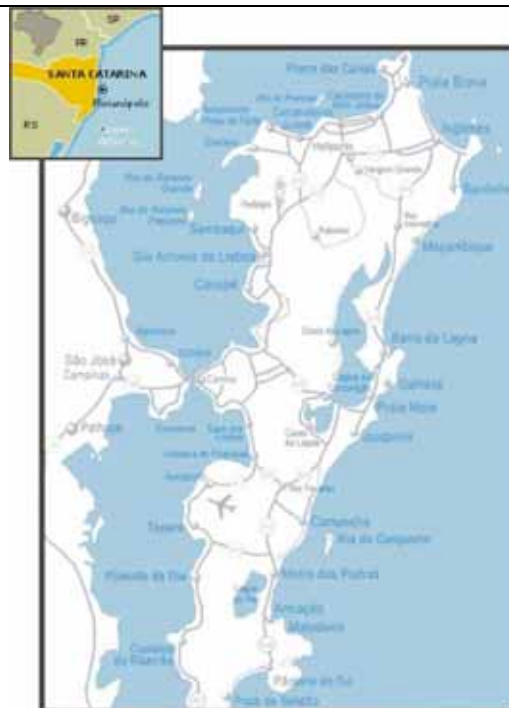
Florianópolis´ Island.
Source: Florianópolis' local government.

Jurerê Beach in 1980, before the planned community.
Source: Habitasul Group.

Jurerê Internacional during its launching in 1982.
Source: Habitasul Group.

Jurerê Internacional in 1994.
Source: Habitasul Group.

Jurerê Internacional in 2001.
Source: Habitasul Group.

Jurerê Internacional pattern.
Source: Google Earth.

Il Campanário tower.
Source: picture by the author.

Jurerê Open Shopping.
Source: picture by the author.

Local security service.
Source: picture by the author.

First residential model.
Source: picture by the author.

First residential model.
Source: picture by the author.

The new residential model.
Source: picture by the author.

The new residential model.
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The new residential model.
Source: picture by the author.

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Another planning history. The Ten-year plan (1956-1965) for the port of Antwerp as an urbanization project

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Introduction. A Belgian case study as 'another' history of modernist planning

For several years, adjusting the canonical view on the 'modernist project' of urban planning in the mid 20th century has been a key interest for planning and urban history.[1] The dominating view of this 'modernist project' as a largely government-led project based on rational principles of functionalist town planning, has been adjusted by pointing toward the diversity in modernization projects and to 'untold stories' or 'insurgent planning histories.'[2] These alternative histories point to the role of actors other than the usual 'heroes' –iconic planners or architects that usually appear in the canonical texts-, of agencies other than the established planning agencies, of minority groups, women, intermediary organizations, the civil society and private parties in shaping spatial transformation and planning projects.

An example of the difficulty of canonical planning history to deal with 'other' stories in Western European planning, is revealed in the absence of a case study on Belgium in Hall's comparison of British planning in the post war years with that of the six founding member states of the European Union.[3] Belgium did indeed lack a strong formalized planning tradition that would correspond to the accepted description of the typical 'modernist project'. Hall's comparison focuses on the role of the 'planning machinery' in the respective case studies, noting for example with regard to Italy that 'the planning machinery does not seem to have been equal to the problems it had to face.'

The very notion that planning should rely on a 'planning machinery' is indicative for the dominance of highly visible 'modernist projects' in planning history. It largely neglects planning histories in areas with a 'weak' planning tradition, where private parties and other branches of government played a greater role in shaping territorial transformation.

In Belgium in particular, the 'planning machinery' was particularly weak.[4] The present contribution on the Ten-Year Plan for the Port of Antwerp (1956-1965) as an urbanization project is a case study of such an alternative planning history that can serve as an iconic example of the Belgian approach in the post war years.[5] First of all, it addresses planning and urban history from the point of view of infrastructure and business activities, a generally neglected dimension in post war planning history that tends to privilege housing. In Belgium, infrastructure construction was the most important field of government-led spatial intervention shaping the project of modernization in the post war era.[6]

Second, the case study looks beyond the borders of the formal discipline of planning and urbanism to unravel the history of this post war urbanization project. Given the

limited scope of the 'planning machinery' in Belgium, it is necessary to look at the role of different actors and the socio-economic context to understand the urbanization process. In particular, this contribution focuses on untangling the complex patterns of urban governance between local and national government agencies, public works departments and port and city technical commissions. It briefly highlights the role of politicians, business circles, private enterprises, labor unions, and investigates the role of visionary architects as well as planners in public office in shaping a territorial project for an area that spanned a vast region to the north east of the city of Antwerp.

The project comprises ingredients that occurred throughout the modernist planning projects in Western Europe. Given the particular context however, this Antwerp case study illustrates a distinctive Belgian version of post war modernization that is much closer to the idea of a strategic project than to the accepted vision of comprehensive, government-led, functionalist planning.

Shaping the conditions for a central government intervention on behalf of the port of Antwerp

Reconstruction and modernization after World War II within a pre-war framework

In port history, the port of Antwerp is catalogued as one of the Hanseatic ports among such ports as Le Havre (France), Rotterdam (The Netherlands) and Hamburg (Germany).[7] These ports share a common history dating back to the era of the Hanseatic League and, more importantly, they are the main competitors for port traffic toward the northwestern European hinterland and share a similar institutional framework as ports that are administered by the municipal authorities of the cities to which their territory belongs.

The port of Antwerp was immediately challenged by the changing economic context of the post-war years and the emergence of new economic and industrial patterns. One important trend was the shift of industrial activities towards maritime locations. Since the late 1920's, the harbor authorities had encouraged industrial settlement as a means to link flows of goods more strongly to the harbor, thus protecting it from cyclical movements in the harbor economy.[8] In Antwerp, car assembly was the pioneering industry in this respect. It was the first 'modern' industry to settle in the port as opposed to 'traditional' harbor industries such as ship repairing.[9] Both Ford and General Motors used the opportunity offered by post-war reconstruction to enlarge and modernize their plants.

The second trend was the increasing importance of oil as an energy source. After car manufacturing, petroleum played an important role in the industrialization of the port. Traditionally, petroleum storage facilities had been located to the south of the city, but this area was saturated. Shortly before and immediately after the war, the city was faced with several demands from oil companies to settle in the northern port area. Initially, Antwerp was able to respond quickly to the requests of the car and petroleum companies. In 1927, a 'Convention for the North Grounds' had annexed three northern

municipalities for the city of Antwerp, with the aim of providing additional space for harbor activities.[10] The plan for these 'Northern Grounds' provided for the construction of 'new industrial' and 'new residential centers.'[11] A first string of new docks was built in the 'Northern Grounds' in the 1930s, but the economic crisis meant that few additional activities had settled around these new infrastructures.

Despite numerous proposals for the lay-out of 'industrial' docks, i.e. docks not destined primarily for transshipment and storage activities, but for industrial occupation, the northern and western portion of the area remained vacant throughout the 1930s and the wartime years. Shortly after the liberation, construction began on the so-called Marshall-dock for the petrochemical industry[12] and a new high rise housing estate.

Entering an era of 'unfulfilled wishes' [13]

This first post-war northern extension was a short-term economic success and upon completion in the early 1950s, it conveyed the image of successful reconstruction and modernization through its distinct architectural approach. From an economic and technical point of view however, it showed the failure of an urbanization process based on an outdated development model embedded in the 1927 plan. The resulting physical constraints were a first element leading up to the Ten-Year Plan. Demand by petrochemical and other industries for industrial grounds in the port very soon exceeded supply, and the harbor was faced with an acute shortage of industrial space. The remaining space in the harbor was reserved for shipping installations, and the harbor extension had reached its northern limit. The limited capacity of the existing pre-war infrastructure created conflicts between sea-going vessels and inland traffic.[14] Moreover, the increase in ship sizes required longer berths. Although the net mooring length for general cargo in the harbor remained fixed, the absolute number of ships that could be handled decreased. In order to solve these infrastructure problems, the municipal harbor authority drew up a plan for an additional general cargo dock, and a new link to the Albert Canal, the main hinterland waterway. The municipal board accepted the plan in 1951, but there was no funding to build it.[15]

These financial difficulties of the port provided the second element leading up to the Ten-Year Plan. The limited resources of the port authority were a direct result of the export-oriented economic policy pursued by the central government. To enhance trade and compete with Rotterdam,[16] the government imposed low transshipment tariffs. The revenue from these port dues did not cover port operation costs, which meant that the harbor authority accumulated losses on harbor exploitation. This put a heavy burden on the Antwerp municipal budget.

Both these conditions combined provided strong elements for the Antwerp municipal authorities and the association of entrepreneurs related to the port of Antwerp to lobby for a national government intervention for the port of Antwerp. These parties argued that the port of Antwerp was in fact subsidizing the Belgian economy that relied strongly on international trade, and filed monthly reports to the Ministry of Economic Affairs that included the requests of enterprises wanting to settle in the port that could not be

accommodated due to the lack of space.[17] Except for the limited amount of funding from the Marshall plan for the construction of the petroleum dock, the central government did not intervene to solve Antwerp's problems. The period between 1951 and 1956 was an era of 'unfulfilled wishes' in which the needs of the Antwerp port community were not addressed.[18]

The general economic slump of the early 1950s was the third element that shaped a favorable climate for a national government intervention on behalf of the port of Antwerp. The general economic situation prompted the socialist liberalist government that came into office in 1954 to engage in a powerful Keynesian policy of job creation by increasing demand through public infrastructure programs. The policy relied on three Acts, outlining a 15-year investment program for the construction of a highway network (1954), the Ten-Year-Plan for the expansion of the port of Antwerp (1956) and an act aimed at the modernization of the Belgian canal network (1957).

On a more detailed level, the economic slump and related unemployment affected the port of Antwerp directly. It led to social unrest, in particular among dockworkers. In 1950, 25% of Antwerp dockworkers were unemployed and the figure rose to 33% by 1953. Notably, for lack of action to counter these problems, socialist labor union officials feared a radicalization of their workers that would turn them to the communist party. In the emerging Cold War atmosphere of the early 1950s, this fear for radicalization was yet another element in favor of a central government intervention for the port. It allowed Antwerp mayor Lode Craeybeckx to enhance his lobbying campaign on behalf of the needs of the port of Antwerp. As a member of parliament, he could directly raise the issue on the national political level, and as such, he succeeded in including the needs of the Port of Antwerp in the national infrastructure program.[19]

The case of the infrastructure constraints in the Port of Antwerp demonstrates that the new infrastructure policy of the national government was not merely driven by macro-economic motives of job creation. Belgian infrastructure was indeed outdated and in great need of modernization, and because other European nations had used the reconstruction for a thorough modernization Belgium was clearly lagging behind in this respect.

Conceiving a plan for the port of Antwerp

The conceptual and institutional framework of the Ten-Year Plan.

The program for the Ten-Year Plan was based on negotiations between the central government and the city, and formalized in a 'Convention between the City and the State.'[20] The port authorities proposed an elongated scheme, adopting the trajectory of a future canal that would link the port of Antwerp with the Rhine and the port of Rotterdam (fig. 1.). A serious of so called 'Canal Docks' on the trajectory of this future canal was the extension plan's backbone. To the east of this backbone, a secondary canal was projected to meet with the Albert Canal and a set of industrial docks.

The cost of carrying out this plan was estimated at 7 billion Belgian francs, but the central government could only agree upon an amount of 4.2 billion.[21] It limited the program to the most essential and strategic elements, the construction of the Canal Docks B1 and B2. The eastern extension, the new hinterland canal and the lock connecting the new docks to the River Scheldt were cancelled from the national program, but continued to figure in the plans of the municipal authorities. In any case, the arrival of the Ten-Year Plan marked the end of Antwerp's era of 'unfulfilled wishes'. A commission of city officials for the 'expansion of city and port', known as the ACUSH,[22] was established to coordinate the execution of the Ten-Year Plan as an urbanization project. The technicians and engineers responsible for the execution of the Ten-Year Plan in strict sense of the word, were incorporated into the technical department of the Port Authority, functioning as a decentralized cell that formally belonged to the national Public Works department.

As such, the Antwerp municipality received a relative autonomy of action in implementing the Ten-Year Plan. On a number of crucial matters, however, it still had to rely on decisions from the central government. In addition to the decision to limit the scope of the Ten-Year Plan discussed above, two other strategic decisions taken by the national government played an important role in steering the urbanization process that would inevitably accompany the harbor extension.

First, during the parliamentary discussion of the Ten-Year Plan, it was decided to limit land annexation in neighboring municipalities as much as possible: expropriations of property could only proceed at the same pace as the actual harbor extension. The local communities from the remaining polder villages to the north of Antwerp strongly opposed the harbor extension, remembering the earlier experience of the first post-war harbor extension, where villagers were faced with 20 years of uncertainty between the formal expropriation of their homes in the 1930s and their ultimate eviction in 1950s.[23] Only Lillo, Berendrecht and Zandvliet were attached to the city by an Act of Parliament in 1958. As a result, the eastern parts of the harbor extension plan in Hoevenen and Stabroek remained outside the city's jurisdiction. This jurisdiction was further restricted by the route traced for the Antwerp–Rotterdam highway by the Road Administration of the Public Works department, as it effectively limited any further eastward extension. Antwerp city officials contested this route.[24] The central Roads Administration however maintained the route's trajectory and the dock was cut short.

Secondly, the city could not rely on the 'Convention between the City and the State' for the immediate expropriation of the annexed land. The Inspector General Leopold Hendrickx of the national Urban Planning Department requested that the procedure provided for in the Town Planning Act of 1946 should be followed.[25] This implied that a zoning plan for the entire area had to be authorized to be able to proceed with the expropriation. The combination of these measures would prove very effective in safeguarding the residential landscape of the polders as the harbor extension proceeded.

As such, in a strange reversal of the usual hierarchy of policy making, it was the national policy level that defended local interest of the polder communities, against the aspirations of the Antwerp authorities. Despite the lack of formal spatial planning at the level of the urban region, that would transcend inter-municipal conflicts, the urbanization process was effectively guided along clear lines in a clever constellation that balanced local and national powers.

Housing the work force of the port expansion. Renaat Braem's counter-project for the Satellite Town of Lillo

City and harbor officials were thus mainly interested in the harbor extension. The city extension, meanwhile, did not feature on their priority list, although it was strictly speaking part of the ACUSH's mission. In the General Plan for the Antwerp Agglomeration of 1960, the entire area of the territory annexed in 1958 was earmarked for industry, with the polder villages overrun by port and industrial installations (fig. 2.).[26] This created the impression that in planning the harbor extension the authorities had 'forgotten' to include the required extension of residential areas to house the work force, as Antwerp modernist architect and former Le Corbusier collaborator Renaat Braem noted.[27] Braem, the most important representative of the Modern Movement in Belgium and a prolific architect and critic, decided to design a string of satellite towns along the banks of the Scheldt River as a personal counter-project, a utopian design with a critical aim. These satellite towns were part of an industrial *Band City* that was laid out along the main industrial corridors to cover the whole of Belgium.[28]

The project was a further development of Braem's earlier ideas on linear cities, inspired by Miljutin's examples of the 1930s.[29] The linear city was a planning concept that had received a great deal of attention in Belgian planning circles since the early 20th century. Belgian variants of Sorio y Mata Ciudad Lineal were proposed, and near Ghent, a small neighborhood was built in the 1920s as an intended first step in the development of a linear industrial city along the Ghent sea canal.[30] Braem's post war proposal moved away from the interwar ideas and translates the inspiration of Le Corbusiers *Cité Linéaire Industrielle* of the 1940s.[31] Indeed, as opposed to the pre-war proposals of continuously built-up strips of working, housing and recreation areas, the *Cité Industrielle*, as well as Braem's *Industrial Band City*, adopted a 'beads-on-a-string' configuration of industrial areas (laid out along the principles of the Usine verte) and compact dwelling satellites set in green and/or agricultural surroundings.

In Antwerp Braem designed a detailed satellite town near the village of Lillo.[32] This project is one of five satellite towns of 2,000 dwellings (housing 8,000 persons) attached to the industrial backbone of the Antwerp harbor installations, first sketched out on a piece of tracing paper affixed over an official depiction of the Ten-Year Plan (fig. 3 & 4).[33]

The implementation of the Ten-Year Plan

The economic and infrastructure dimension of the Ten-Year Plan assessed. Available space as the main competitive advantage

In order to judge the importance of this infrastructure operation it is important to focus on the particular characteristics and hybrid nature of the 'Canal Dock' concept. As the name indicates, it was conceived to fulfill two roles at the same time, that of providing a means of transportation (the Canal dimension of the project) and that of providing a means of transshipment (the Dock dimension of the project). Upon construction of the Ten-Year Plan there was no certainty whether the Rhine link would ever be built, since its construction depended on difficult negotiations between the Netherlands and Belgium. Moreover, some people in the port community feared that the Rhine link would result in a loss of traffic to Rotterdam.[34] So the 'canal' aspect of the infrastructure was certainly problematic. Nonetheless it was decided to construct the Canal Docks with soft sloping banks rather than wharves suited to mooring ships, except for a small part of the B1 Dock. As a result the infrastructure was not immediately fit for transshipment or deepwater related industries, thereby compromising the 'dock' dimension of the infrastructure.

The Canal Docks represented nonetheless a strategic investment in terms of economic development, as Loyen has shown.[35] His comparison of traffic growth figures for the Port of Antwerp and the other North Sea ports shows that Antwerp grew less than its competitors between 1950 and 1970, losing part of its market share to other North Sea ports. This indicates that shipping activities were not the main beneficiary of the Ten-Year Plan. Blomme has pointed out that the ideal pattern for investments in port infrastructure is one where investments follow growth in port traffic and throughput.[36] The Ten-Year Plan resulted in a sharp increase in the net mooring length of the Port of Antwerp. Initially, this was followed by an increase in maritime traffic, but then by a regression during the 1970s. However, since the 1970s, a further increase in maritime traffic in Antwerp has occurred with only a limited increase in mooring length. This indicates that the infrastructure built under the Ten-Year Plan was sufficient to accommodate the increase in traffic for many years. Loyen furthermore notes that:

> The increase in welfare of the silver fifties and the golden sixties did not bring Antwerp the expansion (of port traffic) predicted in the context of the Ten-year plan – on the contrary. In this period Antwerp merely laid the basis for a sustained achievement after the (1973) oil crisis through the expansion of the petrochemical industry.[37]

The petrochemical complex in Antwerp does not rely critically on maritime transport. Since the closure of the Suez Canal in 1958, tankers grew bigger to offset the longer journey around Africa, but could not call at Antwerp because of the insufficient depth of the Wester Scheldt. To assure the supply of crude oil, the Rotterdam Antwerp Pipe Line was built in 1970. The deep water location of the petrochemical complex mainly

supported the inland shipping of semi-finished products produced by the chemical plants.

The construction of the Canal Dock was therefore primarily an industrialization project, that relied on the ability of offering vast areas of land to the space consuming petrochemical industry. An analysis by the Goey of the location decisions of the German BASF chemical company that choose Antwerp above Rotterdam demonstrates how the availability of vast areas at low cost provided Antwerp with the competitive advantage. Infrastructure construction appears then as a strategic investment opening up a large area of polder land to industrial activities. Its actual value as a transportation (Canal) and transshipment (Dock) infrastructure is of secondary importance.[38] Infrastructure construction thus serves as a strategic instrument of urbanization that changes existing patterns of land use. As such, the Ten-Year Plan can be interpreted primarily as a successful instance of urbanization within the working sector of the functional city. In its ulterior development, it becomes a fully fledged urbanization endeavor that structured and guided the transformation of the city of Antwerp into a city region, a modern metropolitan area exceeding the traditional boundaries of the pre-war agglomeration.

The harbor extension as the infrastructure and economic backbone of an urbanization project. The satellite town revisited

The transformation of the port of Antwerp into a petrochemical cluster –the second largest in the world after Houston, Texas- again reveals the strategic nature of the Ten-Year Plan. First, it answered directly to the needs of private parties that played a crucial role in the development of the port. Second, it introduced a functional zoning of urban activities, even though no formal zoning plan was established. Indeed, the choice to settle petrochemical activities in the stretch of land in between the Scheldt River and the Canal Docks prevented residential in this area as had been suggested by Braem in his proposal for Lillo. Although Braem's scheme occupied only a very small portion of land on the bank of the river, any residential development so close to the industrial area would jeopardize the siting of hazardous production activities such as petrochemicals.[39] As such, the principle of zoning as a means to isolate conflicting activities was at work in a very direct way, even without the intermediary of a formal spatial plan.

Nonetheless, the issue of residential expansion as raised by Braem could not be ignored. The 'residence question,' the development of Antwerp 'as a ribbon along the stream' and its impact on the mobility of workers was also raised by the municipality's housing and social services administration.[40] While calling for a comprehensive town planning approach to solve this question, the city official also covertly pleaded for additional annexation of municipalities such as Hoevenen and Stabroek under the city's territorial jurisdiction,[41] in order to plan the area as a whole. As noted earlier, the national authorities, by means of Insepcor General Hendrickx, prevented this annexation, thereby limiting the port territory to the part west of the route traced for the Rotterdam highway, while at the same time requesting a zoning plan to allow for further expropriations as the construction of new docks proceeded. As a result of this request the ACUSH presented a new plan that in fact translated Hendrickx' ideas on the expansion of the port and the city (fig. 5).[42]

In a publication on the development and planning of large agglomerations in Belgium, Hendrickx gave his vision on the development of the wider Antwerp agglomeration. He argued:

> Given the location of the port [i.e. the expansion to the north], it is not necessary to expand the existing agglomeration: new settlements can be built eastward of the port complex.[43]

Delivered at an international congress where Jean Francois Gravier spoke about limiting the growth of Paris[44] and Robert Shaw presented the British policy for New Towns,[45] this remark by Hendrickx has to be interpreted as identifying an opportunity to limit and guide the uncontrolled expansion of the agglomeration. Hendrickx advocated the decentralized growth of the agglomeration, a reference to the 'satellite town' concept. Satellite towns occupied a prominent place in Belgium's contemporary urban planning literature. In 1958, Groupe Alpha had put forward this concept when planning the Brussels agglomeration.[46] In Antwerp, Braem's proposal for Lillo was inspired by similar thinking. Hendrickx was probably well aware of Braem's project, as they had befriended each other in the 1930s while both studying architecture at the Academy of Fine Arts in Antwerp. [47]

The satellite town of Hoogvliet, designed and built in the wake of the Europoort plan near Rotterdam, was undoubtedly a further point of reference.[48] A comparison with Hoogvliet, a classical, textbook implementation of the satellite town and British and Scandinavian examples, illustrates how the Belgian approach differed from the canonical examples of modernist planning in the post war years.

The new plan for Antwerp –presented by the ACUSH and based on Hendrickx's views- was tailored to meet the realities of the local context, while at the same time deriving some of its inspiration from Braem's *Band City* model. Rather than self-sufficient new towns, the Antwerp 'satellite town'-proposal consisted of decentralized communities that are still dependent on the city of Antwerp. The plan attempted to create well-defined communities around the polder villages of Zandvliet, Berendrecht Stabroek and Hoevenen, bound and framed by a new intermediary road network. The spatial vocabulary of these new communities is similar to the 'neighborhood units' as they appeared in the British and Scandinavian examples of the time, be it that they lack the larger urban framework. They form separate units, each with their own civic center, and are integrated by means of a new traffic system. This mesh of circumferential roads served in the first place to avoid through traffic on the inadequate existing road network. Secondly, the ring roads were set in green buffers that served to contain the growth of the residential nuclei, buffer the units from each other and the adjacent port installations. Although the intermediary road network was never built, the residential expansion of the polder villages that took place during the 1960s and 70s effectively protected them from being incorporated into the harbor extension.

The northern harbor extension as a part of Band City Belgium

The accommodation of residential expansion in the wake of the Ten-Year Plan, reveals that the infrastructure project triggered a much wider ranging debate on the urban future of the Antwerp agglomeration. This debate translated a clear vision on the development of the Antwerp agglomeration, a vision that was capable of guiding the actual urbanization process, even if little comprehensive planning was applied to do so.

The project established a well-defined system of strips parallel to the river. The consecutive strips, each with their distinct nature and function, comprise the petrochemical complex, the Canal Dock system, the port area with transshipment and non-hazardous industrial activities, the Antwerp–Rotterdam highway, and the string of old polder villages turned into satellite communities (fig. 6). Finally, beyond the string of polder villages that act as a buffer of regional scale, is the *Voorkempen*, a formerly agrarian and recreational territory of woods and heath that became subject to a widespread suburbanization with mostly high-class, dispersed low-rise single family homes.[49] The combined intervention of local and central government planning and public works agencies engineered a very clear structure for the northeastern expansion of the agglomeration of Antwerp into a regional metropolis – that, in its basic spatial pattern, forms an implicit implementation of Renaat Braem's idea of the *Band City*.

Conclusion

Given Belgium's weak planning tradition and the absence of a highly visible 'modernist project' many critics have condemned post war urbanization in Belgium as merely the result of ad hoc-ism and *laissez faire*. Renaat Braem himself was one of the strongest voices in this respect, calling Belgium 'the ugliest country in the world.' For other critics the traditional close-knit urban agglomeration remained the point of reference:

> The city takes less and less advantage of the port; or rather, the port no longer benefits from the city. Port policy has not been integrated into a comprehensive town plan that deals with Antwerp as a total phenomenon.[50]

The fact was, however, that 'the Antwerp phenomenon' now encompassed the entire area to the northeast of the traditional agglomeration. As such, the image of the expansion of the port of Antwerp as an infrastructure project serving strictly economic needs has to be adjusted. Formally, the Ten-Year Plan was nothing more than an infrastructure program. However, the preceding analysis shows that the infrastructure project is in fact a strategic trigger that launched an industrialization project that in turn forms the economic core and physical backbone of an urbanization project shaping the Antwerp metropolitan area.

Even if many of the traditional ingredients of modernist planning such as zoning, the satellite town or linear industrial city models appear in this project, these spatial concepts are tailored to the needs of economic development and private enterprise, the aspirations of local communities, labor unions and city officials. In this project, port engineers and public works officers appear as the primary agents, with planners (and architects) limiting their intervention to crucial matters -as Hendrickx's actions on behalf of the polder villages- or Braem's critical stance.

Nonetheless, in this complex interplay of different actors and agencies, a relatively coherent spatial project emerges. In this respect, the infrastructure project serves as a strategic intervention that is capable of framing a wider ranging spatial project. Rather than on a blue print plan, the project relies on negotiation, coordination and allows for flexibility.

It reveals that planning approaches advocated in recent years that rely on 'strategic planning' or 'strategic projects,' that re-emphasize the role of private parties, look for innovative public private partnerships, and aim to increase the democratic dimension of the planning process, are not entirely new. They also result from the persistence of other planning traditions, next to the modern tradition of rationalist, comprehensive planning. For one thing, the prominence of infrastructure as the primary structuring element of the urbanization process is reminiscent of a type of urban planning that originated in Haussmann's transformation of Paris through the construction of boulevards.

This case study shows how an alternative lecture of planning history that looks beyond the traditional boundaries of the discipline reveals modernization projects that rely on a different rationality than the accepted paradigms of modernist planning. It shows that also in contexts with a weak 'planning machinery,' coherent spatial projects were developed. As such, these 'alternative' stories are crucial for a better understanding of the present day urban landscape and the plurality of planning practices and approaches that shaped it.

Fig. 1. Ten-Year Plan for the port of Antwerp, 1956. Hatched areas were included in the 4.2 billion program. Source: De Kesel, "Havenuitbreiding. Reden en vormgeving."

Fig. 2. General Plan for the Antwerp Agglomeration, 1960.
Source: Cooreman, "Stedenbouwkundige problemen."

Fig. 4. Rendering of the Lillo satellite town by Renaat Braem. Source: drawing C05, *n° 114 – Lillo, Stad België,* VIOE, Braem records.
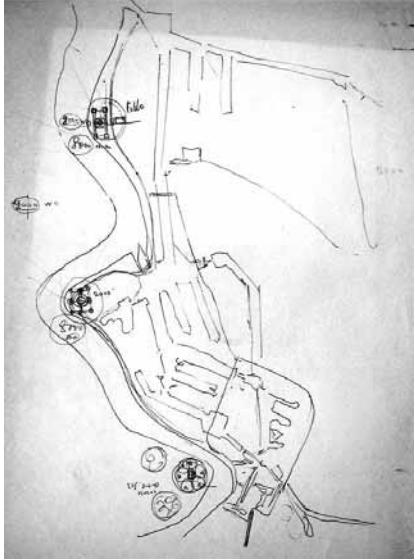
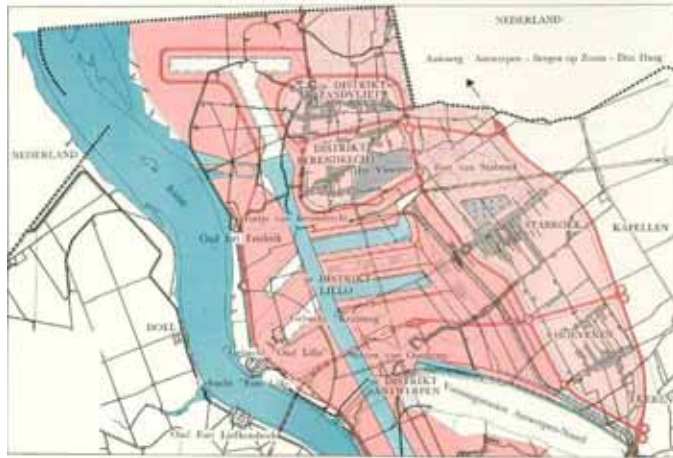Fig. 3. Renaat Braem's linear city proposal drawn on the basis of the Ten-Year Plan, with satellite towns of 8,000 inhabitants each (ca. 1957-1958). Source: drawings A02 & A07, *n° 114 – Lillo, Stad België,* VIOE,

Fig. 5. Urban plan for the northern port extension with satellite communities near the polder villages. Source: De Kesel, "Het Tienjarenplan 1956-1965."

Fig. 6. Urbanization pattern in the northeast of Antwerp with functionally distinct parallel strips along the Scheldt River, the Canal Docks and the highway.

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[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Parliamentary discussions of the Belgian Senate, session 26 June 1956.

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[47] According to Francis Strauven Hendrickx was part of the 'moderate modernists' of his class at the Academy, while Braem was one of the 'Raging Modernists.' See Strauven, *Renaat Braem. De dialectische avonturen van een Vlaams functionalist*, 20-22.

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Ideas on paper – on the visionary urbanism in Eliel Saarinen's drawings and texts

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Introduction

Eliel Saarinen is best known in Finland for his urban visions of Helsinki and the national romanticist architecture he designed with his colleagues at the turn of the previous century. In the United States he is perhaps best remembered for his second prize winning entry for the Chicago Tribune Tower Competition in 1922. Possibly some would also remember Saarinen's ideas on decentralization, expressed in his book *The City*.

This paper takes a look at these rather well known examples of Saarinen's work. The plans for Helsinki, the skyscraper design and the book are different examples of an architect's and urban designer's work, but all of them have a common theme in being somehow linked to Chicago. They were designed or written in different decades and thus can be found to express the development of a designer's thought – some themes are consistently present, others more a sign of the times. Important themes included the urban whole and the design process based on an understanding of scales. In looking at the city of Saarinen, the structural elements of armature, enclave and heterotopia have been used as a basis of interpretation.[1] An interpretive-historical method has been used; importance has been given to defining the context in which the story unfolds. Richard Rorty's genres of the historiography of philosophy have offered a helpful guideline. Rational reconstruction allows a look to the past from a present viewpoint, but to prevent the dangers of anachronism historical reconstruction helps in placing the studied matters in their own context.

The material consists of texts written by Eliel Saarinen, especially those having to do with urban design themes. Selected design proposals have been used to illustrate the writings. To see these in the context of the period studied, background information has been collected from texts of other contemporary writers as well as articles in architectural magazines or newspapers.

Background: plans of Helsinki – influence of Chicago Plan

When a prominent Finnish businessman of the early 1900's had ideas about urban development of Helsinki, he got together with an architect who could make these ideas into captivating visions. The architect was Eliel Saarinen, who gave his name to a vision that inspired the planning of the Finnish capital for many decades. This was a typical case of private planning schemes of the period, although in Finland nothing of quite the same scope had been seen before.

Munkkiniemi-Haaga Plan was published in 1915 and Pro Helsingfors Plan in 1918. Both have a regional viewpoint on Helsinki's development, although the former plan's focus

was on the development of one specific housing area in the north-western part of Helsinki. Eliel Saarinen was not alone in designing the latter plan. One of his colleagues, Bertel Jung, had been appointed to the office of city planning architect ten years before [2]. Jung wrote the text for the plan, giving credit to Eliel Saarinen for finishing the plan and to Julius Tallberg for the original overall idea. When finished, the plan was handed over to the city of Helsinki. [3] The public and private in planning matters seem intertwined here; the businessman who commissioned the plan was even a member of the five-man Town Planning Commission, set up by the City Council in late 1907, with Bertel Jung as a secretary. [4]

This grand plan for Helsinki was a very urban vision. It received much attention, but was also criticised. Its visionary qualities were not really understood by the likes of one critic, who declared that one should never make plans that cannot be implemented within one generation [5]. The plan is perhaps most noted for its grand boulevard, The King's Avenue, and the suggestion to fill the Töölö Bay and move the just recently finished Main Railway Station to another location in the Northern part of town. These did not come about. As the reasons for this most sources will mention the war that had dispersed the partnership of the architects who originally worked on the plan. The businessman who had commissioned the plan died in 1921 and thus did not have much time to promote the plan he had provided ideas for [6]. Seeing how the plan's overall ideas of growth influenced the planning of Helsinki for decades, as well as giving the city a kind of an alternative future that inspired other plans, it seems a bit irrelevant that the well-publicized details never came to pass. Nevertheless, the lack of actual implementation has caused some to think that the Saarinen plan was a failure. [7]

When Pro Helsingfors came out, Saarinen had worked as an urban designer and planner already for almost a decade. He had travelled widely and had been influenced by many contemporary planning sources. This was apparent already in his previous Helsinki plan concerning Munkkiniemi-Haaga area. One of its possible planning influences was Daniel Burnham's Chicago Plan [8]. The Chicago Plan had been published in 1909, just before Saarinen started his work on the Munkkiniemi-Haaga area. There are many common elements in the two plans, but they could have come from other sources as well [9]. Town planning ideas were widely circulated as planners traveled around, and town planning exhibition catalogues gathered information for all to read. Where and when exactly Saarinen got his information about the Burnham plan is not known. In 1910 Saarinen traveled in Europe, but apparently only on the continent [10], and so did not attend the town planning conference in London where Burnham presented his Chicago Plan. However, Werner Hegemann published a summary of the plan that same year [11], and parts of the Burnham plan were also included in his two-volume exhibition catalogue of Berlin and Düsseldorf exhibitions, *Der Städtebau,* of 1911 and 1913. The title of the booklet *Chicago's World Wide Influence on City Planning*[12], published in 1914, is perhaps not so far from truth. Burnham's plan was certainly noticed in Europe. It was the first general plan of a metropolitan area, and especially remarkable because its conception, financing and marketing was achieved by the private sector.[13] The marketing of Saarinen's plan was not nearly as grand, but in Finland it nevertheless achieved a publicity that was rather rare for planning ideas.[14]

It is natural that two books on urban planning, published just six years apart, would employ many similar themes. Common planning heritage provided sources for both. Unity and the understanding of wholes were important in both plans, current themes of urban design were treated even in a similar kind of language. Both start with a historical overview and end with a lawyer's text on actual realization. Traffic was naturally an issue, its importance stressed with growth forecasts. Other similar themes include clear street hierarchy and criticism of speculative land-use. Both were also text books in addition to being plans of a certain city. The educational aspect was strong; the plans were a serious attempt to make planning questions understandable to the general public. [15]

There is no mention of Burnham or his plan in Saarinen's Munkkiniemi-Haaga plan text, although Chicago is mentioned for its park ring [16]. Perhaps it is unnecessary to speculate about just how much the Chicago plan may have influenced Saarinen's plan's content or outward appearance, but it is possible influence through its function is interesting. The Chicago Plan has been seen to have had two functions, technical and ideological[17]. The latter referred to the plan as a product on paper, packaged in such way that people could be persuaded to adopt it. Both functions could also be applied to the interpretation of the role of Saarinen's Munkkiniemi-Haaga plan. The plan was a possibility, not necessarily a model to be implemented as such. It aimed at "winning the public's interest and sympathy". If the plan was supposed to a ceremonial, inspiring vision, and it was intended to convince the people to support the order and idea of beauty it proposed, then the realization of details was a minor point. When the ideological function is stressed, the plan may be seen as a vision intended to open up possibilities. It could have a role in the future realization of the city, but it was not the future city. Its importance transcends the few fragments that were ever realized of it. It influenced the building of Helsinki for many decades, and still appears from time to time when there is talk about the planning of the Helsinki region [18]. Saarinen said later of one of his other plans: "I've not aimed to present that plan which should be executed but one that can be".[19]

Saarinen's vision of Helsinki relied on many familiar elements of the traditional city. The elements could be looked at through the division made by David Graham Shane in his book *Recombinant Urbanism*; Shane sees three basic elements in cities: the armature, the enclave and the heterotopia. Armature is, according to Shane, a sorting device that orders urban flows and sequences urban materials in memorable ways.[20] The simple armature of the street is used with various degrees of hierarchy in Saarinen's city. The grandest of his boulevards is axiality in a Haussmannian style, and from there the channels of movement wind down to smaller scale streets and eventually narrow back alleys. Enclave is used by Saarinen also, in various degrees of hierarchy. His squares were capable of monumentality, but the Sitte-inspired small enclosed courtyard can be found in his Helsinki plans as well.[21] The movement through the armatures and enclaves of his town can be found in the description of an imaginary automobile-ride through the Munkkiniemi-Haaga plan model, written by Otto-Iivari Meurman, who had worked with Saarinen on the plan. Meurman describes the street scenes, the busy hubs

of public transportation, the peace of the residential areas as well the focal points in the design. He covers the whole area, emphasizing the different views and variety as well as the harmony and order of the whole. [22] The latter idea is a continuing theme that would be later emphasized in Saarinen writings.

The armature and the enclave Saarinen combined into a unified whole in his bird's eye views of the Helsinki plans. This kind of continuing townscape has been aptly called "urban fabric by the bolt" by Marc Trieb[23]. He has also distinguished two elements of this urban fabric, the tower and the square, seeing them as basic to Saarinen's work as a planner [24]. These two elements he linked with the influence of Camillo Sitte and the long tradition in European towns of enclosed spaces marked by steeples of churches or towers of town halls. The two elements can be seen in many Saarinen's building designs as well. Trieb sees the Saarinen Chicago Tribune Tower entry as an elongated version of the town or station hall towers he had previously designed.

Saarinen and Chicago – the idea of the skyscraper

Saarinen's work was not linked to Chicago only through the possible influence of the Chicago plan of 1909. In 1923 the Chicago Tribune Tower Competition brought Eliel Saarinen to the United States. When Saarinen arrived in Chicago for the first time, he expressed surprise at not finding the Chicago of Burnham plan realized yet. [25] Saarinen said: "It is a splendid and grandiose project, and ought to be adopted in its entirety as a foundation for a rational recreation of Chicago." [26]

The Burnham plan was a basis for Saarinen's own ideas about the future of Chicago, expressed in his Chicago Lakefront Plan of 1923. Eliel Saarinen thought the Burnham plan excellent and criticized only one thing: the plan had not taken into account an essential new aspect of American cities: verticality.[27] This verticality had been a major factor when Saarinen was designing his Chicago Tribune Tower entry in 1922. Saarinen must have been aware of the European as well as American discussion of the problem of high buildings.[28] He tells of starting the Tribune Tower competition by taking a picture of the silhouette of New York, and beginning to sketch a vertical city over it [29]. After Saarinen won the second prize in the competition, the media would marvel at the skill of the Finnish architect in capturing the essence of this very American building type [30]. This was not so strange, however, as the development of American skyscraper design was well documented in American architectural magazines, which were also read in Europe. [31] The magazine articles described structural and aesthetic problems, and rather early on began the discussion on the building type's difficulty in fitting in the existing context [32]. As a building type, the skyscraper was in crisis by the time the Tribune Tower Competition was announced, and there was also a growing contradiction between the construction of single buildings and the need to control the milieu of the larger cityscape; individualism was clashing with the smooth functioning of the whole.[33]

The Chicago Tribune Tower competition emphasized the individual role of the building type and did not attempt to address the wider issues of its role in a larger context. Mostly the building were depicted against neutral backgrounds, one could have placed

them anywhere. Some of the European entries – including Saarinen's – could be seen trying to address this problem. These entries were continuing the discussion going on in Europe, where architects and urban designers had been critical towards the clusters of skyscrapers that were rising in the cities in the United States.[34] Saarinen had expressed similar doubts about the clustering of skyscrapers as early as 1912, in his accompanying text for the town planning competition of Canberra, Australia. [35]

Whatever doubts Saarinen may have had about skyscrapers, his design played a role in the development of the architectural articulation of this egocentric building type [36]. His competition entry was said to follow "the logic of living things" [37]; Vincent Scully later called it a moulded mountain, and went on to describe Hugh Ferriss's fantastic metropolis drawings, which, according to Scully, were inspired by the Saarinen design.[38] Saarinen gave American designers a model to follow that was an inspiration for several famous buildings.[39] Nevertheless, Saarinen had an ambiguous attitude towards this building type. From the suspicions of its suitability he would move on to the excited praise of the possibilities of vertical cities in the1920s, when he compared them to pine-tree forests [40]. At the same time, his critical statements against the egocentric skyscraper were published as well [41]. In his book *The City* the final verdict is both negative and positive: the skyscraper is basically seen as an architectural feature only – but this verdict is preceded by a very positive description of a boat ride around Manhattan. There he admits to admiring the lofty changing views, the color and the atmosphere. But, as a building in the organically decentralized city, the skyscraper needed to surrender to the context, to accept its role as a well controlled part of the whole. [42]

The skyscraper did not readily fit into the organic whole of Saarinen's decentralized city, not even when it was accepted and mellowed down into a "natural product of the plan" [43], functioning in accordance with the other functions of the city. Even when a "favourable grouping of them" was encouraged, there seems to be a slight lingering doubt in Saarinen's mind about its actual suitability. Or perhaps he suspected that the building type would not in reality conform to the degree of control he demanded of it.

The skyscraper belongs to the third category of city elements as defined by David Graham Shane, who calls it a "modernist heterotopia of deviance" [44]. The other two categories, armature and enclave, were elements familiar from the townscape of the traditional city. But the heterotopia of the skyscraper was something else, not quite so easy to fit into the form of the traditional city. It was an elusive concept, capable of transformations. It had possibilities for various mixed uses and had a capacity to sort and segregate along its vertical axis. Shane has noted that somehow mostly only the monofunctional office-building type has been noticed by modernist history, and the possibilities inherent in the skyscraper as a building type have received little attention. [45]

Saarinen never got to see his skyscraper built, but he saw it in various versions by others. It is hard to say how this heterotopia of deviance would have transformed in his actual design, had it been built. His texts on the subject do not shed much light on this matter either. The verticality is celebrated in his words about the Chicago Lake Front

Plan proposal. He tells of a tourist's arrival to the city: from the subway the traveller moves to the hotel and gets on the elevator, which carries him up. From the very top he is able to see the city. There are green stretches of parks, the growing metropolis, and far away the Chicago Tower, its "monumental pinnacle flashing in the sun high above the city's smoke and dust."[46]

Eliel Saarinen's Chicago Lake Front Plan has been described as a combination of the axial armature and central square, which is a common theme used in all stages of city structure models. [47] Manfredo Tafuri claims that Saarinen used this building type as an element that could control the urban whole by its form. It was not an image of commercial competition, but a single member of the city. Saarinen used his version of the skyscraper in both of the urban design proposals he designed shortly after his arrival to the US, the Chicago Lake Front and Detroit River Front proposals. Tafuri has called the Chicago Lake Front proposal skyscrapers "spectators of the urban scene". His design was not so much a part of the commercial city, but a place from which to view it. Contradiction may be seen – as Tafuri does – in the role of the skyscraper as a controlling formal element and its exceptional character, which in reality prevented it from ever becoming an element in an innovative planning proposal [48]. According to Tafuri, the Saarinen's skyscraper proposals did not really have precedents in the United States, unless one counts Sullivan's article illustration from 1891.[49] This illustration was at least an attempt to picture the skyscraper as a part of an urban whole. If Saarinen's version of the skyscraper indeed differed from the prevailing American attitude as Tafuri suggests, he at least had colleagues who had an urban design attitude to the question and a similar concern for wholes. Architect Edward H. Bennett, who had worked on the Chicago Plan of 1909, complained that when the winning entry of the Chicago Tribune Tower competition would be built, all possibilities for a harmonious plaza or street were lost. According to Bennett, high buildings should only be placed on edges of squares or intersections of roads, in the wrong place they were like exclamation marks in the middle of a sentence instead of at the end. Too much individualism was not good for the unity of the whole. [50] Saarinen would most likely have agreed. His own comments around the time of the competition also expressed concerns from an urban design point of view. He criticized the egoistic nature of the skyscraper as a building type, and the premises of the competition that tended to emphasize this individual role [51].

Saarinen's view of the city was based on concepts like harmony, correlation and unity. The"organic" city thus formed had a hard time accommodating such an individual member as a skyscraper. A truly vertical city formed with these members would likely have left the surrounding space to "vibrate in discordant distress"[52], to use Saarinen's own words. Although he was also ready to admit that the spatial tension created in this way could be intriguing as well, the organic whole of the city was the main focus of his planning ideas.

The nature of city planning - Saarinen view

The premises of Saarinen's urban design thinking can be seen in his Helsinki plans. A kind of hermeneutic oscillation between the whole and the parts was visible in the

design process. The whole appears as the big picture seen in the birds' eye views of urban fabric stretching for miles, or the more schematic plans drawn with concentric circles, the pre-models for later decentralization of Helsinki. The parts are visible in the meticulously detailed housing plans and elevations – drawn much more as advertising for a private architect's skill than as designs for an actual city district.[53] That all these scales should be present in the design and planning of cities is much emphasized in Saarinen's book *The City*. An architect involved in town planning should "conceive architecture in the broad scope, beginning from an organism of a single room and ending with the comprehensive labyrinth of a large city." [54] Saarinen's solution to dealing with the labyrinth was organic decentralization, which his book so eagerly wanted to promote [55]. In addition to its main theme, it contains design elements of more general nature: for example, process and scale. These are sketched in a general way, without focusing on details – the actual city structure with its defining elements is not described, as these would vary in each specific case.

The book has a roughly bipolar structure: part one talks of the past, and part two about the future – or the way towards the future, to be exact. The long historical overview (called simplified history by Kirmo Mikkola [56]) could be explained by the organic background of Saarinen's design thinking. To him, the city was a living organism, and as such subject to the laws of nature and the result of evolutionary processes. Contemporary urban development was seen as a part of historical continuity by linking it with descriptions of design principles of bygone cultures. These could then be compared with more recent examples. One may wonder if the danger of doxography is lurking here, but it is more likely that the descriptions were just meant to educate the lay reader. They provided a simple groundwork, on which the design principles were based. After that the story of the new city could begin.

Saarinen's urban story was not a utopia in the traditional sense. Saarinen was very careful with the concept of space in his texts, his version was more a description of a process than a model to be copied. [57] He was not so much criticizing the existing situation as providing a future-oriented alternative scenario. The text is connected with the time it was written, but the writer points out that the proposed solutions will take a long time. Although published in the middle of the Second World War, its viewpoint went beyond the housing questions of the post-war period. The book was characterized by a timeless generality, in spite of its place-bound examples and links to design thinking of its time. [58]

Decentralization, or the dispersion of the city into surrounding lands, was a fact. Saarinen declared that some sort of control was needed to prevent it from becoming too reckless (in the expressive word of a slightly later time, sprawl), and at the same time the core of the city should not be completely forgotten either. Saarinen's decentralization was a proposal to solve the problems of unplanned urban growth around the central core as well as the problems of the congested city core itself. The "organic" he attached to the already popular word decentralization was supposed to lead to "lastingly healthy results" – today's reader might be tempted to link such words as "sustainable development" and "ecologically feasible" to the images inspired by this

rhetoric. In the style of planning language of the time when the text was written, Saarinen's words were linked to the common aim of general good, never mind that the good was mainly determined by the planner himself. [59]

Decentralization was a process, not a model. This may sound paradoxical; the concept implied that it was the result of more or less natural, evolutionary processes, but at the same time it required visionary, future-oriented planning of large wholes. The latter were much inspired by Ebenezer Howard's social city diagram[60], but Saarinen's illustrations of his ideas were in a general scale. He did not want details to be derived from generalizations, as details were case-determined [61]. Saarinen started his description by a visual image: organic decentralization was explained by a water drop on a table. When sufficient pressure was suddenly placed on the drop, it would splash, forming groups of different sized drops around the original drop. These new drops Saarinen called individual units. He emphasized that in reality this process of rearranging the physical urban structure was slow as well as complicated, involving distribution and interrelation of activities and the forming of functional groupings.[62]

When Saarinen spoke of functional groupings, however, he did not mean functional separation. He moved swiftly from the large-scale vision of the water drop description to the individual – "the molecule of the functional substance of the city" – and started to think about the everyday life of the inhabitant. He divided the movements of the inhabitants into two categories: everyday activities and casual contacts. The former were to be concentrated together, the latter could be further apart. Everyday activities should be reached by walking, as Saarinen was vehemently against compulsory daily commuting. He believed in the possibilities of modern traffic facilities, but not in the separation of living and working, at least not for everyone. In fact, he claimed that when everyone was not on the streets so busily commuting, traffic would be much more efficient and faster. [63]

The above mentioned descriptions of decentralization, first as a simple water drop diagram, then as the movements of the molecules or human beings, brings to mind Michael de Certeau's dichotomic division of the city into a large scale view as well as the everyday practise. In Saarinen' case, research focus has mostly concentrated on the large scale aspects of his urban planning ideas. These are most clearly visible parts of his decentralization scheme, and could be explained by diagrams. However, the everyday practise is definitely there, although it is defined by the slightly paternalistic interpretation of the planner, not the life experience of the actual individual. Both scales are still present at the same time.

The large scale in Saarinen's decentralization could be called regional, for organic decentralization meant looking at the whole picture of a city's functional area. In this scale, the whole and the parts may be seen in a hierarchical order, each with its own place. This hierarchy was later criticized for its rigid tree-like structure [64]. It is difficult to say how rigid it in reality would have been, for Saarinen's diagrams were general enough to give plenty of room for the flexibility and changes that he required of his plans. Many of his students used the scheme in their urban design projects – always

applied to real situations. One of these so called illuminating examples was the decentralization scheme of Chicago [65]. In this part, Saarinen goes back to the Chicago plan by Burnham, and laments the lost possibilities in beautification of the city. If the plan had been followed, much would have been gained, he says. He is especially irked by the forest of skyscrapers breaking up the silhouette like a broken comb. Although, again, Saarinen admits that the sight can be imposing at night. Even so, surgery is needed, he declares. [66]

Saarinen seemed to be a very patient surgeon. According to him, actions should take the bigger picture into consideration, piecemeal improvements without on overall plan were not enough. After comprehensive studies of the whole region, the decentralization process could gradually be implemented. The result would be a regionally functional city, with a liveable business center, quiet communities for living and working and restless commuting minimized. Saarinen writes of the need for openness, space, air and light in these communities – and here the functionalist language of the times can be easily heard. [67]

Saarinen's book is not specific on details, even when it handles actual example cases. It is an explanation and a marketing speech for an idea that required an urban designer's view of the whole and the imagination to see several of the many possible paths to the future of this whole. The city cannot quit, he said – perhaps this echoed his thoughts on the process-nature of city development as well. [68]

Already in the Munkkiniemi-Haaga plan the concept of the whole was visible, the scale regional even when a single housing area was the design task. This whole was so strong, that an individually "deviant" element like the skyscraper should have been subordinate to it. And thus it never really seemed to fit. Saarinen's treatment of the skyscraper as a building type could be seen as a kind of visual analogy of the alternation of the individual and the collective in his writings. He wrote of taking the individual viewpoint into account when dealing with planning issues, but the collective good - as defined by the planner himself – was still the important determining factor. In this Saarinen was very much a writer and planner of his own time.

What was the "public" in Saarinen's writings? The faceless recipient of the designers plans, designed with the "general good" in mind? There was an amount of modernist rhetoric in Saarinen's writings. The different housing types of Munkkiniemi-Haaga were designed for various social groups, each likely knowing its place. The birds' eye views of the Helsinki plans were drawn from a viewpoint that required the skills of a creator of wholes. This creator would know the needs of the people better than they knew themselves – the general good was a design guideline mentioned in the Munkkiniemi-Haaga plan, for example. "Public" was also used to mean the actual realizers and developers of the ideas depicted in the plans. Education was needed to help these realizers understand and make use of what was given to them. There was a strong educational aspect in *The City*, and a belief in the abilities of man. In the way Saarinen stressed the role of the town people themselves in planning processes, one could see a parallel to today's efforts of participatory processes in public planning. Saarinen firmly

believed in the power of education, and sought in his own way to explain what was needed, so that others could continue the work. He was optimistic, ending his book with the same saying he started with: "Show me your city and I will tell you what are the cultural aims of its population". [69]

Saarinen's book does not go into the actual difficulties of participatory planning, he merely states a hopeful, optimistic wish. One wishes it were easier to read between the lines - Saarinen had seen many planning processes in operation in his lifetime and must have known the many difficulties of communication in planning processes. They are never easy, participation requires knowledge and skill. These problems were not the scope of Saarinen's book. He writes of application of the town design principles he has previously outlined in his book, but only in the most general terms, as guidelines of an attitude more than actual procedures. The speed of change in the city of 20th century is one of the determining conditions of the planning research Saarinen mentions. This "research" was future-oriented, the preliminary stage of the design process, that gave the material for alternative schemes of new possibilities. It meant the kind of visionary thinking that could see different paths of growth for the future – but not the concrete pictures of the "City of Tomorrow"-type, as Saarinen was quick to point out. He seemed to want to stay away from exactly the kind of visioning that had been criticized in connection with his Munkkiniemi-Haaga plan: the vision of a complete ready-made city. Instead he stressed flexible procedures, not the appearance of a "dream scheme" future. [70]

Every urban designer is familiar with, for example, the diagram made reality of Ebenezer Howard, the modernistic monumentality of Corbusier's city visions and the science fiction detailing hovering above Frank Lloyd Wright's sketches of Broadacre city. For Saarinen's vision of the future city we must be content with the water-drop derived disintegrating block diagram. The details are not there. The carefully detailed townscape of Munkkiniemi-Haaga has given way to plain words describing a flexible procedure in general terms. This leaves a great deal to the reader's interpretation, and fails to capture the imagination in the same way that the concrete visions – no matter how unrealistic – did and do. Organic decentralization was more an idea than a vision.

As an idea it was easy to apply to different situations, and it was even given new interpretations. In Finland Saarinen's pupil Otto-Iivari Meurman coined a new Finnish word for it, shifting the focus from badly concentrated cities (which Finland of 60 years ago did not really have) to the periphery. It was used to explain the need for new suburban housing neighborhoods, mostly built in the 1960s and 1970s according to prevailing modern concepts with rows of housing blocks. Flexible the idea certainly was, readily interpreted to fit new conditions and aspirations set by new times. [71]

Conclusion

As an urban designer Eliel Saarinen started his planning career with private commissions that eventually resulted in a visually spectacular plan that he finished alone. He went on to design a much applied model for the skyscraper, which never

really fit into his own city concept. In his book he ends up writing of planning as a joint effort of various professionals; he stressed the process-like nature of designing cities and gave planning advice that was mostly directed to the public sector. One may see interesting dichotomies or even contradictions when one compares Saarinen's early plans and later texts, but there are also similarities in the educational aspects. In all these cases the role of the planner is seen as someone who operates on an ideological level and relies on the convincing power of his ideas. In the book – in spite of its optimism - the reader can also sense something of the constant tensions of the planning profession: moving between visionary thinking and the strenuous processes of realization. In the time-consuming realization of city-building, the eventual results were bound to look different from the Saarinen images. This was the case with the detailed plans as well as the diagrams of organic decentralization. Saarinen was answering to the planning needs of his own time and times changed. The urban visions may have remained largely on paper, but the design premises stressed by Saarinen are hardly obsolete. Scale and process may still belong to an urban designer's vocabulary.

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[1] Shane, David Grahame, Recombinant Urbanism: Conceptual Modeling in Architecture, Urban Design and City Theory (Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons Ltd., 2005), pp. 155-230. Armature, enclave and heterotopia are the three urban elements introduced by Shane.

[2] See Bertel Jung in http://www.mfa.fi/architects, the Architects databank provided by the Museum of Finnish Architecture. 1/2008.

[3] Jung, Bertel, Pro Helsingfors: Suur-Helsingin asemakaavan ehdotus, by Eliel Saarinen et al. (Osakeyhtiö Lilius & Hertzberg, 1918), p.xx.

[4] Nikula, Riitta, Focus on Finnish 20th Century Architecture and Town Planning (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2006), p. 47, 87. Nikula writes that Bertel Jung made several Helsinki-plans in the first three years of the Town Planning Commission. These were the precursors to actual official Helsinki Master Plans. The tasks of the secretary of this Town Planning Commission were the tasks of a town planning architect.

[5] "Eliel Saarisen Helsinki-suunnitelma liian suurenmoinen", Helsingin Sanomat 26.4.1935.

[6] Mikkola, Kirmo, Eliel Saarinen aikansa kaupunkisuunnittelunäkemysten tulkkina, (Espoo: YJK Publications A14, 1984), p. 73.

[7] Virtanen Pekka V., Yhdyskuntasuunnittelun haasteita (Helsinki: Rakennustieto Oy, 2003). The Munkkiniemi –Haaga plan is here cited as an example of planning failures.

[8] As noted by Mikkola: Mikkola, Kirmo, "Eliel Saarinen ja kaupunkisuunnittelu" in Marika Hausen et al., Eliel Saarinen: Suomen aika (Keuruu: Suomen rakennustaiteen museo, 1990), p. 195. See also Mikkola 1984, 34.
Saarinen himself wrote years later, that as a town builder he was professionally familiar with the Burnham plan long before he ever thought of going to the United States. See Saarinen, Eliel, "Project for Lake Front Development of the City of Chicago" in American Architect 124, no. 2434, 1923, p. 487. See also Tafuri, Manfredo, "The Disenchanted Mountain: The Skyscraper and the City", p. 513, in Giorgio Ciucci et al., The American City. From the Civil War to the New Deal (London: Granada, 1980, originally published in 1973 as La città americana dalla guerra civile al New Deal). Saarinen had studied the plan in detail, and most likely was also familiar with the design and marketing processes of the plan – as these were the very essence of its significance.

[9] Kirmo Mikkola has illustrated his story on Saarinen as an urban designer with Burnham's general plan layout and a bird's eye view of the city center. According to Mikkola, links to Burnham's plan could be found in the axial streetscape of the boulevards and the apartment house blocks, but he notes that the same themes also appear in Otto Wagner's Vienna plans of 1893 and 1911. Mikkola notes also that both

the Chicago plan and the Helsinki plans were begun by the initiative of local businessmen. Saarinen also used organism-similes in a way that was similar to the Burnham plan text. Mikkola 1990,194, 205, 349.

[10] Mikkola 1990, 194; and Christ-Janer, Albert, Eliel Saarinen (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1979, originally published in 1948), p. 136. See also Tafuri, 512 – Tafuri mentions the cities visited: Stockholm, Copenhagen, Hamburg, Karlsruhe, München. See also Hakkarainen, Helena, Eliel Saarisen Munkkiniemi-Haagan asemakaava-suunnitelman taustaa ja lähtökohtia. Taidehistorian pro-seminaarikirjoitelma. Helsingin yliopisto, taidehistorian laitos, p. 16. According to Mikkola, Saarinen probably visited the Berlin town planning exhibition in 1910 before starting on the Munkkiniemi-Haaga Plan. Mikkola 1984, 31.

[11] Solomonson, Katherine, The Chicago Tribune Tower Competition: Skyscraper Design and Cultural Change in the 1920s (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 238. Solomonson calls it a German translation, but in actuality it was a short description of the main ideas, with Hegemann's comments.

[12] Scott, Mel, American City Planning since 1890 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971, Originally published in 1969), pp. 102-103, 139. See also Manieri-Elia, Mario, "Toward an 'Imperial City': Daniel H. Burnham and the City Beautiful Movement" in Giorgio Ciucci et al., The American City: From the Civil War to the New Deal (London: Granada, 1980, originally published as La città americana dalla guerra civile al New Deal, 1973), p. 101.

[13] Wrigley according to Manieri-Elia 1980, 104.

[14] The book was published in August 1915 and exhibited publicly in Helsinki at Ritarihuone in October 1915. The plan subscriber, M. G. Stenius Company, financed the design process, the exhibition and the publication of the book. 3000 copies of the book were printed, in Swedish and in Finnish. Hakkarainen 1968, 4.

[15] For a comparison of the two plans, see Minna Chudoba, "From Visions to Fragments: Influence of Chicago Plan on the visualized Helsinki of early 20th century" in Agents of Change? Architects in the 21st century. Nordic Association of Architectural Research, Annual Symposium 2006 (The Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, School of Architecture, 2006).

[16] Saarinen, Eliel et al., Munkkiniemi-Haaga ja Suur-Helsinki: Tutkimuksia ja ehdotuksia kaupunkijärjestelyn alalta (Helsinki: M.G. Stenius Osakeyhtiö, 1915), p. 75.

[17] Manieri-Elia 1980, 99.

[18] See for example Talking about the City, a collection of articles originally presented as a lecture series in connection with an exhibition of Helsinki designs, Autumn 2000 to February 2001, The Museum of Finnish Architecture.

[19] "Eliel Saarinen's proposed Lake Front development", Chicago Sunday Tribune, Nov 18, 1923.

[20] Shane 2005, 200.

[21] Mikkola has noted Saarinen's combination of Haussmannian axiality and the enclosed spaces of Sitte. Mikkola 1990, 200.

[22] Meurman, Otto-Iivari, "Munkkiniemi ja Haaga" in Otava kuvallinen kuukauslehti 1915, pp. 505-512.

[23] Trieb, Marc, "Urban Fabric by the Bolt: Eliel Saarinen at Munkkiniemi -Haaga". Architectural Association Quarterly 13 (Jan – June 1982), pp. 43-58.

[24] Trieb, Marc, "Eliel Saarinen kaupunkisuunnittelijana: aukio ja torni", Arkkitehti 3, 1985, pp. 16-31.

[25] Saarinen according to Tafuri 1980, 513. Original source: Eliel Saarinen."Project for Lakefront Development of the City of Chicago", American Architect 124, no. 2434, 1923, pp. 487-514.

[26] "Grant Park Plan developed by Saarinen gives solution for automobile congestion", Evanston News-Index, Thursday Jan 3, 1924.

[27] Saarinen in his letter to his representatives Wallace and Grenman, cited in the article "Europe wakes up to the need of US skyscraper", Chicago Daily Tribune, 23.1 1923; see also Solomonson 2001, 238-239.

[28] Manfredo Tafuri has noted that Saarinen claims not to have followed the development of American commercial architecture prior to the competition. In spite of this claim, Richardsonian influence, for example, is clear. Tafuri 1980, 418. On the Richardsonian influence, see also Hausen, Marika, "Saarinen Suomessa" in Eliel Saarinen: Suomen aika (Suomen Rakennustaiteen museo,1990), pp. 22-32.

[29] "Europe wakes up to the need of U.S. skyscraper", Chicago Daily Tribune, 23.1.1923, article cites Saarinen's letter.

[30] This was implied as well in the writings of Louis Sullivan, who would have given Saarinen the first prize. Sullivan, Louis H., "The Chicago Tribune Competition." in Maurice English (ed.), The Testament of Stone: Themes of Idealism and Indignation from the Writings of Louis Sullivan (North Western University Press, 1963; original article from The Architectural Record, February, 1923), pp. 63-70; see also Solomonson 2001, 93.

[31] For example, Architectural Record was subscribed by Gustaf Nyström, Saarinen's teacher at the Polytechnic Institute in Helsinki (which Saarinen attended from 1893-1897). Nyström's Architectural Record magazines from the years 1891-1906 are in neatly bound volumes at the Museum of Finnish Architecture Library in Helsinki. Skyscrapers were also shown in the pages of the Finnish architectural magazine Arkitekten.

[32] See for example "Architectural Aberrations – no 16", Architectural Record 1897-1898, pp. 218-222.

[33] Tafuri 1980, 390-391.

[34] Solomonson 2001, 236-238.

[35] Saarinen, Eliel, International Competition for Design of Federal Capital. Report accompanying design submitted by Eliel Saarinen, of Helsingfors, 1912. Series accession number CP487/6/1. Collections of the National Archives of Australia and the National Library of Australia. http://naa12.naa.gov.au/scripts/imagine.asp, 19.7.2006.

[36] In 1932 Alfred Granger – the only architect member of the Chicago Tribune tower competition jury – said in the Tribune, that the Saarinen competition entry had had more influence on American architecture than any other building. Solomonson 2001, 293

[37] Sullivan 1963, 67-68.

[38] Scully, Vincent . American Architecture and Urbanism (New York: Henry Holt and Co., new revised ed., 1988; originally published in 1969), p. 152; see also Tafuri 1980, 517.

[39] Tafuri mentions several: Ralph Walker: Barclay-Vesey, NY; Albert Kahn: Maccabees and Fisher Buildings, Detroit; Charles C. Klauder: University of Pittsburgh ("cathedral of learning"); Mills, Rhines, Bellman and Nordhoff: Bell Telephone Building, Cleveland. Tafuri 1980, 417. Raymond Hood's American Radiator Building, NY (1924) was also one. Hood cited by Solomonson 2001, 247.

[40] Johns, Orrick, "Finnish Architect Prescribes for Us", The New York Times Magazine, 17.5.1925. Note: Le Corbusier in his book The City of Tomorrow (L'Urbanisme, originally published in 1924) also compared the Northern pine tree forests with sky-reaching architecture. Le Corbusier 1987, 62. See Marshall Berman, All that is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity (London: Verso Editions, 1983, first published in 1982 by Simon and Schuster), pp. 297-298.

[41] See Saarinen, Eliel, "A New Architectural Language for America", Western Architect 32, no. 2, 1923, p.13; "Saarinen Finds Beauty in N.Y. Architecture", Chicago Daily Tribune, 13.3.1923 and "Favors a Decentralized City", New York Sun, 21.8.1928.

[42] Saarinen, Eliel, The City: Its Growth, Its Decay, Its Future (New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 5th printing, 1958, originally published in 1943), pp.188-195.

[43] Saarinen 1958, 194.

[44] Shane 2005, 253.

[45] Shane 2005, 253.

[46] Saarinen, Eliel, "Project for Lake Front Development of the City of Chicago". American Architect 124, no. 2434, 1923, pp. 487-514; see also Tafuri, 428.

[47] Shane, 225. Shane also notes that Le Corbusier used a similar "approach street and central station capped by skyscrapers" scheme at about the same time in his City for Three Million.

[48] Tafuri 1980, 431.

[49] Illustration of Sullivan's article in Graphic 5, Dec 19, 1891, according to Tafuri 1980, 420. In the picture there is a vision of a setback skyscraper townscape. The buildings are formed with telescope-like, gradually diminishing boxes.

[50] Bennett 19.12. 1922 in his letter to Robert McCormick, according to Solomonson 2005, 241.

[51] Saarinen, Eliel, "A New Architectural Language for America", Western Architect 32, no. 2, 1923, p.13.

[52] Saarinen 1958, 52.

[53] Trieb 1982, 52. Trieb has noted that Saarinen realized that the implementation of his plan would mean that it would be the work of many architects. His work was a guideline.

[54] Saarinen 1958, 347.

[55] Lewis Mumford called it a "perspicuous plea for decentralized reorganization of great centers". Mumford, Lewis, The City in History (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1961), p. 621.

[56] Mikkola 1984, 93.

[57] Utopia as defined by Francoise Choay has been used here. Choay has described utopia as criticism of the existing society rather than a description of reforms of change. Choay also links the concept of model space with utopia, utopias describe actual space somewhere else. Choay, Francoise, The Rule and the Model (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1997), p. 7, 34.

[58] see Saarinen 1958, viii.

[59] see Saarinen 1958, 201.

[60] see f.ex. Mikkola 1984, 25.

[61] Saarinen 1958, 201.

[62] Saarinen 1958, 204-206.

[63] Saarinen 1958, 206- 208, 216.

[64] For example by Mikkola 1984, 93.

[65] The decentralization of Chicago, done in 1935-36 by George A Hutchinson Jr. Saarinen 1958, 214.

[66] Saarinen 1958, 300-303.

[67] Saarinen 1958, 307-315.

[68] Saarinen 1958, 316.

[69] Saarinen 1958, x, 377.

[70] Saarinen 1958, 374.

[71] Chudoba, Minna, "Desentralisaatiosta hajakeskitykseen. Kaupunkikirurginen mattoveitsi lähiöitä luomassa" in Yhdyskuntasuunnittelu 2/2007, pp. 70-74.

Prodding officialdom into action: community involvement in planning in Hobart 1945-1962

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Introduction

In Hobart, the capital of the Australian island state of Tasmania, the first phase of the modern town planning movement began in 1915 with the formation of the Southern Tasmanian Town Planning Association. This association developed close links with local government until it folded in 1926 due to lack of public support and opposition from vested interests. After 1945 urban planning in Australia took on a new lease of life as part of a broader aspiration for a better postwar society.[1] In Hobart planning was taken up with renewed fervour when citizens' groups, in alliance with the architectural profession, demanded a larger role in the planning process. Based on archival records left by citizens' groups, the Hobart City Council and the Town and Country Planning Commissioner, this paper will examine the nature of their role, the planning ideas those groups proposed and the extent to which they achieved their goals.

The 1940s and 1950s presented governments at the Federal and State level with many urban challenges.[2] Some of these challenges were of longstanding such as deteriorating housing and the unregulated expansion of industry. Other challenges, arising largely from postwar prosperity and accelerated population growth, were new and included the urban sprawl, ribbon development, the demand for more housing and associated infrastructure created by a baby boom and a mass migration programme and the preservation of open spaces in and around cities.[3] The decline in the price of cars meant that car ownership grew dramatically and was the most powerful force changing the face of Australian cities.[4] Planning enthusiasts argued that a more co-ordinated approach to metropolitan planning would solve these problems and 'created unrealistic expectations about the ability of planning to achieve radical change'.[5] Visits of outstanding British town planners such as Patrick Abercrombie in 1948 further heightened expectations of what large-scale metropolitan planning could achieve. Alexander has argued that generally the plans of the 1950s were 'top-down documents' with little scope for public participation, but he notes that 'people in the community made their voices heard on specific planning issues'.[6] His analysis underestimates the role played by progress associations in the immediate post-war period. Although prominent in the improvement and beautification of most Australian suburbs and rural communities from at least the early twentieth century, progress associations have received little systematic scholarly attention, as Mullins has pointed out.[7] Mullins argues that these staunchly middle-class associations made a significant contribution to the improvement of household and residential life and urban development in Australia, especially between 1945 and the 1960s.[8]

This paper reinforces Mullins' claim about the prominent role of progress associations in the post-war period. Although the smallest capital city, Hobart faced similar problems to

the other Australian capitals and members of progress associations were consequently active in urban affairs.[9] Citizens banded together because of 'visible shared interests' in ensuring their suburbs had the necessary infrastructure and facilities to forge better lives for their families.[10] The various suburban associations coalesced to form the Council of Hobart Progress Associations (CHPA) in 1944, hoping to place greater pressure on the City Council. In early 1948 the CHPA persuaded the town-planning conscious City Council to form a Citizen's Advisory Town Planning Committee (CATPC), which would have a representative on the City Councils' Town Planning Committee. The CATPC, a broadly-based community body, proved to be a vigilant watchdog and some of its members became powerful advocates of participatory and co-operative planning. Some CATPC members were even elected as aldermen, which strengthened its voice on the City Council.

The CATPC provided the City Council with ideas on town planning and was a catalyst for change when public interest in town planning seemed to be dying as post-war reform euphoria waned. It made various suggestions concerning road alignments that needed widening to avoid bottle-necks, the provision of off-street car parking, the development of the port, the improvement of recreation areas, and the urgent need for co-ordinated metropolitan planning. By 1958 many but certainly not all of the CATPC's proposals were taken up by the City Council and its push for co-ordinated planning bore fruit in the establishment of the Southern Tasmanian Master Planning Authority in 1957. Having fulfilled many of its objectives, the CATPC lost momentum and folded in 1958. Its role was taken over by the CHPA and the work of this body will also be discussed to 1962 when a master plan was drawn up for Hobart. Before examining the work of the CATPC, this paper begins by providing the background to the formation of the CATPC and the context in which it operated.

Background

In the early decades of the twentieth century the Hobart City Council showed little interest in town planning. In 1915 the Southern Tasmanian Town Planning Association (STTPA) was formed and was the key body in publicising town planning ideals and projects until 1926.[11] It attempted to secure town-planning legislation, better housing and roads, and more parks and playgrounds for children. The STTPA had greater success in beautifying Hobart's parks and reserves than in improving urban housing and town planning legislation was not passed. Aldermen were willing to beautify the city because it was not a heavy drain on limited funds, alienated few vested interests, and promised to increase revenue by attracting tourists. Altering the urban environment by slum clearance and removal of insanitary housing was less appealing because it required interference with the rights of landowners and would be a much heavier charge on municipal finances. Suburban progress associations, which had been officially registered at the Town Clerk's office from November 1924, continued to raise some town planning concerns for their local areas to 1939, but no city-wide pressure group was formed.

World War Two had a great impact on attitudes towards town planning in Tasmania. People became dissatisfied with old ways of doing things and demanded that government deal with the social problems caused by the disregard of housing and planning.[12] Major advances in town planning occurred after housing reformer, businessman and former STTPA member Alderman John Soundy became Lord Mayor of Hobart in 1938.[13] Soundy was aided in his endeavours by the newly-appointed Town Clerk HJR Cole, a keen supporter of town planning. Under Soundy, new powers were acquired to control subdivisions and widen streets. Perhaps Soundy's most important initiative occurred in February 1943 when he set up a Town Planning Committee, comprising one representative of each standing committee of the Council.

The primary function of the Town Planning Committee was to secure a plan of the city. In 1944 the City of Hobart had a population of 54, 215 and Soundy wanted a plan for a population of 100,000. He realised that 'in an old city like Hobart it would be a costly job to replan some of it'.[14] Hobart had numerous topographical 'problems to solve in providing a balanced plan'. Engineering difficulties arose from 'the hilly nature of the land and deep gullies, especially along the elevated sections of the city and Sandy Bay', a suburb to the south. The scarcity of flat land made provision of recreation areas difficult. As Hobart was mostly squeezed between the River Derwent and Mount Wellington, plans to attract industry competed with plans to provide housing for a growing population. The approaches to the city also needed careful consideration.

In 1943 the Town Planning Committee appointed Frederick Charles Cook, City Engineer for Port Melbourne in Victoria, to prepare a town planning scheme.[15] Cook's thorough plan concentrated on the zoning, traffic and recreational needs of the city, but avoided difficult issues such as the government of a Greater Hobart area embracing the surrounding Glenorchy and Kingborough Councils and any attempt to estimate the cost of his proposals. Remarkably, Cook ignored increasingly important issues such as the provision of car parks, community centres and facilities for the young and unwisely minimised the urgency of street widening. Perhaps influenced by his Port Melbourne experience, Cook sanctioned the building of industry on the foreshore, but this proposal was widely condemned as destroying the tourist industry. Despite its deficiencies, Cook's plan was timely as the State's first major planning legislation, the Town and Country Planning Act 1944, was gazetted to be operational in 1945. Based on the English Town and Country Planning Act 1932, the Tasmanian Act strengthened local government responsibility for planning. Councils were required to submit a proposed town planning scheme to the newly-appointed Town and Country Planning Commissioner, RA McInnis, and, once this scheme was provisionally approved, it remained open for public inspection and objection for three months.

The Hobart City Council intended to use Cook's plan as the basis for its statutory plan under the Act. First the standing committees of Council would study reactions to Cook's plan from 'all responsible citizens' and then steps would be taken to prepare the official town planning scheme for registration under the Act.[16] The Council supplied bound and illustrated copies of the plan to professional bodies of architects, surveyors and engineers and to progress associations. Although there were few written replies, those

who did respond were favourably disposed towards Cook's plan. But they also sent the clear message that a top down approach to planning was unacceptable and could no longer be tolerated. They urged that citizens be involved in future discussion and development of the plan to ensure that public needs were not sacrificed to the demands of vested interests as historically had been the case in Hobart and to ensure that the City Council put the plan into effect. The engineers and the CHPA, which had been formed in 1944, wanted a Town Planning Committee composed of technical experts and representatives of government departments, adjoining municipalities and citizen bodies.

Despite receiving generally approving if not enthusiastic comments on Cook's plan, the Hobart City Council seemed to lose impetus in preparing a town planning scheme.[17] The Council did not appoint interested and expert residents to its Town Planning Committee and kept its 'actions and attitudes' to planning secret. Work was slow mainly because the Council, claiming not to be able to afford a town planner, had designated the overworked but capable City Engineer JE Knott as Planning Officer. This was compounded by the Council's refusal officially to confer with McInnis or to seek his advice. As traffic and parking problems intensified, the public demand for action and representation, voiced through the CHPA and the Institute of Architects, grew louder.[18] As the need to draft a statutory plan became more urgent, the Council, with Cole taking a lead, relented and did invite McInnis, the most experienced town planner in the State, to attend meetings of the Town Planning Committee.

The CHPA pressed for a conference with Cole and senior municipal officers in July 1946 to discuss 'many subjects affecting municipal administration and the status of progress associations'.[19] CHPA Chairman, John Arthur Turnbull, hoped the conference would 'stimulate public interest in civic problems by a free exchange of views and ideas'.[20] Subjects discussed included providing the CHPA with 'a detailed and comprehensive schedule of works and expenditure' before a decision on the works was made, eliminating river pollution by installing a sewage treatment plant, promoting greater adherence to municipal by-laws by citizens, abolishing slums, compelling the installation of baths in old houses, and recognising the CHPA as 'a nucleus' of a citizens' Town Planning Committee.[21] The CHPA finally persuaded the Town Planning Committee of the need for such a body and in early 1948 Cole invited the CHPA to form a Citizens' Advisory Town Planning Committee (CATPC) and appoint a representative to the City Council's Town Planning Committee.[22] The Citizens' Committee contained representatives from the Royal Hobart Regatta Association, the Institute of Architects, the Tasmanian Council of School Parents Association, the National Fitness Council, the Better Homes for Australia Association, the Tasmanian Road Transport Association and suburban progress associations.

Community involvement in planning: the CATPC and the CHPA

Would the appointment of the CATPC be a turning point for community planning in Hobart? Certainly much was expected of it. As one town planning official noted, such 'lively, keen, and knowledgeable groups of citizens' were essential 'to lead, support and

sometimes to prod into action Officialdom'.[23] The CATPC hoped to obtain 'a better insight into the difficulties that beset the City Council in its planning' and to develop 'a pronounced feeling of co-operation in the task of completing a plan that will meet present difficulties' based on Cook's recommendations. Drawing on the wide cross section of views of its members, the CATPC hoped, 'as private citizens, to accept our full share of responsibility in the task of planning our City in the future'.[24] If the 'co-operative outlook' and 'essential team spirit' was maintained, the committee was confident it could surmount 'obstacles' in its way.   The CATPC was given free use of a room in the Town Hall and the Town Clerk and City Engineer attended meetings in 'an advisory capacity'. Other signs of co-operation included the CATPC agreeing in June 1948 to prepare a civic survey plan to show 'existing use and occupation of all land within the city'.[25] This would be 'an adjunct' to the City Council's final zoning plan.

The CATPC was initially represented on the City Council Town Planning Committee by its Chairman, John Arthur Turnbull, a clerk with a military background.[26] Turnbull believed that the CATPC had made 'civic history and had opened up unlimited opportunities of civic service'.[27] Turnbull tried to cultivate good relations with local newspapers to give maximum publicity to planning issues but the newspapers did not always publish press releases.[28] He was elected an alderman in 1950 and, resigning as chairman of the CATPC, tried but failed to have even greater influence on shaping planning policy inside the City Council until his defeat at the City Council elections in 1954.[29] He urged his CATPC colleagues to keep working with the City Council to achieve 'the vision splendid' and not be deflected by critics 'whose limited horizon does not permit their gaze to penetrate beyond their own little world of to-day'.

Turnbull was succeeded as chairman and CATPC representative on the City Council Town Planning Committee by KF Cowles. When pressure of business forced Cowles to step down from the City Council, he was replaced by Colin Philp, an architect, who was the most prominent individual to extol the benefits of community planning up to 1962.[30] In 1954 Philp went on a planning tour of North America and England and in 1955 wrote a pamphlet for citizens called *Planning for You.*[31] Planning did not mean regimentation or 'a set of immutable decrees or restrictions', but co-operation in 'a completely democratic manner to serve the best interests of all citizens'. He concluded that the 'right kind of planning will only result if informed and active citizens … arouse public opinion and assist the planners to make our communities better places for our families, our neighbours and ourselves to live in'.

Philp had a chance to transform the City Council when in 1956 he was elected an alderman, but at the insistence of the City Council remained as the CATPC representative on the City Council Town Planning Committee.[32] This disappointed and puzzled the CATPC, which wanted to replace Philp with its new chairman, another architect, IG Anderson, to retain 'the independence of approach to Town Planning problems not always possible when the member concerned had the wider responsibility of an elected civic leader'.[33] The City Council gave no satisfactory explanation for this change in policy, which indicated a more insular approach to planning. Alternatively, the decision may have had something to do with the attitude of aldermen to Anderson (an

alderman himself from 1950 to 1954) because in July 1958 when the CATPC nominated Turnbull as its nominee this was accepted.[34] While an alderman Anderson had 'continually' argued that planning had 'nothing whatever to do with economics or finance' and this produced negative attitudes to planning on the City Council.[35] But for some time the influence of the CATPC had been weakened by the lack of interest shown by some of its affiliated bodies and attendance at meetings was 'very poor' perhaps because, as we will see, of the new planning 'instrumentalities' that it had suggested be formed.[36] In July 1958 the CATPC realised that, as interest in it had dwindled, its functions 'had to a large extent been taken over' by the CHPA and by one vote decided to disband after ten years of active involvement in town planning 'problems and projects' in Hobart.[37] Turnbull remained the CHPA representative on the City Council Town Planning Committee, but became 'an observer' not a member.[38] He found his association with this committee 'always friendly and productive'.[39] We now move on to discuss some of the specific proposals of the CATPC and the CHPA relating to roads and cars, recreational areas and building standards and co-ordinated planning.

Roads and cars

After 1945 the CATPC gave particular attention to the issues arising from the dramatic rise in car ownership, especially after petrol rationing was lifted in 1949, and the need for better roads to assist traffic flow.[40] In 1949 the CATPC was concerned that the state government's plans to improve road alignments to Tasmanian cities were not ambitious enough 'to meet future traffic requirements' and would result in bottlenecks.[41] It was satisfied that at 150 feet wide the new northern approach to Hobart would be adequate, but in a deputation to the Minister for Lands and Works Eric Reece criticised the decision to destroy the Risdon Reserve by building the road through it.[42] The CATPC was reassured that the road would not 'intersect' the area but would, as it wanted, be raised to 'span it' and that additional land would be purchased so that 2 separate sports grounds would be built on 'either side of the proposed viaduct'. When the cost of the road grew dramatically and the Cosgrove government demanded that the City Council pay for the last part from Cleary's Gates to the city CDB, the CHPA supported the view that it was 'a State responsibility' and not a municipal one.[43] This prompted Premier Robert Cosgrove to call the CHPA 'stooges' of the City Council, an insult Turnbull vigorously denied. The government finally built the road to the railway roundabout near Liverpool Street and the Council built the final section to Davey Street after a large programme of land acquisition.

The CATPC also raised objections when the southern outlet road was mooted to be built by the Department of Public Works through the Fitzroy Gardens Reserve.[44] Although conceding that an alternative route raised 'technical difficulties', the CATPC thought these should be overcome to stop 'this beautiful park land being destroyed or impaired by an arterial thoroughfare'. The southern outlet road was ultimately built through part of the gardens but much of the area was saved. There is no evidence to indicate what the CATPC felt about Cook's idea of building a diagonal road through, and redeveloping, the old working-class enclave of Wapping on the Hobart waterfront. This road would have endangered the historic Theatre Royal, but the idea was finally

abandoned in 1957 when the City Council adopted a one-way street system to improve traffic flow in the city.[45]

The CATPC agitated to stop 'ribbon development' occurring along the main highways and to stop subdivision of land with frontages along the highways.[46] It wanted a green belt on both sides of the highway with a by-road inside the green belt. It had an ally in McInnis, who supported park strips ten feet wide on both sides of highways, barred subdivision along highways and required 'parallel roads' to the main highway to serve all subdivisions. This stopped car parking along the highway and facilitated future highway widening.

The CATPC was also interested in inner city street congestion. It suggested that Davey Street be widened by building a two level road through Franklin Square, the city's most central and oldest park, because congestion was intolerable in the area.[47] In 1953 CATPC also objected to the proposed diagonal road from the corner of Warwick and Elizabeth Streets to Molle and Macquarie Streets because it would create 'many awkward and dangerous intersections'.[48] The CATPC suggested that congestion in North Hobart would be more effectively relieved by extending Murray Street to join Elizabeth Street at the North Hobart Post Office. The City Council sensibly abandoned the diagonal road and decided against the extension of Murray Street on the grounds of expense.

One area of contention between the CATPC and the City Council was over the width of Montpelier Retreat, which was a major outlet from the Hobart waterfront. The CATPC criticised the Council's decision, supported by McInnis, to provide a 50 feet reservation and wanted this to be widened to 70 feet to allow two-way traffic to use it and to allow parking.[49] When two lorries were parked on either side of the street, Philp pointed out, it was 'very difficult' for traffic to pass through and a longer view of the provision of future needs should be taken'.[50] The demands of 'wise town planning for the future' persuaded the CHPA in 1957 to lobby the City Council for a tunnel to be built under Harrington Street at its intersection with Macquarie Street.[51] Although 'expensive', the improvement would 'eliminate' traffic congestion at this busy intersection.

The greater use of cars created a demand for more car parks and the CATPC took a keen interest in planning for future needs. It urged the City Council 'to prohibit the use of property in city areas as timber stacking and timber drying yards' and to buy up existing areas for car parking.[52] The CATPC thought car parking was the government's responsibility, but the government disagreed and the advisory committee lobbied the City Council. In 1955 the City Council installed over 200 parking meters, a first for an Australian city, in 1956 opened its first off-street car park in lower Macquarie Street, and in 1958 zoned four areas near the centre of the city for off-street parking.[53] New premises would also be required to supply parking spaces. The CATPC and CHPA both pushed for a central bus terminal at Lower Collins Street as one way of removing city congestion on Hobart's narrow streets and encouraging the use of public transport.[54]

We have already discussed the CATPC desire to improve traffic flow from the waterfront and Philp was appointed the CATPC representative on the Port of Hobart Foreshores Committee to comment on this and other port related issues.[55] The CATPC 'strongly' opposed the proposal to fill in Victoria and Constitution Docks for use as parking areas as Cook's plan had recommended and deemed the dock as an 'essential' port installation.[56] Opposition was equally strong in 1950 to the Marine Board's proposal to build a fruit inspection shed on the triangle next to Parliament Square. The building would obscure vision in an area where traffic was 'very heavy' and would only increase when Montpelier Retreat was widened.[57] In both cases the CATPC view won the argument, but Philp pointed out that the City Council had 'no control' over any building the Marine Board wanted to build on its land.[58] He thought that the Council should be given this control to stop the erection of buildings that 'did not conform to accepted standards'. Control was not likely, but the two bodies did confer on a zoning plan for the waterfront.[59] One zone was devoted to general port uses and the other for restricted port uses.

In 1958 the Marine Board proved that greater control was necessary when it proposed to reclaim about five acres of land at Castray Esplanade to build Numbers 4 and 5 Princes Wharf berths and large goods sheds.[60] A deputation of the CHPA and other associations to the Legislative Council pointed out that the Marine Board proposal would add to the already 'heavy traffic' in the area and would be 'short sighted'. To relieve congestion it was preferable to develop the other side of the port at Macquarie Point, where there was easy access to rail facilities and the new northern outlet road. The deputation also noted the impact on the residents of Battery Point from the noise and fumes, on 'the unique scenic and historical value' of Princes Park and Castray Esplanade, and on the crowds who watched yachting from the foreshore. To the dismay of many, Parliament sanctioned the reclamation, but subsequent lobbying by the CHPA persuaded the Marine Board to build 'a low shed with access to a promenade on top' instead of building the original sheds.[61]

When he became an alderman, Philp constantly drew attention to the problems caused by cars. In July 1956 he warned the City Council Town Planning Committee that 'we have to convince ourselves, as well as the public, that the motor vehicle poses the biggest problem for us in the future and right now. A problem we *must* solve if we are to keep Hobart a living, growing, healthy city' and to stop 'the inevitable slowing down and strangling of the business of the City'.[62] Towards the end of 1956 Philp thought good progress had been made in widening street alignments at Sandy Bay Road and Elizabeth Street, two very busy thoroughfares for shoppers.[63] In 1957, to make some progress with forward planning, Philp secured the appointment of a planning officer working under the City Engineer.[64] His duties included preparing plans for street alignments and for the development of new areas, including the layout of streets and services and the zoning of land, and maintaining the current draft town plan.

Recreational areas and building standards

The CATPC was ever vigilant to protect recreational areas for public use. In 1949 Philp's plan to reclaim about six acres of the Marieville Esplanade, Sandy Bay attracted

notice. The City Council adopted the CATPC proposal to restrict the foreshore to 'aquatic facilities' for the public and stop encroachment by 'sectional interests'.[65] The City Council was less willing to buy properties along the Sandy Bay foreshore to provide open spaces for the public, but did agree to buy 'vacant land where possible as "open windows" to the River'.[66] Other established recreational spots did not escape the attention of the CATPC. In 1949 Amy Rowntree, one of a handful of women to contribute to community planning before 1962, suggested a scheme to recondition the tracks and restore signposts on Mount Wellington 'as a greater attraction for tourists'.[67] This was taken up by the City Council, which began to show greater interest in the mountain as a recreational resource. Preserving 'the natural beauty' of areas such as Fern Tree, the suburb adjacent to the mountain, was another CATPC suggestion welcomed by the Council.[68] The City Council was also urged to acquire the Fort Nelson site on Mount Nelson for its 'scenic, historic, and recreational value' and to keep the CATPC informed about proposed improvements to the Domain, a large area of scenic bushland near the city centre.[69]

The CHPA also had to be alert for encroachments onto public recreational areas. In 1960 the City Council proposal to alienate about five acres of Mount Wellington for a hotel development threatened to disrupt its 'harmonious relationship' with the CHPA.[70] The proposal ran counter to 'the best interests' of Hobart and was soundly defeated in a poll of ratepayers in May, yet the City Council was ready to override that decision by leasing the land for 99 years and not selling it. This did not alter the CHPA's principled stand against the alienation of 'the people's park for profit' and their protest was successful. Turnbull philosophically declared that 'true progress in the city was built on constant striving' and that 'disagreements were part of the effort for progress', but he adhered to 'a policy of constructive thought and co-operative approach'.[71]

Across the Derwent River in the Clarence Municipality the CATPC agitated in 1950 to have the area between Bridge Road and Montagu Bay known as Smelting Works Point 'reserved for public use'.[72] The area had originally been zoned as a shopping area, but McInnis agreed with the CATPC that it was more suitable for a reserve.[73] The issue dragged on and Philp, frustrated at the delay, urged McInnis to stop the area being built over for housing by the Agricultural Bank.[74] This is one of the few instances of the CATPC contributing to the debate over how government departments ignored local government planning schemes when building housing estates. The CATPC showed little interest in the provision of public housing, one of the most important social issues after 1945, perhaps because its middle-class members did not experience housing and other social problems and the committee was more interested in infrastructure.[75] After a period of 'tremendous growth' in home building, the housing shortage had eased considerably by 1960, but propensity of the Housing Department to build where it liked and to override municipal planning schemes should have concerned community planning bodies more than it did.[76]

A desire to preserve iconic recreational areas was complemented by a desire to preserve iconic buildings. Noting how the city skyline and street architecture was changing, in 1953 the CATPC expressed 'alarm that some public buildings of distinction', such as the Town Hall and Davey Street Public Buildings, had been

'disfigured by cheap, makeshift additions contrary to the building regulations'.[77] The CATPC suggested that an advisory committee of architects 'should have some overall supervision of building control'.[78] They would advise on matters such as 'the appropriate siting of buildings', 'suitable heights' and 'good skylines', the most appropriate material for a locality, 'the modifications of conflicting designs for adjacent buildings', and point out where shop fascias and advertising elevations were unsuitable. All government and private buildings would be vetted by the advisory committee as 'they collectively constitute the city pattern and in consequence should be vital to the City's welfare'. The City Council Town Planning Committee considered the appointment of an advisory panel.

Co-ordinated planning

The purview of the CATPC was broader than the city of Hobart itself and it was behind the push for co-ordinated planning in Greater Hobart. This was a contentious issue and required support from the various local government authorities which had legislative responsibility for planning—the Hobart City Council, the Glenorchy Municipal Council to the north, the Kingborough Municipal Council to the south and the Clarence Municipal Council on the eastern shore of the River Derwent. Agreement was also required from McInnis as Town and Country Planning Commissioner and government departments and marine boards, which were not bound by planning legislation and ignored municipal planning schemes. Philp told McInnis that he was anxious to get 'planning done, instead of being forever swayed by conflicting interests and ribbon development going on all the while'.[79] In 1950 the CATPC approved of the Hobart City Council holding a conference with the municipalities of Clarence, Kingston and Glenorchy to discuss 'co-operative town planning' on arterial roads, sporting and recreational provision, industrial areas and water supply.[80] In addition to the four councils, nominees of the Hobart Marine Board and of the government became members of the Hobart Joint Planning Advisory Committee. This committee did not last long because the government and government instrumentalities were opposed to becoming legally bound by the Town and Country Planning Act and Glenorchy suspected Hobart of wanting to take it over.[81]

The CATPC also grew impatient at the City Council's approach to planning and urged Premier Cosgrove to appoint a planning board for Greater Hobart with power to bind all councils and the government.[82] McInnis thought the CATPC was 'closely in touch with the planning problems of the City, and their suggestions are worthy of consideration'. However, he saw political and other difficulties in creating a Greater Hobart Council and adhered to his view that 'planning must be done by those authorities who must carry it out'. He recommended that the government appoint a Greater Hobart Planning Advisory Committee, with himself as convener and chairman, one council and one technical representative each from the four councils, one representative from each of the Citizen Advisory Committees of those councils, one representative from the Department of Public Works, the Transport Commission, the Education Department and the Department of Public Health, and one representative from the professional bodies of engineers, architects and surveyors. Although not suggesting that the committee be given 'statutory authority', McInnis thought giving it 'official status' would enable the committee to approach government departments and councils and receive 'full

consideration of its requests'. Cabinet approved and the new Hobart Metropolitan Planning Committee (HMPC) was formed.

The HMPC held its first meeting on 11 September 1951. Its primary aim was to plan for the metropolitan area as a sub-region to achieve 'the best conditions of living, working and recreation' and to secure 'the implementation of the plan as a framework for statutory Town Planning Schemes'.[83] Although many useful reports were written on subjects like the location of industry, residential development and traffic and transport, the CATPC remained dissatisfied. In July 1952 it pressed Premier Cosgrove to appoint a statutory authority with 'complete control over any and all Town and Country Planning Development'.[84] This 'supreme Authority' must be under the direction of Parliament and be 'independent of local preferences when it comes to overall planning and planning policy'. The authority must control land use 'so as to retain natural soil resources to the best advantage' of the community; have power to stop further ribbon development in built-up areas; seek solutions to parking problems; encourage the construction of 'multi-family housing units in a controlled proportion to the total housing programme'; and make grants to councils to increase the number of trained personnel engaged in formulating and carrying out town planning investigations and surveys. McInnis again demurred, arguing that the CATPC should give the HMPC 'a fair trial'.[85]

However, Philp was critical of the long gap between meetings and in 1953 thought the HMPC record was 'unsatisfactory'.[86] The following year members of the HMPC concluded that their advisory powers were inadequate. In November 1954 Philp chaired a meeting of the general development and implementation sub-committees of the HMPC, which supported a statutory planning authority.[87] This authority should prepare a Master Plan 'for the development of all community needs for the whole Southern Region', including all planning of land use, zoning, and public utilities for a population of 250,000. It would be empowered to commission experts and employ staff or assist in the preparation of the Master Plan, but detailed planning and implementation of the plans would remain the responsibility of municipalities. The full HMPC endorsed the proposal, which in its final form gave equal representation on the authority to the Hobart, Brighton, Clarence, Glenorchy and Kingborough Councils.[88]

In July 1955 representatives of the councils and the implementation sub-committee began to draft a bill for presentation to the government, which acquiesced in the wishes of the councils. When finally passed in 1957, the legislation enabled any group of local authorities in a particular area to petition the government to set up a Master Planning Authority and to finance schemes by levying special rates.[89] A Master Planning Authority would be able to issue interim orders to restrict the development of land and to compel landowners to develop their land according to the plan, but they had the right to appeal to a magistrate. That the Crown and marine boards were not bound by the legislation was a significant weakness, but Philp hoped that more attention would finally be given to 'our greatest need for co-ordinated development'—'long range physical and financial planning', which was 'a vital necessity for the preservation of amenities, values and growth'.[90]

The Southern Metropolitan Master Planning Authority held its first meeting in September 1958. Despite losing key staff, experiencing delays in replacing them and having to deal with the time-consuming task of mapping and surveying the metropolitan area, the authority drafted and exhibited a Master Plan for public inspection in 1962. The plan contained flaws, such as the absence of a traffic and transportation scheme and simply incorporated 'as much as possible of the work already completed in a number of the local planning schemes, either in the course of preparation or finalisation', which the authority had helped develop.[91] The Hobart City Council was disappointed that the authority had produced not 'a strategic plan in broad outline, with a set of policies in broad scope', but a detailed plan that would be a straight-jacket for the Council and would override the Council's proposals.[92] The CHPA became disillusioned with the 'anomalies associated with master planning'.[93] Ultimately, the Master Plan was withdrawn and the authority struggled on, preparing numerous reports and sponsoring two transportation studies, before it was disbanded after the Hobart City Council withdrew in 1973.[94] The experiment fell far short of the CATPC's and CHPA's hopes for co-ordinated planning, but that it was attempted at all was largely due to their campaigning.

Conclusion

In the 1920s the agitation of the STTPA did much to improve the provision of parks and reserves in Hobart, but it failed to improve the standard of housing or to secure its major goal of town planning legislation mainly because it was unable to command wide public support. In the postwar period public support remained a crucial factor in achieving town planning goals. As the *Mercury* argued in 1954, planning problems can be solved 'only by intelligent interest and activity on the part of all the people'.[95] After 1945, as intimated earlier, the provision of housing was 'the absolute popular priority' and certainly attracted much government and community attention, but few outside the CATPC took an active interest in planning in Hobart.[96] Both the CATPC and the CHPA often bemoaned their failure to arouse wide public support for urban planning and civic issues more generally.[97]

While these public-spirited urban activists, like the STTPA, achieved some gains in areas such as recreational provision, roads building and improved car parking, they also failed to achieve their main goal. This was to secure the appointment of a Master Planning Authority with wide (and if necessary coercive) powers over councils, with representatives of citizens groups and with direct links to the economic and social policy makers in government. Planning in Hobart remained as it had been in the inter-war period—an under-resourced and narrowly-conceived local government function preoccupied with development control. The City Engineer conceded in 1962 that he lacked the planning staff to deal with the problems arising from the rapid growth of Hobart that community bodies regularly pointed out.[98]

One might be forgiven for concluding that the burst of community engagement after 1945 had not altered planning processes and thinking in fundamental ways. But that conclusion should not detract from what had been achieved by developing closer relations with the City Council. Bodies such as the CATPC and the CHPA forced local

and central government to take account of public needs and made some crucial interventions to remind government of its responsibilities to the community in building roads, providing recreational facilities, and planning for the future. Although its influence has waned since the height of its influence in the 1950s, the CHPA continues that vital role to the present day.

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[75] Housing was also neglected by Gold Coast Progress Associations as they saw it as 'a household, not a collective (ie state) responsibility', Mullins, 1995, p. 78

[76] Lord Mayor's Report 1958-1960, p. 29.

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Building utopia, Italian style. Silvio Berlusconi and the new town of Milanotre

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I. Introduction: building utopia, Italian style.

The history of human civilization is populated with attempts to solve past problems through utopian visions of a perfect world (Mumford, 1962). In almost all cases, these utopias used new spatial organizations and architectural forms to establish new social orders and promote new lifestyles (ibid. 22). In almost all cases, their materialization required great efforts in terms of personal charisma, religious faith, political, or economic power accompanied by tensions between those in charge of maintaining the status quo and those wanting to alter it.

These characteristics are clearly visible in the Italian new town of Milanotre. Developed in the late 1970s by Silvio Berlusconi, Milanotre was an innovative, private-sector response to the degraded urban conditions of post WWII cities, plagued by speculative developments in the historical core and large scale public housing projects at the city's edge. Neither the private sector piecemeal solutions—infill projects in areas already saturated in terms of infrastructure—nor the large public housing projects built on agricultural land at the periphery were intended to be comprehensive solutions to the housing dilemma. Furthermore, neither type of developments offered the well-designed and maintained public the residents needed to call these places home.

Berlusconi's new town offered an alternative to the status quo of Italian cities by providing a mix of housing, retail, and commercial uses in close proximity to nature. The link between housing and landscape visible in the plans for the new tow was reminiscent of Ebenezer Howard's garden city a planning model that public governments would not entertain for ideological and political reasons. Over the following pages I give readers an overview of the history of residential development in Italy from the country's unification to the early 1970s. These should uncover some of the reasons that led to the rejection of these urban development approaches.

2. Background: from garden cities to new towns

a) The early 1900s

Upon its unification in 1861, Italy was an agricultural nation of small urban centers. During the first few decades as a nation, governmental efforts were directed at the establishment of a strong industrial sector. This resulted in the transfer of many public functions to larger metropolitan areas and in an unprecedented wave of urbanization, with the subsequent demand for housing. Italy's central government responded to this pressure with a laissez-faire approach, limiting its role to that of controller of the urbanization (Fubini; Ruggeri).

Alternatives to the uncontrolled urban growth that generated from this housing policy were limited. In the early 1900s—thanks to the work of philanthropists, union leaders and the Socialist Party—a limited number of garden city-inspired neighborhoods were built thanks to a new law, which offered low-interest mortgages to private housing developers in exchange for higher sanitary standards (Giordani, 145).

One such development was the 12,000 people garden village of Milanino by philanthropist Luigi Buffoli and modeled after the new towns of Letchworth and Hampstead. Unlike its British counterparts, Milanino was a mostly white-collar community based on a balanced figure-ground relationship. This relationship was maintained through deed restrictions that prevented owners from altering their homes, which resulted in the intact physical conditions visible today (Boriani-Bortolotto, 33). Compared to the rest of the city, the new garden city was based on a very fine balance between housing and open space, its center becoming a long linear park

Figure 1 General Plan of the Garden City of Milanino, Italy, (1923).

Figure 2 View of typical residential block in Milanino, circa 1923.

Figure 3 Today's Milanino shows a great deal of changes to the original integrity of the neighborhood (Source: Boriani and Bortolotto)

b) Planning during the Fascist regime

During the early to mid 1900s slow industrial growth coupled with the Fascist regime's negative attitude towards cities, urban growth proceeded very slowly. Mussolini saw urbanization as a source of "moral insanity" and promoted efforts to de-urbanize cities and expand development in rural areas (Sica, 1978, p.325). Instrumental to the policies of the fascist government was the collaboration with private entities, according to a political model called "corporativism" by which the public and private sectors would collaborate. This collaboration was accepted so long as private interest would coincide with public goals. This system explains the expansion of the Italian middle class during the fascist period and its support to the regime (Blinkhorn, 2006).

In Fascist Italy, the garden city model became an alternative to the chaotic urban development feared by the middle class. The low-density family oriented qualities of Italian garden cities fit their need for order and control. However, adherence to the garden city principles was somewhat superficial and limited mainly to formal aspects, by setting small houses in a garden setting. In the new towns of the *Agro Pontino*— situated on marshland reclaimed by the Fascists for sanitation-- the belief of the superiority of agrarian life led to the absence of industrial uses, in sharp contrast with one of Ebenezer Howard's key planning principles (Ghirardo, 1981, p.81).

c) Planning in post WWII Italy

Throughout Europe, post-war reconstruction was preceded by a debate on the need for new urban development paradigms. Great Britain and France passed comprehensive legislation to guide urban reconstruction (New Towns Act, Town and Country Planning Act). Fearing that comprehensive plans and architectural innovation would limit a speedy recovery, central and local governments preferred a piecemeal approach to a more comprehensive and thought out housing policy.

While the reconstruction of the downtown areas of Milan and Rome after WWII became a mainly private effort, the Italian government invested in the construction of public housing in the periphery to create new employment. The governmental INA Casa Agency was created in the early 1950s to manage the construction of 1.5 million new units. Through low mortgage rates and discounts, the agency was able to provide homes for a minority of Italian families and act to jumpstart the construction industry.

c) The 1960s and 70s economic boom

During the 1960s and 70's, metropolitan areas started to expand due to a booming manufacturing sector and to millions of immigrants from southern to northern Italy (Fubini, 1979). While private developers were building large amounts of low-quality houses, the IACP Institute (Autonomous Institute for Public Housing) engaged in an aggressive campaign to build large public housing complexes.

Italian families were encouraged to purchase homes in these suburban enclaves with high densities, limited services, and few green spaces (Campos Venuti, 1996, p.23). Just like their private counterparts, IACP's developments paid limited attention to the quality of life of their residents. Given the limited budgets and scarcity of land, IACP's residential neighborhoods often featured high-rise, modernist residential towers located at the outskirts of major cities. Being located on the outskirts of the city, they contributed to the degradation of the *periferia* (Doglio, 1983, 110).[1]

Unlike British and French new town experiments, driven by the vision of decentralized and improved urban areas, Italian public housing efforts were often responding to emergency situations. The choice of suburban sites meant cheaper land, but resulted in large infrastructural investments in roads, water and sewer lines and in limited budgets for Landscape Architectural and Urban Design improvements. Finally, many of

these developments lacked areas for retail and commercial uses, which eventually turned them into nothing more than bedroom communities.

Exceptions to this rule were the plans developed as competition entries by eminent architects such as Carlo Aymonino and Aldo Rossi. Praised by the critics as a masterpiece, Rossi's *Gallaratese* housing complex (1967-1976) used monumental architecture to celebrate the role of the public and celebrated Italy's urban tradition through high densities, limited green spaces, and urban plazas (Conforti, 1981).

During the years of the economic "miracle" Milan had positioned itself as Italy's fastest growing city, with a growing service sector and declining industries (Foot, 2003). As many other cities in Italy, years of unregulated residential development had taken a toll on the quality of Milan's urban and suburban environment. In response to the problem the government approved new legislation[2] introducing new minimum open space, infrastructure and public services zoning requirements (Campos Venuti). Due to a caveat in the law, the results went in the opposite direction than the one its promoters had expected; cities were inundated with low quality infill housing, which in returned contributed to push the middle classes out of the city. It was against this background that the town of Milanotre was conceived.

3. Milanotre, Italy's first new town

Berlusconi's first take at a utopian dream

The history of Italy's first new town is deeply intertwined with the life of its developer, Silvio Berlusconi. Born of a middle class Milanese family, the self-made entrepreneur began his career in real estate at the age of 25, when he built and sold his first home. He was only 34 when he began planning a new residential development, which he called Milanodue. The development was an early, partial attempt at the realization of a utopian dream of a futuristic community built according to the needs of the emerging Milanese middle class (Foot, 118). Despite its limited size, this pilot experiment would be used to test many of the principles later applied in Milanotre.

Milanodue was designed as a place where families could live, work, and play safely amidst modernist buildings, beautifully maintained parks and extensive public facilities. Understanding the need for a critical infrastructure (Bourdieu) to support and promote his utopian dream, Berlusconi also created TeleMilano, a cable channel broadcasting American movies and soap operas (Foot, 119-120).

Berlusconi's televisions made him into the most popular and powerful entrepreneur, offering him the financial and ideological tools to complete his dream of creating a new town. While his fame and political connections were instrumental in his city-building ventures, they also gained him the preconceived opposition of the Italian intelligentsia (Foot, 121). Rather than evaluating his ideas for their innovative aspects, academics, and planners rejected his private utopia. In the eyes of many academics, only the government was legitimated to plan for more housing. This explains why projects like

Alvar Aalto's plan for a new residential development in the cit of Pavia found a very similar fate and were abandoned at the onset (Ruggeri, 2001).[3]

QuickTime™ and a
TIFF (Uncompressed) decompressor
are needed to see this picture.

Figure 4 A recent picture of Berlusconi showing his eclectic personality (Source: http://www.theage.com.au)

Figure 5 Aerial view of Milanotre's town center (Source: Mondadori)

Milanotre: an alternative to uncontrolled sprawl

Milanodue was the first attempt to deliver Berlusconi's dream of a new town. Due the site's physical constraints, the design team had been unable to fully implement the full range of innovative architectural and planning solutions needed for a new town. This led the developer and his staff to the building of a second, more complete new town, which

would begin in 1974. Unlike Milanodue, Milanotre would be equipped with all the buildings, infrastructure, and services that a new town of 12,500 people demanded.

For its development, the design team—160 architects, planners and sociologists—chose a 39 acres site in the municipality of Basiglio just south of the city of Milan. In April of 1979, after the official approval by the regional government, Berlusconi began construction of a dozen apartment towers. A few years later in 1981 the new town was completed. The plan was organized as a series of self-contained neighborhoods connected by a fully separated circulation system. It featured a range of public facilities—convention center, church, and shopping mall—extensive infrastructural investments and 22 acres of open space.

Milanotre was the most complete realization of Berlusconi's utopia. Its plan achieved goals that even the most sophisticated public housing projects had been unable to reach. The planners' selection of a site in a small town outside the boundaries of the city of Milan gave them flexibility and freedom necessary to break away from traditional schemes and from the rigidity of Milan's planning ordinances.
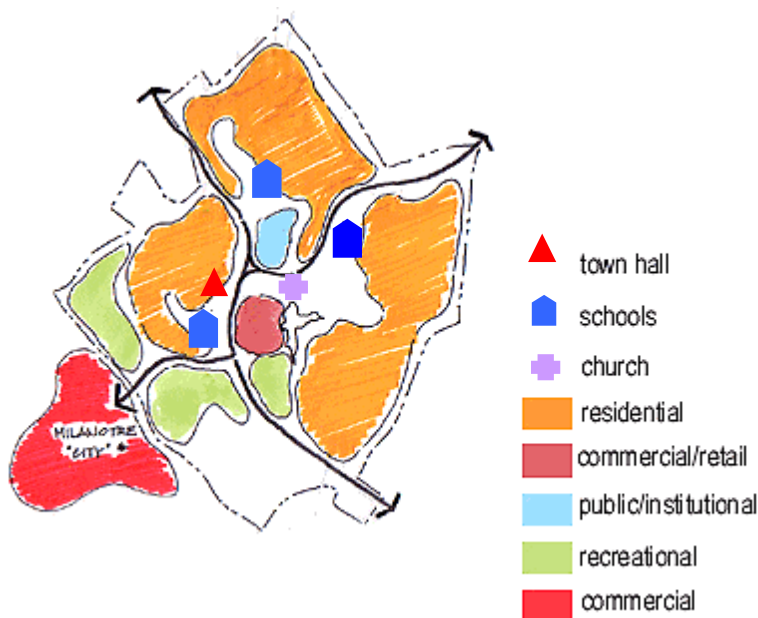
Figure 6 Milanotre's land use diagram shows residential zones separate from retail, commercial and institutional uses, all of which are located at the center of the new town. Notice the tertiary appendix (Milanotre-City) to the south. (Illustration by author).

4. Designing a new town

In the previous pages I discussed the vicissitudes that led to the planning of Milanotre and hinted at some of its innovative aspects. In this section I will investigate in depth some of these solutions and explain how they differed from traditional schemes for residential neighbourhoods.

a) Land use

The plan of Milanotre rejected the high density, land use conflicts, lack of open space, and infrastructural inadequacy that characterized traditional urban forms. Its land use diagram was dominated by residential uses with retail and commercial uses grouped in a town center located within walking distance of one's home. The functional separation of uses generated an environment quite different from the vital, interwoven pattern of activities that characterized the fabric of historic European cities (Gehl, 1980, p. 27).

By concentrating housing in tall apartment tower, the planners of Milanotre stated their adherence to the principles of modernism and created an urban setting similar to Le Corbusier's *Ville Radieuse (Le Corbusier, 1986).* Moreover the decision to cluster development in U and L shaped resident led to the preservation of vast amounts of open space. This resulted in a city that felt cleaner, safer and "greener" than any other Italian urban centers (Edilnord Progettazioni, 1976, p.11).

An important difference between Milanotre and other contemporary new towns was its lack of industrial areas. While in England and France new industrial plants were a pre-requisite success of the new towns, Milanotre became known as a primarily residential community. Years after its completion, its planners attempted to change this situation by introducing office and commercial spaces through the creation of a commercial appendix on the southern edge of site. Because of its location away from all residential and civic uses, Milanotre City promoted automobile use and reinforced a sense of separation between uses.[4]

b) Block structure

In urban design, the block is a key defining element of urban form." In order to understand its *forma urbis* it is necessary to look at the relationship between solids and voids that constitute city (Krier, 1976; Trancik, 1980). A figure-ground analysis of Milanotre reveals the dominance of voids over solids, as well as a block structure made of apartment towers organized in "U" or "L" shaped sub-units. In the eyes of the designers, these layouts would create pocket parks and playgrounds, which in return would create a sense of community. Despite this agreeable goal, the block structure appears "cookie-cutter" and monotonous. The monotony is accentuated by the choice of a standard architectural type, the low-rise apartment tower, which blends into the skyline of the new town. Such uniformity is broken only by the introduction of a few single-family and semi-detached housing units at the outer edges of the development, in isolation from the rest of the community.

Figure 7 Milanotre's figure-ground diagram showing its block structure and the U and L shaped building arrangements. (Illustration by the author)

Architecture

Like Clarence Stein and Henry Wright did in their plans for Radburn, NJ and Sunnyside, NY, Milanotre's designers emphasized the need to blend residential buildings into the existing landscape (Ruggeri, 2004, 165). In addition to the use of stucco and wood in their buildings, they oriented the towers so that kitchens and living rooms would face the playgrounds and neighborhood parks. This allowed families to observe their children as they played and to foster an increased sense of safety.

Milanotre's residential architecture was clearly inspired by modernism. Le Corbusier's inspiration was visible in their acceptance of the "tower in the park" model and the rejection of contemporary experiments with architectural "megastructures" like those of the French and British new towns. Berlusconi's team rejected the idea of an iconic architecture deciding instead to focus on environmental and landscape architectural features. Moreover, the uniform heights and discrete forms of the public and private buildings contrasted with the stylistic diversity seen in many traditional Italian cities.

The uniformity and blandness of the exteriors contrasted with the carefully planned interiors, designed to meet the needs of the residents and adjust to each family's specific needs (Edilnord Progettazioni). The idea of flexible, "custom-designed" layouts was innovative, particularly if compared to the standardized housing solutions offered by IACP public housing. As interior designer Isa Vercelloni wrote, Milanotre represented an attempt to "create a new kind of living, flexible, articulated, balanced" and centered on the needs of individuals and families (Edilnord Progettazioni, 63). It is in this tension between public and private, between individual needs and common good that lays the ideological rejection of Berlusconi's projects.
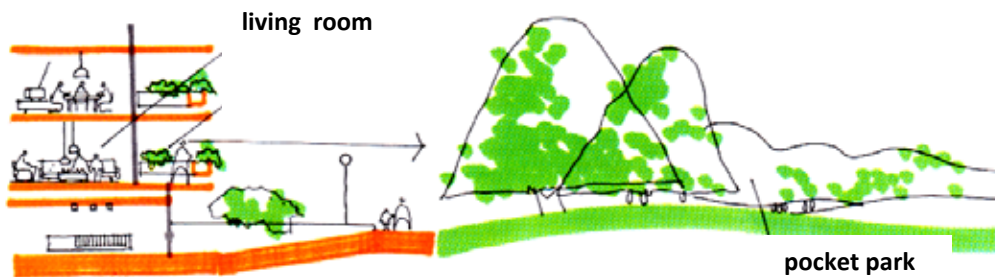
Figure 8 Diagram of the relationship between architecture and open space in Milanotre (Source: Edilnord Progettazioni)

Streets and circulation

Milanotre's streetscape can be divided into three categories: primary (arterials), secondary (connectors) and cul-de-sacs/streets (neighborhood). A system of primary arterial roads constitutes the backbone of the development, while secondary roads looping around the development provide access to the cul-de-sacs and neighborhood streets are with single-family and town homes. The cul-de-sacs penetrate the innermost areas of the new town and provide vehicular access to the garages at the back of each residential building.[5]

In Milanotre roads occupy only 5% of the total developable area, a significant improvement over traditional planning standards. This was the result of the use of super blocks to limit vehicular access. Roads were replaced by an extensive, grade-separated trail system promoting walkability as a primary means of connecting neighborhoods. While justified by concerns for children safety and pedestrian accessibility, the separation of cars from pedestrians had some drawbacks. The decision to take traditional activities like stores, cafes, and newsstands away from streets led to a dull urban experience. It also undermined the street's potential as a linkage between parts of the urban fabric (Trancik) and ultimately poorer overall imageability (Lynch, 1960).

Berlusconi's marketing efforts stressed the need for children's safety and their ability to "reach every area of the new town by bike or on foot "…without ever crossing a street or an intersection" (Edilnord Progettazioni, 45). [6] Increased safety was achieved through an extensive system of paths and pedestrian bridges providing easy and *car-free* access to every corner of the new town. Recent studies support Berlusconi's goals for more walkable residential neighborhoods. They show that walkability is best achieved when distances between destinations do not exceed 5 minute/quarter mile and by locating mixed-use and retail areas within a walkable range of housing (Southworth, 2003). A quick review of Milanotre's plan shows that most residents live farther than the comfortable ¼ mile radius from the town center and commercial areas of Milanotre City. This has resulted in an increased automobile use, as witnessed by the congestion of many parking lots.

Figure 9 Milanotre's pedestrian bridges allow residents to walk safely throughout the new town. Bus stops are visible at street level (Source: Milanotre Sales Office Promotional Material).

Open spaces and parks

Milanotre's planners believed that a livable environment would require the mixing of areas for recreation, work and dwelling. In the old urban centers these activities were placed far away from each other, forcing citizens to commute long hours to school or to work (Ruggeri, 164). By incorporating these activities within a comprehensive master plan, Milanotre's designers wanted to free up resident's time and encourage recreation and use of public areas.

Milanotre residents could count on an average of 430 sq. ft. of open space for active and passive recreation vs. the 16 square feet of Milan's residents. The new towns' open space system changes as one moves farther away from home, with playgrounds located next to residences, followed by neighborhood parks and ending in a picturesque central park with meadows and lakes. The park serves the multiple purposes, turning it into the equivalent of the traditional *piazza*.[7]. Acting as a backbone of the entire development, it houses public facilities like schools and churches while also separating neighborhoods into discrete units. Most of all, it is promotes Berlusconi's utopia and a new *bourgeois* lifestyle (Edilnord Progettazioni, 101).
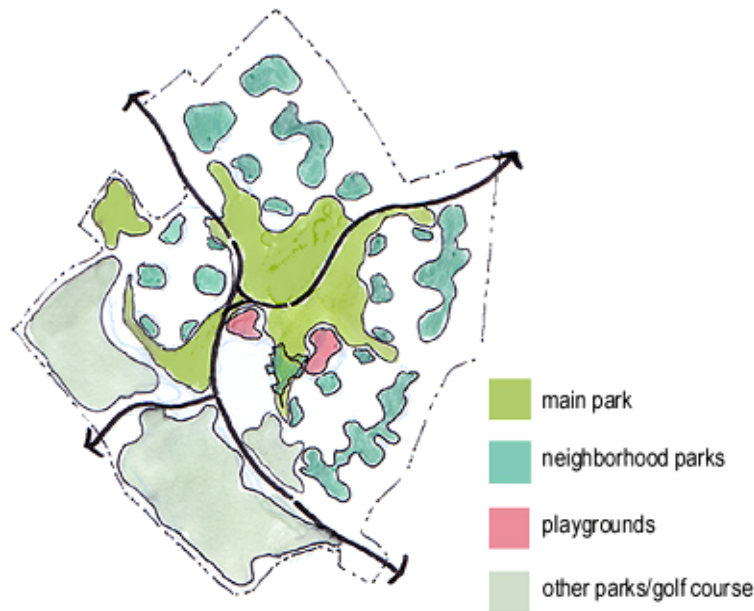
Figure 10 The organization of the open space in Milanotre
 (Illustration by the author).

5. Discussion: successes and failures of Berlusconi's new town

This paper attempted to fill a gap in the history of Italian city planning.
By shedding light on the convoluted process that led to the building of Silvio
Berlusconi's utopia. I attempted to do so by summarizing the history of landscape-driven
urban development in Italy and the forces that determined its rejection as an urban
development strategy in the Italian context. The following is a discussion of the five
main reasons for the failure of this utopian effort:

a. Public vs. private

The history of Italian city planning from its unification to these days is characterized by a
conflictual, almost schizophrenic relationship between national and local governments
and private enterprises involved in planning residential neighborhoods. On one hand,
the public played the role of the controller, passing restrictive zoning ordinances and
pieces of legislations whose intent was to limit abuses and speculative attempts. On
the other hand, with very few exceptions, the public relied heavily on the private sector
to provide housing to facilitate the massive internal migration fluxes required by the ups
and downs of the industrial sector. The result was that while large, comprehensive
developments were halted or found harsh opposition, while infill and piecemeal
developments were able to slip through the cracks of a poorly organized public
administration.

The skepticism of public administrators and academics toward private sector solutions
to the housing problem had deep historical roots in Italy's rejection of the partnership

between private and public, which reminded them of the *corporativism* of the fascist regime and the corruption it had generated (Blinkhorn).

b. The landscape as a social symbol

Richard Schein (1997) has recently written about the discursive nature of landscape architecture as a way to enhance the social identity of a place. Just like the American suburb, the landscape of Milanotre was the "bourgeois utopia" of the growing Italian middle classes (Fishman), a landscape that promoted a new lifestyle of success through a renewed relationship of the individual with nature (Foot).

There is no doubt that Berlusconi's agenda went far beyond the creation of a unique community. Through the new town, he wanted to offer an alternative model for society based on the needs and values of the Italian middle class. In the eyes of its planners, the landscape-based approach employed in the planning of Milanotre, borrowed from British and American precedents, spoke of he needs for a renewed personal connection between the individual and nature (Ruggeri, 2001).

c. The park as piazza

The story of Berlusconi's utopias highlights the intricate relationship between private and public interests in Italian urban planning decision. During the 1970s Milanese planners worked hard to reinforce the city's centrality and promote its viability as a world financial center. Meanwhile urban growth occurred at the city's edge, in working class enclaves built either by land speculators or by the public housing authority (Campos Venuti, 1996). While the public ignored the needs—both practical and ideological--of the middle classes, Berlusconi and his design team understood their demands for an alternative urban form and lifestyle, which he translated into form in his New Towns.

Contemporary public housing projects like Aldo Rossi's *Gallaratese* (1967-1976) embodied a theoretical interest in re-interpreting Italian traditional urban forms (Rossi, 1982; Conforti, 1981). On the contrary, Berlusconi's new town was designed with the goal to provide a superlative user experience. Its plan emphasized urban design, open space and walkability concerns over architectural form. The result was a pastoral landscape where the architecture almost disappeared (Ruggeri, 2001).

The focus on open space as a key component of a new town's public realm and the focus on needs and values of its users contrasted with the "socialist" agenda visible in Italian public housing, whose goal was to celebrate the public interest over individuality, community over family values. Berlusconi's call for a garden city in close contact with nature reminded many Academics of Mussolini's anti-urban attitude and thus could not be tolerated. It is no surprise that Berlusconi's utopias were never studied or replicated (Campos Venuti, 1986)

d. Urban design innovation: a missed opportunity

The new town of Milanotre could have offered Italian architects, planners, academics and students the opportunity to critically evaluate and learn from some of the innovative planning strategies employed by Berlusconi's design team. It would have also contributed to the beginning of a discussion on alternative urbanization patterns that may have been able to solve some of the most urgent issues of the time and the needs of the emerging middle class.

Instead, planners and politicians preferred to engage in a holy war against private developers and urban forms that did not fit the tradition they were familiar with. These included garden cities, Fascist planning precedents as well as Berlusconi's city-building experiments (Ruggeri, 2001). This may have contributed to the absence of a Landscape Architectural discourse within Academia and the practice, one of Italy's anomalies.

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[1] The word "periferia" indicates both the location at the edge of existing urban centers and the qualities of that periphery, such as high densities, lack of well-maintained open space, and overall social decline.

[2] A key piece of legislation was the "Legge Ponte," Law 765/67, establishing parameters with regard to open space and limits to growth. However, it also introduced a mechanism by which local municipalities that did not incorporate these new standards into their plans would by default be prevented from denying anyone with a building permit. This resulted in a flood of questionable housing projects on areas otherwise protected from development (Campos Venuti).

[3] The contemporary plan for a residential neighborhood named "Quartiere Patrizia," conceived by prominent Finnish Architect Alvar Aalto, the development also found a harsh opposition in local union leaders and politicians (Ruggeri, 152).

[4] A recent survey sponsored by the municipality of Basiglio among children 5 to 13 years old showed that Milanotre City is considered by them as one of the "scariest" places in the whole new town, due to the absence of activities, particularly at night and week-ends (Source: Survey Ex Lege 285, Comune di Basiglio, 1999).

[5] Clarence Stein and Henry Wright were the first to use cul-de-sacs and community-garages in their residential developments. In Radburn, NJ cul-de-sacs acted as small parks, with lawns and trees. In Milanotre the cul-de-sacs are mainly used as visitor parking and access to the inner blocks and is devoid of any activities.

[6] The idea of separating different modes of transportation for pedestrian safety has been used by Frederick Law Olmsted in New York City's central park and by Clarence Stein and Henry Wright in the garden cities of Radburn and Sunnyside. The planners of Milanotre were drew their inspiration for a separation of circulation means came from Leonardo da Vinci's "Codice Atlantico," where the Renaissance artist had sketched a diagram of a city working at different levels, where roads did not cross one another thanks to the use of bridges. Leonardo had envisioned a pedestrian friendly city, where people would safely walk and pedestrian bridges would cross over vehicular streets, avoiding any dangerous intersections.

[7] The strong open space presence resonates in the resident's place identity. According to a recent survey, 50% of the children ages 5 to 13 consider parks and playgrounds as their favorite areas (Ruggeri, 2001).

"'In spite of the river' ought to be a Pittsburgh town slogan"

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Today, Pittsburgh like many cities around the world has discovered the scenic, recreational, tourist, and even residential values of its miles of rivers and riverfronts. For more than a century, these lands were the scene of intense of industrial development and environmental defilement. Only the massive deindustrialization of the 1980s and its aftermath could inspire civic leaders to overturn the long held perception of the rivers and riverfronts as first and foremost integral parts of the region's urban industrial infrastructure. During the past fifteen years environmentalists, river advocates, a few planners, and eventually both developers and civic leaders have proposed various ideas and projects that reflect the reconceptualization and redevelopment of the riverfront lands. In recreational activity, scenic enjoyment, and ecological restoration, these projects emphasize physical and visual access to the rivers such that the rivers have become a significant aspect of the city's revitalization.

This recent discovery of the aesthetic and recreational qualities of the rivers is really a rediscovery. At various times during the twentieth century, an array of national and local planners and architects advanced plans for the central riverfronts, especially for the historic Point where the three rivers converge, which ran counter to the prevailing conception and use of these lands as primarily essential to the city's industrial economy. Both businessmen and public officials shared and retained this utilitarian view, even when more community-oriented visions emanated from civic organizations dominated by private leaders. Fiercely pro-business, pragmatic, and conservative, these leaders and their public sector allies set the parameters within which planners and architects had to operate and seek out small spaces of latitude. Despite Pittsburgh's adoption of public planning, the utilitarian perception of the rivers and riverfronts remained in tact. There was no real tension between public and private use, and thus Frank Lloyd Wright felt amply justified in 1935 in rendering his judgment that "'In spite of the river' ought to be a Pittsburgh town-slogan."

The path-breaking creation (at least for Pittsburgh) of Point State Park in the post-World War II era through the efforts of a powerful public-private partnership might have suggested a new outlook for the rivers, especially since commercial and industrial activities were already closing or leaving the central riverfronts---downtown, and on the South Side, the North Side, and the Strip District. The park explicitly took advantage of the site's scenic potential. But as late as the 1970s, when cities such as Boston, Baltimore, and Portland, Oregon were famously redefining their waterfronts, most Pittsburgh leaders had not yet grasped the great potential of the rivers for improving the city's quality of life and thus contributing to economic development.   As revealed by their ignoring the rivers in erecting two signature public projects, both public and private planning interests still perceived Pittsburgh's waterfronts as components of the region's industrial complex. The shift in the relationship between public and private leaders had not significantly altered this consensus.

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Given the region's complex and challenging topography, development during the nineteenth century logically sought the flat, accessible floodplains of the three major rivers and their tributary streams. Despite the nuisance of annual high water events and periodic devastating floods, industry and adjacent residences lined the riverfronts by the beginning of the twentieth century. Little concerned with flooding, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers was erecting locks and dams in order to enhance commercial navigation. By 1929 the three rivers, indeed the entire Ohio River to Cairo, Illinois had become a series of slackwater pools between the dams. Enormous tows of coal barges plied Pittsburgh's central pool and tied up along river banks. Shippers and manufacturers had hardened the river edges with bulkheads, erected giant circular mooring terminals, and extended the banks in places with fill. Both industry and local municipalities depended on the rivers for water supplies and the disposal of wastes. Engineered and intensely developed, the three rivers and their floodplains had become part of the urban industrial infrastructure.[1]

Pittsburgh's notoriously dismal landscape at the turn of the century---smoke-laden skies, soot-covered buildings, polluted rivers, and deforested and billboard-covered hillsides---spurred progressive reformers, design professionals, and civic leaders to advocate counter measures for beautification. Public works director Edward M. Bigelow, for example, initiated a park system in1890. Andrew Carnegie erected his cultural complex adjacent to the park in 1895, and his business partner and boyhood friend Henry Phipps donated a botanical conservatory there as well. By 1905 a civic center, inspired by the legacy of Chicago's World's Columbian Exposition and the then fashionable City Beautiful movement, was taking shape in the Oakland section of the city. Daniel Burnham was busy in town designing an office tower for Henry Clay Frick (1901), a grand terminal for the Pennsylvania Railroad (1902), and fourteen other buildings.[2] Indeed, during the months that Burnham was finalizing his plan for Chicago, sponsored by the private Commercial Club, Pittsburgh reform mayor George Guthrie, a prominent lawyer, and other civic leaders were moving inexorably towards creating a plan for Pittsburgh.

In this milieu, the Pittsburgh Architectural Club pressed for municipal improvements focused on downtown and Oakland. Beginning around 1900, the Club held competitions and exhibits with particular attention to the design of a downtown civic center of municipal buildings adjacent to H. H. Richardson's Allegheny County Courthouse. Reporting on its first competition, the Club also emphasized the necessity of improving the central waterfronts and the Point. The Point was already a run-down area of railroad tracks, warehouses, and old deteriorating residences. The adjacent Monongahela Wharf, once the heart of Pittsburgh's commercial life, had been decling for years as a result of the railroad's ascendancy in the 1850s. Although not the first lamentation of the unkempt character of the riverfronts, this competition inaugurated a century-long discussion and planning of these important central spaces.[3]

In June 1909, one month before the publication of Burnham's *Plan of Chicago*, the Pittsburgh Civic Commission [PCC], invited Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., to consider preparing a plan for the city's main streets and downtown. Departing reform mayor George Guthrie appointed the PCC, a group of 18 leading private citizens, to address a number of social, political, and environmental problems highlighted by the embarrassing investigation of the Pittsburgh Survey. The PCC's decision to hire Olmsted culminated intense discussions about the value of planning led by the Civic Club of Allegheny County and the Chamber of Commerce.[4] After a year of intense research and consultation with both PCC members and public officials, the Brookline landscape architect produced his plan for Pittsburgh in 1911. Olmsted observed that Pittsburgh, like many American river ports, had neglected its main wharf, leaving it a "primitive," unpaved, sloping mud bank. Presciently comprehending the central problem in planning the city's riverfronts for most of the twentieth century, Olmsted deplored "the false impression spread abroad that economical and useful things were normally ugly; and … the vicious idea which followed, that beauty and the higher pleasures of civilized life were to be sought only in things otherwise useless. Thus, the pursuit of beauty was confounded with extravagance." He asserted that Pittsburghers, "familiar with the present neglected aspect" and "not familiar with the finer European quays," simply accepted the unsightliness of the riverfronts as the norm and could not conceive of the benefits of aesthetic improvements.[5]

Olmsted identified three uses for the riverfronts, which with proper planning could exist simultaneously. All improvements, he averred, would have to be coordinated with the recommendations of the Flood Commission that had yet to issue its report. However, he did not consder a flood wall, a likely and eventual recommendation of the Commission, as a problem for his proposals. Based on precedents in European cities such as Paris, Lyons, and Berlin, Olmsted envisioned modernizing the quays of both rivers in order to attract new packet boat trade, which he believed to be the riverfront's primary use. He wished to provide ramps down from street level to a wide, flat floating quay outfitted with cranes. A flood wall at the landward edge of the quay would protect the downtown and create a base for a wide street along its top. This street, the second use of the riverfronts, would be part of a traffic circuit around the edges of downtown, what he defined as "a wide marginal thoroughfare for the relief of traffic congestion… [by] diverting some of the main streams of heavy teaming from the older interior streets."[6] The idea of a circuit or loop around downtown along the riverfronts would become a persistent theme in the city's planning, and eventually a reality.

With an improved quay and wide thoroughfares, the city could concurrently develop the waterfront for its "value for recreation and as an element of civic comeliness and self-respect." For this third function, Olmsted proposed a tree-lined promenade along the circuit streets with benches and overlooks from which to "enjoy…the natural beauty of the river valley and the always interesting activities of which it is a stage." Although Mt. Washington across from the Monongahela Wharf was scarred and eroded, this leader of the nascent planning movement pictured its reforestation such that in combination with the rivers and their incessant hum of activity, the city's "spacious and impressive

landscape" would be restored. He urged the city to treat the landscape "with the respect which it deserves."[7]

Having presented his plans for riverfronts, Olmsted turned to the Point. He reviewed the geographical and historical meanings of this space and concluded: "Poetically, this spot, at the meeting of the rivers, stands for Pittsburgh." Although offering only a vague vision of its redevelopment, he implored civic leaders to consider the Point as a whole and in conjunction with bridges and traffic that converged there. But, whatever would be decided in the future for the Point, a plan must be, he advised, monumental, dignified and designed with the "best artistic skill."[8]

As a creature of the city's privately sponsored reform movement, the Pittsburgh Civic Commission soon became embroiled in a political squabble with the newly elected, Republican machine mayor, William A. Magee. Objecting that Magee had cherry-picked proposed projects rather than selecting them as part of a comprehensive plan, the PCC strenuously fought the mayor's large bond issue put to the voters as a referendum. However, the mayor did support planning and engineered enabling legislation for a planning commission through the state legislature in 1911. But, he also became embattled with his political rival, the public works director, whom he soon fired. Unfortunately, the director succeeded Magee as mayor and among other things eviscerated the new Department of Planning. In short, politics scuttled the harmony among civic leaders necessary for obtaining political consensus and public support for implementing Olmsted's proposals, including those for the riverfronts. Inaction resulted from political fractures, not conflict over priorities for use of the riverfronts.[9]

Over the years, planners wrestled with many of the issues for which Olmsted offered recommendations. While some of his suggestions became part of the landscape, the flood wall, circuit thoroughfares, and especially the Point remained central to planning over the next several decades.   Fortuitously, his plans for an elaborate reconstruction of the quays failed to move forward since river packet traffic never revived along the Ohio River. The Flood Commission's recommendations generally became entangled in federal politics and did not materialize until after the Great Depression.[10]   In the wake of the Department of Planning's diminished status, the new municipal Arts Commission and the Civic Club kept the idea of planning alive, particularly for the Point, until another private organization could revive it. Indeed, in 1913 the Commission engaged Edward H. Bennett, former partner of Daniel Burnham to prepare a plan for the Point, which like others was never implemented.[11]

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At the end World War I, a group of business leaders formed the Citizens Committee on the City Plan [CCCP] at the instigation of local planner Frederick Bigger. The men undertook a six part plan as a means to reinvigorate the planning process and bring some order to this rapidly growing city. The six reports, together called *The Pittsburgh Plan*, targeted specific aspects of the city: playgrounds, parks, the major street plan, railroads, transit, and waterways. This second effort at comprehensive planning only a decade after the publication of Olmsted's plan revealed that his vision of the central

riverfronts as potentially having recreational and scenic qualities had largely faded from view. The renewed advocacy of a traffic circuit around downtown in the *Major Street* report again saw the streets paralleling the riverfronts as logical places to build the highways to relieve congestion, but this time without Olmsted's promenade and overlooks. The *Waterways* volume of the plan, published in 1923, emphatically stated that the riverfronts themselves were to remain primarily commercial infrastructure.[12]

Men from shipping and other corporate interests comprised the committee charged with preparing the *Waterways* report. An engineer from the office of St. Louis planner Harland Bartholomew, the consultant to the CCCP's planning effort, provided the technical expertise. Not surprisingly the committee defined the principle underlying all recommendations for the riverfronts as the necessity of nurturing extant industries and attracting new ones. To that end, the committee determined "it to be undisputed, that navigation interests have a prior right to the use of those portions of the City's waterfront which can be advantageously used for water transportation."[13] It predicted that the anticipated completion of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers' improvements to the Ohio River would generate large increases in both barge and packet freight traffic. Consequently, the report recommended the retention of city-owned riverfront lands for freight handling and services. When public properties were used in another way for the community's interest, the report emphasized, they must not prevent the tying up of commercial craft or the erection of hoisting equipment. While the committee wanted the Monongahela Wharf left open for packet freight traffic, it proposed the construction of several rail-to-river freight terminals elsewhere along the central riverfronts, including the conversion of the deteriorating and infrequently used Exposition buildings on the Allegheny River side of the Point to such a terminal. As if foreclosing opportunities for public access to the rivers, these prominent business leaders supported the erection, wherever feasible, of substantial flood walls along the central riverfronts.

Instead of the predicted growth of packet commerce, the city experienced an enormous increase in motor vehicle traffic, especially coming into and through downtown. Traffic congestion in the compact downtown, which had always been a bad problem, became nightmarish in the 1920s. Between 1920 and 1927, the number of automobiles and trucks entering downtown daily increased by 71 percent to more than 90,000. Streetcars, buses, and horse-drawn vehicles pushed the total number of vehicles to above 100,000.[14] As it had a decade earlier, the rejuvenated Department of Planning ignored recommendations for commercial improvements on the wharves and focused on designing the circuit loop for automobiles, which would use the paths of least resistance and expense---the underused riverfronts of the Golden Triangle. During the 1920s and 1930s, several proposals by both the city and county planning departments and private groups advocated turning Water Street along the Monongahela and Duquesne Way along the Allegheny into high volume, high speed by-pass routes. They variously put forward schemes for six lane boulevards, elevated highways, and double-decked roads. All envisioned parking on the wharves. Some included streetcar rights-of-way and one even subways. Infrastructure, not aesthetics, remained the top priority for the riverfronts.[15]

Although civic leaders generally agreed on the necessity of these by-pass boulevards, agency conflicts, the complexity of converging traffic at the Point, and existing private uses on the wharves inhibited reaching a consensus on the details of a traffic plan well into the 1930s. The proposals struggled with the confounding presence of the old Baltimore & Ohio Railroad station on the Monongahela wharf, Pennsylvania Railroad tracks on the Allegheny riverfront, and the underused deteriorating Exposition Hall farther along that bank near the Point. Bigger supported an elaborate traffic circle to coordinate the converging traffic at the two bridges of the Point, but the Western Pennsylvania Exposition Society's vigorous efforts in the 1930s to revive its membership with a new multi-purpose civic center threatened his plans. The river business interests held out for commercial wharf improvements, while the Lower Downtown Businessmen's Association advanced an additional bridge entrance from the South Hills into downtown, which would potentially complicate traffic patterns along the Monongahela waterfront. Finally, the planning departments of the city and county acrimoniously disagreed on the designs for the loop around downtown.

Most of the proposals for riverfront boulevards incorporated flood walls and embraced minimal riverfront improvements in terms of landscaped river edges, tree- lined esplanades, or small parklets. The Department of Planning's "Report on River Front Development" in 1932, for example, displayed tree-lined boulevards skirting the edges of downtown, reminiscent of Olmsted's 1911 proposals. But, the city's chief planner Frederick Bigger, who generally shared Olmsted's views of city planning and was a founding member of the visionary Regional Planning Association of America at the time of preparing *The Pittsburgh Plan*, still granted priority to commercial and transportation uses along the riverfronts. As author of the CCCP's 1923 report on *Parks*, the fourth volume of the comprehensive plan, Bigger propounded the wisdom of some park development on the public waterfront for the recreational use of downtown workers and "the substitution of an embellishment in lieu of unimaginative neglect and ugliness." However, he proposed only small "rest parks" adjacent to bridge ramps, simply landscaped and furnished with benches. This minor concession to recreational and contemplative use was to come only after the "utilitarian" needs of streets, terminals, and transportation identified elsewhere in the city plan had been addressed. Although Bigger argued that human needs outweighed automobile storage on the waterfront, his plans did not reflect the principle, and parking occupied the Monongahela Wharf within a few years.[16]

In a 1935 interview for the *Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph*, Frank Lloyd Wright denounced the condition of the city's river lands. In the previous fall, department store magnate Edgar J. Kaufmann invited the architect to the city with the prospect of several commissions, including a possible Civil Works Administration, multi-million dollar package of projects that involved wharf improvements and a flood wall.[17] The commissions never materialized; but after coming to the city, Wright glimpsed the reality and potential of the riverfronts. In developing Pittsburgh, he observed, the principle must have been "to hell with nature, and we'll get what we want in spite of her…." He described the city as huddled uncomfortably on both sides of the rivers, vainly trying to hold "together with bridges, more bridges and again bridges…'In spite of the river' ought

to be a Pittsburgh town-slogan." Although he suggested how the river valleys might have been sculpted for beauty, he issued his notorious, caustic remark:

> In all probability, it [Pittsburgh] will have to be abandoned some day, a rusty ruin to tumble into the river, keeping the river waters still stained with oxide of iron for another half century, meanwhile serving, at least, to mark the spot where one great phase of human endeavor, centralization, ended,…[18]

Despite Wright's remarks and years of inaction, civic leaders and planners were not yet ready to give up. The revival of the private, voluntary planning body in 1936 after a depression-induced hiatus marked a watershed in both planning and ultimately the implementation of plans into construction projects. Frustrating stalemates on several longstanding projects would be overcome in the ensuing years as the private planning body assumed an activist role in both planning and implementation. In 1936, Howard Heinz re-opened the offices of the Municipal Planning Association (formerly the CCCP), renamed it the Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association, retained long time Pittsburgh city planner Frederick Bigger as a consultant, and hired as executive director Wallace Richards, fresh from working on the Greenbelt project in Washington with Bigger. After courting the impresario of New York's parks and parkway development for several months, Heinz finally secured Robert Moses' consent in 1939 to prepare a report on solving the longstanding problems of traffic in downtown.[19]

When Moses' team came to the city in 1939, it encountered renewed energy for, but little progress in, redeveloping the Point into an historical park. In 1930 local advocates had lobbied Congress without success for authorization and funding. In 1938, several civic leaders approached the National Park Service with similarly unsatisfactory results.[20] But, the vague vision of a large complex involving some combination of monument, museum, restored forts, and parking, while simultaneously accommodating traffic, had been kept alive. Moreover, as a result of Heinz and Richards' insistent pressure to forge a consensus among planners and officials, construction of the Water Street improvement parallel to the Monongahela Wharf, one leg in the loop around downtown, had actually begun in 1939. The opportunity to obtain Public Works Administration funds, along with Washington's concern to upgrade Pittsburgh's infrastructure for defense reasons, had driven Heinz to push the unusual sunken, two-level Water Street design. Other components of the typical roster of downtown improvements, including Duquesne Way and the Point, still languished.[21]

Moses' plan, a slim report issued in November 1939, did not break new ground, as even he forewarned. The New York power broker reiterated the overriding priority of mitigating traffic congestion; all plans for the Point and the waterfront boulevards among other proposals had to bend to this concern. In considering the Point, he declared that "traffic rather than history must be the decisive factor in the reconstruction of the apex of the Pittsburgh Triangle and in the establishment of Point Park." Despite this arterial emphasis, Moses did recommend landscaping the slivers of land sandwiched between the highways and the rivers at the Point and proposed a large park nestled between the

highway ramps to the bridges. The ramps as they rose to the bridges would have, however, blocked views of the rivers from the park. He also urged removal of both the railroads and automobile parking from the waterfronts; and once the by-pass boulevards with flood walls were in place, he envisioned attractively landscaping the river edges and putting an esplanade on the top of the wall along Duquesne Way. In keeping with the traffic priority, he proposed bringing the much-discussed Pitt Parkway into downtown from the nearly completed Pennsylvania Turnpike along the Monongahela north shore to the new Water Street. As part of the parkway design, Moses advanced a small parklet with handball courts and a boat landing next to the Brady Street Bridge about one mile upstream from the Monongahela Wharf.[22]

In short, Moses' plan did not appreciably threaten the prevailing view of the importance of the riverfronts for infrastructure. Nor did it essentially alter the modest, longstanding aesthetic and recreational proposals for these lands. The large park at the Point and the softening of the river edges were to come only after the flood and traffic problems had been addressed. His report did alter, however, the planning process. Heinz and the PRPA were delighted, even surprised, at the favorable publicity attending its publication, and they resolved to take the lead, rather than remaining sideline advisors, in moving plans from the drawing boards to the contractors in the field.[23]

* * * *

The business community's determination to revitalize Pittsburgh resulted in the twenty five year-long, post-World War II redevelopment program, known as Renaissance.[24] It was initiated before federal funds became the catalyst for redevelopment among most other cities; orchestrated by a new nonprofit organization dominated by the city's major corporations, the Allegheny Conference on Community Development (or simply the Allegheny Conference); and led by the unlikely partnership of the Republican scion of the Mellon financial interests, R.K. Mellon, and the head of the Democratic political machine, David L. Lawrence. Renaissance reflected a changed relationship between private interests and planning. Through the Allegheny Conference, private leaders determined the agenda, used the nonprofit Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association for much of the planning, and exercised considerable influence at all governmental levels to implement projects.

Renaissance was a multi-prong, economic development strategy to retain locally-based corporations and attract new ones by improving infrastructure, the environment, and downtown. Not surprisingly, the economic development goals of the Allegheny Conference, echoing the 1923 *Waterways* report, registered little interest in the potential aesthetic and recreational qualities of the rivers, riverfronts, and surrounding hillsides. Civic leaders still could not envision them as assets in view of the industries still lining the riverfronts, the fleets of coal tows plying the rivers, and the visibly degraded environment. Although the new Allegheny County Sanitation Authority began treating sewage in 1959 for the first time in the city's history with marked improvement in the rivers' water quality, Renaissance leaders saw to the completion of the long-discussed circuit highways along the rivers, flood walls, and parking on the Monongahela Wharf.

Consequently, neither downtown waterfront was accessible to the public; nor were the industrial or abandoned river lands across from the Golden Triangle made more inviting under Renaissance projects.[25]

However, there was an important exception to business as usual. The pre-war conception of a large park at the Point gained momentum as Pittsburgh leaders pursued the redevelopment of downtown. They convinced the governor of Pennsylvania in 1945 to create a park at the Point. Park plans became coupled with an adjacent blighted area proposed for revitalization into a modernistic office complex, which emerged as Gateway Center in the 1950s. Complicated financial, political, and infrastructural issues delayed the final plans for a park.[26] A design controversy simmered between those desiring an historical emphasis and others like the chair of the Allegheny Conference's Architectural and Design Subcommittee Edgar J. Kaufmann who promulgated a bold, innovative statement symbolizing human progress. For the latter idea, Kaufmann again drew on Frank Lloyd Wright, who sketched a futuristic scheme in 1946. Wright's enormous three story, beehive-like structure set at the Point accommodated entering and exiting traffic at different levels with spiral ramps to circulate this traffic and incorporated a melange of entertainment, business, and government uses. The Allegheny Conference's delegation to Wright's studio at Taliesan West to inspect the architect's plan blanched at the radical and, in their opinion, impractical vision. By spring 1948 even Kaufmann had given up on his architect's design.[27]

The following year the Point Park Committee of the Allegheny Conference hired the New York landscape architecture firm of Clarke, Rapuano, and Holleran (experienced in working with Robert Moses) along with the local firm of Ralph Griswold and Associates to devise a traffic interchange at the Point as an alternative to the scheme favored by the state highway department. Traffic had always been the limiting factor in designing a park suitable for this historically and geographically significant site. Three years earlier Pennsylvania Governor Edward Martin had boldly approved the Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association's proposal to remove the existing Point bridges and erect two new ones a little farther upstream in order to provide more land for a park. This unprecedented decision meant that park considerations prevailed over traffic priorities. Once having solved the interchange problem, the same team turned to the park itself and by the early 1950s completed a design that for the first time since Frederick Law Olmsted's 1911 plan viewed the rivers and riverfronts, at least the portions near the Point, as aesthetic and recreational assets. With the highway interchange moved eastward away from the Point itself, Griswold and Rapuano emphasized an open westward view to the Ohio River for the park, punctuated by a symbolic fountain. Further, their plan provided pedestrian access to the rivers' edges. Making alterations as construction progressed, they extended the river banks by 50 feet and hardened them, embedded boat mooring rings in the new river walls, built a strolling trail around the Point, and placed a stepped seating space along the Allegheny for spectator viewing of river programming. Although critics doubted the efficacy of recreational use of a downtown park, subsequent activities in years to come justified the architects' intentions.[28]

As Point State Park was taking shape in the 1950s, the city engaged the Griswold firm to develop a concept plan for the riverfronts and hillsides. Pittsburgh Parks and Recreation director, Robert J. Templeton, believed that for all its emerging accomplishments and acclaim, Renaissance had ignored the potential recreational use and beauty of the city's dramatic topographical features. However, in view of the new park arising at the Point and the city's desire to be "modern," he detected an "awakening to the recreational and aesthetic value of its rivers and riverfronts." The purpose of the plan was to redress the longstanding neglect of the city's natural setting by creating "a unified program of adequate recreation and conservation." The planners noted that public purchase of some waterfront properties would stop their depreciation, enhance the value of adjacent private properties, and offer opportunities for public access. They predicted increased recreational boating and public demand for leisure facilities due to the growing free time of local workers. In his riverfront *A Master Plan for the Development of Riverfronts and Hillsides*, Griswold recommended that 20 percent of the city's riverfronts be devoted to walks and drives, marinas and launching ramps, picnic landings for boaters, river bank landscaping, and even an elaborate double-deck structure with docks, restaurants, swimming pool, terraces, and a roof top garden. In what surely must have seemed like incredible flights of the imagination, Griswold and his colleagues painted pictures of a great park on industrialized Herr's Island (two miles above downtown in the Allegheny River) like Skansen in Stockholm or Tivoli in Copenhagen. They proposed a walk and drive along the north shore of the Ohio River like those along the Charles River in Boston and the Potomac in Washington. Even modest suggestions for riverfront walks on the north shore of the Monongahela near an enormous slag dump and on the South Side riverfront near the Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation's mill must have struck readers as far-fetched in the industrial atmosphere of 1959, though considering recent developments Griswold was remarkably prescient.[29]

At first glance, Point State Park and Griswold's *Master Plan* might have signaled a major change in the city's perception of its rivers and riverfronts. The new park at the Point did represent a departure in its recognition of the rivers as scenic assets, the expensive adjustment of traffic infrastructure to meet the needs of the park, and its being the outcome of a public-private partnership. The 1959 riverfront *Master Plan* embraced many of these same attributes, though it was a public initiative that would need private collaboration for implementation. Together, the park and the modest riverfront plan did constitute a growing recreational and scenic interest in the rivers and riverfronts. Sewage treatment had begun to improve water quality, though the rivers remained polluted by most measures. The dramatic clearing of the region's infamously smoky skies contributed to an increasingly upbeat, environmental attitude. Indeed, recreational boating showed signs of growth during the Renaissance years.

Despite the enthusiasm surrounding the emerging Point park, a new day for the rivers and riverfronts had not yet arrived. The park and its new accessibility to the river edges represented only a small portion of the still largely inaccessible central waterfronts, where automobile infrastructure precluded pedestrian use, except for a few hardy runners out for lunch time exercise. The 1959 master plan itself began by reiterating that most flat riverfront property must remain the province of industry, which supported

the region. Its objective was to find a "balance among the diverse interests" and, accordingly, it proposed making about 20 percent of the shore within the city, not just the central riverfronts, available for scenic and recreational uses.[30] Without the Allegheny Conference's enthusiastic adoption, nothing was accomplished. Instead, the planning and eventual construction of two major public projects embraced by the Renaissance partnership reflected the continued limited appreciation of the city's natural assets. Opening in 1970 to considerable fanfare, Three Rivers Stadium, despite its name and location on the Allegheny River across from Point State Park, had little direct contact with the rivers. The small, narrow, and hard-edged Roberto Clemente Park along the river provided some connection between the ballpark and the water, but the circular stadium enclosed spectators in a high-walled arena separating them from the facility's namesakes. Only the stadium's name and location, not its design, proclaimed its riverine attachment. Completed a few years later, the city's new convention center faced the interior of downtown, turning its backside of loading platforms and infrastructure to the Allegheny River. A quarter of a century later, the city redressed these two errors by orienting new stadiums and a massively redesigned convention center open to the riverscape.

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In the 1980s, Pittsburgh's "golden" era of industrial power and prosperity came to an abrupt end. Over the more than 100 years of industrialization and concomitant urbanization, civic leaders turned the rivers and riverfront lands into essential components of the region's industrial infrastructure. In so doing, Pittsburghers generally lost access to and contact with these primary geographical features. Polluted, crowded with enormous coal tows, enshrouded in smoke, and accessible to the public only by trespassing on industrial property, crossing dangerous railroad tracks, and negotiating muddy banks, the rivers did not seem either natural or scenic for most people.[31]

Civic leaders before World War I, during the interwar years, and after World War II wished to modernize their city in order to improve its image and conditions for business. At each stage, they feared the consequences for economic growth of not improving traffic circulation and upgrading the utility of the waterfronts. During three quarters of the twentieth century, proposals to caste at least part of the riverfronts in a different light by architects and planners from the nationally prominent Olmsted, Moses, Rapuano, and even the mercurial Wright to locally important professionals like Bigger and Griswold failed to overturn prevailing utilitarian conceptions. Indeed, most of these voices for providing some accessibility to the rivers accepted the primacy, even inevitability, of commercial and industrial uses, and tried to work within that constraint. But prior to the World War II neither private leaders nor public officials showed the strong commitment to work on behalf of such modest proposals in the manner that Charles Wacker and Walter Moody had for Burnham's Chicago plan.[32] Only after the war did private leaders, alarmed by dire predictions of dismal economic prospects, assume active roles in bringing about substantial change on the waterfronts. Even then, infrastructure concerns took priority with the exception of Point State Park.

Despite improving water quality, growing recreational boating, and the visible success of Point State Park after World War II, Pittsburghers would not relinquish their self-defined industrial identity until deindustrialization left it in tatters. The process of rediscovering the region's riverine character since the 1980s has been complicated, multifaceted, contentious, and exciting.[33] While Olmsted, Moses, and the others could not have envisioned the commercial and residential development now taking place along the rivers, they did foresee in broad terms the linear trails, parklets, boating facilities, and ecological regeneration transforming the rivers and riverfronts. But even here, they would be amazed at the extent of the transformation, for in their day the industrial imperative was just too dominant.

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[2] Bauman, John F. and Edward K. Muller, *Before Renaissance: Planning in Pittsburgh, 1889-1943* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006), chapter 2; Hines, Thomas S., *Burnham of Chicago: Architect and Planner* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 371-383.

[3] *Catalogue of the First Annual Exhibition of the Pittsburgh Architectural Club* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Architectural Club, 1900).

[4] Although there is no evidence of Burnham's suggesting that Pittsburgh undertake city planning, local leaders almost certainly were aware of his extensive planning activities and had the opportunity to discuss planning with him in view of his active architectural presence in the city. Most telling was the Chicago architect's appointment to the PCC's advisory board. Bauman and Muller, 2006, p. 65; and Smith, Carl, *The Plan of Chicago: Daniel Burnham and the Remaking of the American City* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006).

[5] Olmsted, Frederick Law, Jr., *Pittsburgh: Main Thoroughfares and the Downtown District* (Pittsburgh: The Pittsburgh Civic Commission, 1911), pp. 19-22; Bauman and Muller, 2006, chapter 3.

[6] Olmsted, 1911, pp. 20-28. The Flood Commission of Pittsburgh under the leadership of H. J. Heinz was established in 1908 by the Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburgh after the devastating 1907 flood. It is publication four years later set out many recommendations, which were eventually implemented four decades later. See *The Report of the Flood Commission of Pittsburgh Penna.* (Pittsburgh: 1912).

[7] Ibid., pp. 21, 25, 23.

[8] Ibid., pp. 29-30. Olmsted's concern for the relationship between the rivers and use of the riverfronts is best seen in his many letters written as part of the preparation of the plan during 1910. See Olmsted Associate Papers, Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

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[10] Smith, Roland M., "The Politics of Pittsburgh Flood Control, Part I, 1908-1936," *Pennsylvania History*, vol. 42, no. 1 (1975), pp. 5-24.

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[12] Ibid., chapter 4.

[13] *Waterways: A Part of the Pittsburgh Plan*, Report No. 6 (Pittsburgh: Citizens Committee on the City Plan of Pittsburgh, 1923), p. 13.

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[17] Toker, Franklin, *Fallingwater Rising: Frank Lloyd Wright, E. J. Kaufmann, and America's Most Extraordinary House"* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), pp. 118-126, 157.

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[20] Alberts, Robert C., *The Shaping of the Point: Pittsburgh's Renaissance Park* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1980), pp. 42-46.

[21] Bauman and Muller, 2006, pp. 232-250.

[22] Moses, Robert, *Arterial Plan for Pittsburgh* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association, 1939), pp. 12-22.

[23] Bauman and Muller, 2006, pp. 250-267.

[24] For example, see Teaford, Jon C., *The Rough Road to Renaissance: Urban Revitalization in America, 1940-1985* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990); Lubove, Roy. *Twentieth Century Pittsburgh: Government, Business, and Environmental Change* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1969); and Stewman, Selby and Joel A. Tarr, "Four Decades of Public=Private Partnerships in Pittsburgh," in Fosler, R. Scott and Renee A. Berger, eds., *Public-Private Partnerships in American Cities* (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath & Co., 1982), pp. 59-127.

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[26] Alberts, 1980, pp. 68-90.

[27] Alberts, 1980, pp. 91-97; Mershon, 2000, pp. 426-435; and Toker, 2003, pp. 337-340.

[28] Mershon, 2000, pp. 436-442; and Alberts, 1980, pp. 110-128, 152-154, 184-205.

[29] *A Master Plan for the Development of Riverfronts and Hillsides in the City of Pittsburgh*, prepared by Griswold, Winters, and Swain (Pittsburgh: Department of Parks and Recreation, 1959).

[30] *A Master Plan for the Development of Riverfronts,* pp. 3, 5, 7.

[31] Muller, Edward K. "The Legacy of Industrial Rivers," *Pittsburgh History*, vol. 72, no. 2 (1989), pp. 64-75.

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Private interest or civic duty? Early projects for the enlargement of Vienna, 1817-1857

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A number of early projects for the enlargement of the city of Vienna preceded the famous competition for a master plan, officially announced in 1857, for the area that would then become the *Ringstrasse*.

Ludwig Förster, later one of the protagonists of the competition, presented one of these proposals at the first gatherings of the association of German architects and engineers (Leipzig 1842, Bamberg 1843). He even exposed a model at the public exhibition accompanying the third congress in Prag, in 1844, and in the same year published a three page description of his project on the *Allgemeine Bauzeitung,* the technical journal he had founded in 1836.[1]

The characteristics of this city enlargement proposal have been discussed before[2], in the effort of documenting comprehensively those phases of the debate about the *Stadterweiterung*, that anticipate the official announcement and the competition. These documents have been framed, together with the observations of literates and travelers, and with a number of *Verschönerungspläne* of more limited scope, as proof that the need for city enlargement was deeply felt by all levels of the population, long before 1857[3].

What has been revealed only marginally are the reasons sustaining the engagement of the technicians who prepared the plans, but even more the motivations of the patrons who were financing the work - and, we can imagine, choosing their architect also for his ability to reach a broader public and put the proposal in the spotlight.

The aim of this work is to shed light on the economic interests behind the proposals, especially, as was the case for Forster's, the ones overtly financed by groups of private investors. These in fact go far beyond the pattern of traditional aristocratic patronage and propose a far-reaching vision of the opportunities of intervention in the city, which suggests a new approach and a whole new set of motivations and objectives.
Why did these economic subjects feel involved in the debate on the future of Vienna, and why precisely at this moment in time? What was their purpose in financing a proposal, in having it submitted to the State administration, but also published and discussed by the public opinion?

A number of shifts occurred in the balance of private economic goals and public recognition of the necessities of the investors, first in the context of the political struggles and economic crisis of the Forties, then again in the time of exceptional growth called *Grunderzeit*, between the Fifties and the Seventies of the Nineteenth century.

The roles of investors and real estate entrepreneurs became more and more significant in the civil society, their goals obtained official recognition, and they even managed to direct public policies and decisions towards the *Stadterweiterung*.

Eventually, the Government was able to advocate direct control on the complex of the operations, to manage how this was organized, making it financially highly beneficial for the State itself, and at the same time was able to allow private investors to play a significant part in it, gaining their part through their investments and also through a system of tax reductions. The effects of the *Ringstrasse* operation on the market dynamics in the *Altstadt*, where such a policy of direct control was not applied, will show how the market forces obliged smaller private owners to transform and adapt their houses, thus allowing the Municipality, in this case responsible for the transformation of the area, to implement a policy of *Regulierung* without intervening directly.

The need for the city of Vienna to expand outside the internal circle of walls had been expressed at least since the late XVII century, together with the idea that reconnecting the city core with the densely built urban fabric of the outer areas would allow not only growth, but also the creation of a more stately image for the capital city of the Empire.

In the *Altstadt*, the old city, still enclosed by Sixteenth century defensive walls, great demographic increase had been grafted on an urban center of very limited dimensions, while a number of activities had been located in proximity to the Court, together with the urban residences of the aristocratic families[4].

The prohibition to build in the strip of land under military control called *Glacis*, which was partially bordered to the West by the river *Wien*, dated back to the XVII century[5]. In 1770, under Joseph II, the *Glacis* area had been leveled completely reorganized and both military roads and promenades had been traced, connecting the urban doors to the *Vorstädte*.

These "suburbs" had acquired a consistently urban character and hosted some of the most important buildings in the city, from religious ones, like churches and monasteries, to the secondary residences of aristocratic and bourgeois families, from hospitals, schools and military structures, to markets and even a river docking area. The constant increase of population in these zones and the related exuberant building activity had been triggered by tax relief measures and incentives to private enterprise, promoted by Emperor Leopold I in the XVII century.

Other suburbs, called *Vororte*, were instead situated in the outskirts of the city, externally to a second defensive structure, the *Linienwall*. Outside this line, which had never been completed and functioned less as military structure than as tariff border, had been situated as well the main railway stations of the city, the *Ostbanhof* (o *Staatsbanhof*) and the *Sudbanhof*, both built at the beginning of the Forties of the Nineteenth century.

The presence of the *Glacis* worked as an interruption to urban continuum. This had as a result functional difficulties, for example in the flow of people and merchandise. The physical disjunction in the city fabric caused as well the separation of some institutional activities, a scattered localization of offices, while at the same time exacerbating the hygienic and crowd-control problems due to high density, in the walled area of the *Altstadt*.

At the same time, it also meant a huge limitation to economic growth and investment, especially in the sector of real estate. While the city in the first half of the Nineteenth century was not yet invested by the phenomenon of industrialization that had taken momentum in other areas of Europe - and the shops and factories where still limited in dimension and mainly situated outside the *Linienwall* - the dramatic shortage of available land to build upon was having a huge impact on the possibilities of investing in real estate activities. Especially in the most attractive zones of the city, which were situated near the state administration buildings around the Court, it was difficult to provide plots of land of sufficient dimensions to capture real estate investments. Generally speaking, the capital city of the Empire, before 1857, provided very limited opportunities for this kind of business, especially if compared with the other main cities of Europe. In fact the Austrian upper classes, while supporting an official residency near the *Hofburg*, were investing in "suburban" upscale areas or built their castles and estates in the countryside, leaving the city to middle class state officials and bourgeois families, which could not reside too far away from their businesses and offices.

The intervention of private actors in the debate about the city enlargement happens as early as the beginning of the XIX century, but around the Forties, still under the rule of Emperor Ferdinand, a new pattern appears, as the proposals are sponsored by groups of investors. A project by Cerrini is dated 1839; the one by the so-called *Proponenten-Comité* is presented in 1840; the already mentioned plan by Förster is published in 1844.

These projects were designed by famous participants in the early debate about the future of the city. Cerrini was a military, and he had already presented a proposal for the expansion of the city in 1817, while Förster was a professional architect and professor at the Academie, as well as the founder of the journal *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, and the author of some eight proposals of city expansion before becoming one of the winners of the official competition in 1858.

The most interesting feature of these proposals is that they were paid for by associations of private citizens: the proposal by Cerrini was commissioned by a number of famous commercial companies of the city, which represented as well some of the richest families: Rothschild, Sina, Geymüller, Arnstein, Esceles, Coith e Pereira; the 1844 project by Förster was commissioned by an association of banks.

The interest in this context for the proposal of the *Proponenten-Comité*, a group of technicians of the municipal administration, comes from the observation that in the same year, Karl von Bruck associated with them to propose the construction in Vienna

of a theater on the model of "La Fenice" in Venice, which had been realized by an association of private investors just before the end of the Serenissima. The presence of von Bruck on the scene is another interesting signal that the question of the expansion of the capital city was becoming an issue of interest for commercial enterprises: in fact, von Bruck was an influential trader from Triest, later commercial consul in Portugal, founder of the Triest Stock-exchange and of the Österreichischen Lloyd. He will end up being Minister of Commerce between 1848 and 1851 and Minister of the Finances between 1855 and 1860.

The text that Förster wrote and published on the *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* in 1844, refers that "some of the principal banks of Vienna" had commissioned him this plan, based on precise measurements and accompanied by concrete indications for realization, considering that it would be in the interest of the Administration of the State to entrust the realization of the city expansion to an association between capitalists, following the recent examples of many European and American cities where entire areas had been realized thanks to private investment". In fact, it is underlined how the involvement of private capitals would lighten the load undertaken by the State Treasury for an operation as wide ranging as the enlargement of the city, while it tends to present the operation as a civic duty both for the architect and for his patrons. The proposal includes the design for three different areas of the city, situated to the North of the city core, where the circle of walls was rejoining the Danube canal, the plan for each of them structured on a perpendicular grid. While a number of public buildings are included in the project and seem to get all the attention, the three expansion areas also provide a large amount of residential spaces, just broadly sketched as quadrangular blocks.

At this point of the story, it seems necessary to consider why these proposals were all produced in the Forties, and to reflect on the motivations for their rejection. At the same time, it is possible to consider the effect the thrust from these lobbies of investors had in subsequent years, especially after 1848.

The accession to power of Emperor Franz Joseph marks the return, after the Liberal Revolution of 1848, to a conservative, neo-absolutistic political line. After the Constitution granted during the Revolution had been revoked, the State was once again under the direct and centralized control of army and police forces.

At the same time, the line of the Crown after 1848 is characterized as well by the cautious conservation of some of the political concessions of the revolutionary times.[6] In fact the political aims of the Habsburg, intent at recreating their legitimacy as well as maintaining the cohesion of the Empire, required the support of the middle classes, in Vienna formed by a mixture of "service aristocracy" (*Dienstadel*) and middle and high bourgeoisie, which as a matter of fact was the holder of real economic power. The support of these groups, weakened at the time of the direct involvement of the Habsburg Court in the repression of the liberal revolts, needed to be won back. These same classes were also the most deeply rooted in the urban cosmopolitan environment of the Capital city.

Moreover, the 1848 revolution had "convinced the government officials of the need to consider the multinational character of the Habsburg Empire" and brought some of them to recognize that it was possible to prove the legitimacy of the Empire[7], if the many nationalities that were part of it could be brought to acknowledge its common history.

The city of Vienna, "capital of the Empire and seat of its administration", being in itself the symbol of the reorganization and centralization of the state under Franz Joseph, was also the place where the cultural policies of dynastic reaffirmation and cohesion of *Großösterreich*, the "Great Austria", were realized in concrete terms.

It is not by chance that the report by Cerrini, accompanying his project, emphasizes how the city extension would offer the interesting political opportunity to create, in proximity to the city core, a residential area to be destined to the rich and the aristocrats coming from all the various provinces. This would encourage the closeness and even the mix of the different ethnical groups, re-introducing at the same time a cluster of high level population near the decaying city center, and thus also re-equilibrating the proportions of social provenance of its inhabitants.

One of the most important results of the 1848 Revolution, regarding the Capital city, was in fact the integration into the urban area the wide crown of external areas called *Vorstädte*.

The objective was mainly economic, as this integration would allow for a more rapid passage of people and merchandise. A first proposal in this sense is contained in the document *Entwurf einer neuen Gemeindeordnung der Stadt Wien*, elaborated by a commission of experts in May 1848. In October of the same year, for the first time were held elections for a *Gemeinderat*. Even if the voters, compared to a Viennese population exceeding the 300.000 people, was barely of 8000, and even if the *Gemeinderat* was eventually dissolved just one month later, this first official act contributed to a first identification of the *Gemeinde* as the smallest unit of the civil administration. In 1849, the new Interior Minister, Count Franz Stadion, produced a *Skizze zu einem Entwurfe einer künftigen Gemeindeordnung für die K.K. Haupt- und Residenzstadt Wien*[8]. The urban limit had to be extended outside the *Linienwall*, including in the municipal area both the suburbs of the first crown, or *Vorstädte* and the most external ones, or *Vororte*.

The Viennese élite resisted the project, concerned with the huge expense that would be required to equip with urban infrastructures the more peripheral areas, which could not be evened out through the limited revenue these areas could possibly generate. For this reason, in the urban limit was at the time included only the area comprised inside the perimeter of the *Linienwall*.

The *Provisorische Gemeindeordnung* was then signed by the Emperor during the next year, realizing the administrative (and thus electoral) annexation of 34 *Vorstädte*, as seven new *Gemeinde*. The inclusion of the *Vorstädte* to the capital city was then

realized from the administrative point of view well before it was concretely carried out in the physical reality, with the construction of the *Ringstrasse* area, after 1857.

Only from 1856, though, it is possible to reconstruct a decisive shift in the position of the Emperor, in favor of the needs expressed by the civil society against the opposition of the Military. In fact, a project of reorganization of the internal fortifications, prepared by the Military Chancellery, was not even taken into consideration, as "no obstacles should be put in the way of the expansion of city and suburbs".

In the sitting of April 17th, 1857, the Emperor finally expressed the desire, that "the long postponed and each day more urgent question of the enlargement of the internal part of the city of Vienna could finally find a definitive solution"[9] and ordered the creation of a Commission to draw up a plan. The internal fortifications of the city would be abandoned and on the *Glacis* area would be placed the necessary public buildings, wide squares and open areas.

This change might surely be connected, as many have suggested, with the drifting away of the memories of the popular risings of 1848, which for a long time had supported the claims of the Military, that the walls were needed for the protection of the Emperor from the crowds. This had put the Military in a situation of political centrality and high influence on the Court.

The fundamental motivations of this change, though, have to be found in the difficulties of the Habsburg Empire at the international level, and especially in the economic sector. These factors were creating for the Emperor and the Court a number of preoccupations that had higher priority than the military ones: the financial struggles of the State and the difficulties of the lower strata of the population could create conditions that were far more destabilizing and in the long term and also more dangerous than the risings the Military were constantly fearing.

In the final phase of the debate for the *Stadterweiterung*, the military hierarchies were apparently and constantly losing ground and in some occasions even losing control of the facts happening under their noses[10], while it appears clearly that the decisions publicly attributed to the Emperor have been carefully prepared in advance by the Government.

It seems evident that the upper classes, especially those which were directly involved in business and financial activities, were lobbying and pressuring the members of the Government to reach a decision that since at least twenty years they were envisaging as a solution to many problems of the city, with a welcome series of advantages for private money. The higher classes and especially the richer bourgeois families that were interested in finding ways of producing richness, apart from production and commerce of luxury goods for the Court, were highly interested in the opportunity that the *Glacis* offered of unoccupied land, where investments in real estate could be made at a larger scale, and in areas of very high value, next to the *Hofburg* and the old city but not

compromised by nearby presence of lower classes settlements, hygienic problems, high density or existing low quality buildings.

The implementation of the *Ringstrasse* intervention, in the times between the 1858 competition and 1873 (the huge crack of the *Börse*), demonstrates that their calculations were going in the right direction. A huge number of new building enterprises were created and the building sector in the Capital was growing steadily, making the fortunes of many.

The initiative regarding the enlargement of the capital city had in fact been assumed by the Minister of the Interiors, Alexander von Bach, who had defined a precise political vision of the *Stadterweiterung* and a precise strategy to obtain its realization.

In fact, early in 1857 the Minister had been engaged in deftly influencing public opinion. I the spring of 1857 the newspaper *Die Presse* published three articles under the title "The architectural future of Vienna"[11]. Vienna is described as inadequate for the needs of life in the "industrial century"; the defensive walls will have to be demolished *because the city needs space for new buildings*; and "the weight of a great state is measured by the greater or lesser splendor of its Capital city"[12].

Meanwhile, a long time before the official announcement of the *Stadterweiterung* was made, the administration of the Interior Ministry was at work to prepare its realization.

The role of the Minister von Bach regarding the city expansion will have to be considered as decisive: he was able to influence the opinions of the Emperor, to manage the consensus of the public opinion, to create lobbies even by way of secret agreements, revealing a search for effectiveness and great clarity of intents.

At the same time, as could be argued from the disappearance of a reference to expropriation rights from an earlier draft to the definitive version of the official bill announcing the *Stadterweiterung*, the Minister could enjoy in his endeavors a strong support from the same entrepreneurial upper classes, which were going to benefit financially from the enlargement of the city.

At this point, it becomes necessary to take a look at how the complex administrative machine managing practically and financially the *Stadterweiterung* was organized and which actors in the end were able to gain from it.

The first phases of planning regarding the city extension see the struggle between the Government and the local powers, especially the *Gemeinde*, or municipal power. The latter claimed its right to be involved in the transformation of such an important part of the territory under its jurisdiction. This strife was mainly caused by financial motivations: the tax reductions, which were granted to support the intervention of private capitals in the plan, and to promote the rapid conclusion of building activities, were making a dent not only in state and provincial earnings, but also in the contributions received by the city, for a time extending in some cases to 30 years.

With the approval of the new *Bauordnung* for the city of Vienna, in 1859, the power is definitively and indisputably put in the hands of the Ministry of the Interiors, through the creation in its ranks of a new *Baucommission*, which had preeminence both on the military commissions and on other city magistrates in charge of private building activities. The *Stadtmagistrat* in fact maintained only competences on public hygiene and fire control in the city, while it was the new commission to be in charge of deciding the number of floors (*Niveau*) and the profile (*Baulinie*) of the new buildings. At the same time, at the Ministry of the Interiors was also created a specific *Stadterweiterungscommission*, in charge of the management and control of all the activity connected with the extension plan, including activities ranging from the management of the demolition of the walls to the construction of the new public buildings supported financially by the State.

The almost complete area of the *Glacis* and of the fortifications was military property. When the dismantling of the walls was decided, in 1857, all the terrains originally under military control were automatically put under jurisdiction of the civil administration, with the motivation that their original military purpose had ceased to exist.

From this property change were excluded only the areas that kept their military purpose, like those already singled out for the construction of barracks, or still in use for military activity, like the *Paradeplatz*[13] and the areas pertaining to the Court, like the terrains adjoining the *Hofburg*, and the vast open area facing the Palace towards the baroque horse stables, where in the next years the construction of the so-called *Kaisersforum* was discussed.

In 1859 an Imperial act stated that these terrains would directly be put under the jurisdiction of a new fund, the *Stadterweiterungs-Baufonds*, which had been created at the Ministry of the Interiors at the same time as the city expansion commission.

There are a number of interesting aspects to this machination: first of all, the Military were stripped of their most interesting - and valuable - real estate properties, having received in compensation outer city areas, like for example the one where the Arsenal was built, but no payment.

Then, the change of ownership happened directly, and did not include a preliminary stance under the Ministry of Finance, as was normally the case, in a procedure that was used in other similar situations in other European cities.

The new *Baufonds*, as the commission of the same name, was put under direct control of the Ministry of the Interiors. It was even legally protected, from the very beginning, from the risk of aversion of its funds from their original purpose, being by decree put out of reach of the ordinary State budget. The proceeds of the sale of the *Glacis* terrains to the private investors, which was one of the activities of the *Baufonds*, could not be employed for anything different from the realization of the city extension, nor could they be averted to sustain the deficit of the State. The *Baufonds* would sell to the privates certain areas of the available land, using all the profits to finance the realization of the

city extension, from the construction of public buildings to the necessary urbanization works.

The creation of the *Stadterweiterungsfonds* and they way it was organized were the real winning stroke at the end of all discussions: the *Fonds* was a strong instrument in the practical and financial management of the entire extension operation, and it guaranteed its substantial economic independence, considering both contingent economic factors and a potential political instability.

Another important aspect of the financial management of the plan though was the support to an ordered and rapid growth of the new areas through important tax relief measures, in favor of those who were investing and building in the frame of the new lot areas.

Tax exemptions on real estate properties were a very important policy instrument in this age, when the fiscal pressure on real estate could be as high as the 37% of the gross income. The tax reductions could reduce of half or one third the owed sum, for a time span that could be as long as twenty years for building refurbishments and even to thirty years in the case of the new buildings along the *Ringstrasse* (which also received a ten years reduction on municipal taxes).

While the area of the Ringstrasse was built, with the great support of the administrative and financial stuctures we have considered, a process of transformation was going on as well in the *Altstadt*, the old city originally surrounded by walls. Only in the time span between 1859 and 1869, more than 1500 new houses were built, while more than 2800 were completely restructured[14].

This process, known as *Regulierung*, was as well imposed from above, through a series of smaller plans (*Parzellierungspläne*) based on the reorganization of the street network. In this case the responsibility was left to the *Gemeinde*, reducing the means employed (and the real control on what was being built). The *Altstadt* in fact was less interesting for the investors, because it was not offering enough free land space for investments and new construction.

The rapid realization of the planned interventions was also in this case supported mainly through tax relief measures, but the most effective stimuli came in reality from the market itself. In fact, one of the effects that the availability of new plots and the appearance on the market of the new residential areas of the *Ringstrasse* had had on the housing market, was that the owners of the *Innenstadt* were directly interested in revamping their properties as quickly as possible, to be able to compete with all the new offerings.

The centralized system, both from the point of view of decision making and economic management of the city extension, was one of the elements of success of the Vienna *Stadterweiterung*. It would also be possible to quote as another element, explaining the good outcome of the enterprise, the fact that the small structure of the Viennese élites had as a result the presence, at the various levels of the State administration, in the

banks, in the Stock-exchange, and in the real estate companies, always of the same actors, all more or less connected between them by familiar or social ties. As a result, personal relations were supporting deals and decisions, information was exchanged with great rapidity and the management of power was in reality not as strictly hierarchical and complex as the structure of the State would have suggested.

The real difference, though, accounting for the great success of the *Stadterweiterung* in Vienna, especially if compared, for example, with the struggles of the Baron Haussmann in Paris, is the public property of the land, which eliminated all the political and financial difficulties connected with that dangerous instrument called *expropriation for public utility*[15].

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[1] *Darstellung eines Plans zur Erweiterung des inner Stadttheiles von Wien*, von Förster, "Allgemeine Bauzeitung", 1844, pp.292-295

[2] Kurt Mollik, Hermann Reining, Rudolf Wurzer, *Planung und Verwirklichung der Wiener Ringstrassenzone*, *Die Wiener Ringstrasse Bild einer Epoche*, vol.III, Böhlau Verlag, Graz 1970

[3] Elisabeth Springer, *Geschichte und kulturleben der Wiener Ringstrasse*, *Die Wiener Ringstrasse Bild einer Epoche*, vol. II, Böhlau Verlag, Graz 1969

[4] The *Hofquartierpflicht*, or the obligation for the aristocratic families to have their main residence at the Hofburg, was suppressed by maria Theresia only in 1781. Elisabeth Lichtenberger *Die Wiener Altstadt. Von der mittelalterlichen Bürgerstadt zur* City, Geographisches Institut der Universität Wien, Wien 1977 p.144)

[5] The area existed before, but did not exceed 100 meters. In 1683, after the chase of the Turkish invaders, the depth was fixed in 200 *Klafter*, equal to 378 meters, measured by law and signaled with milestones.

[6] Guido Morbelli, *Città e piani d'Europa. La formazione dell'urbanistica contemporanea*, Edizioni Dedalo, Bari 1997, p.245.

[7] Margareth Olin, *The cult of Monuments as a State religion in late 19th Century Austria*, in "Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte", n.38, 1985, pp.177-218

[8] Paolo Capuzzo, *Vienna da città a metropoli*, Franco Angeli, Milano 1998, pp.37-42

[9] "Die schon so lang schwebende, und immer dringender werdende Frage über die Erweiterung der inneren Stadt Wien, zu einer entschiedenden Lösung gebracht werde", as quoted in Elisabeth Springer, *Geschichte und kulturleben der Wiener Ringstrasse*, in Renate Wagner Rieger (editor), *Die Wiener Ringstrasse Bild einer Epoche*, vol. II, Böhlau Verlag, Graz 1969, p.87; also see Walter Wagner, *Die Stellungnahme der Militärbehörden zur Wiener Stadterweiterung in den Jahren 1848-1857* in "Jahrbuch des Vereines für Geschichte der Stadt Wien", XVII-XVIII, 1961-62, pp.216-285

[10] Springer, 1969, p.86

[11] Karl Eduard Bauernschmid, *Die architektonische Zukunft von Wien*, in „Die Presse", February 15th, March 1st and 15th, 1857

[12] "Hat man sich seit lange gewöhnt, die Bedeutung eines Großstaates mit dem Maßstabe seiner mehr oder minder glänzenden Haupstadt zu messen", in „Die Presse", 153.1857, as quoted as well in Springer, 1969 p.87

[13] The army will in fact surrender this area, then used for the construction of University, Town Hall and Parliament, only in the Seventies and after receiving a large compensation. See both Morbelli, 1997 p. 257 and Carl E. Schorske, *Thinking with History. Explorations in the passage to Modernism*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey 1998, pp.105-122

[14] Theodor Weyl (hrsg.), *Die Assanierung von Wien*, Verlag von Wilhelm Engelmann, Leipzig 1902; also see Renata Kassal-Mikula, *Alt-Wien unter dem Demolierungskrampen*, in *Alt-Wien, die Stadt, die niemals war*, Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, Wien 2005, pp.46-61

[15] It is not by chance that in 1911 Wagner in *Die Großstadt* re-proposes this idea, proposing that the Municipalities should buy terrains at agricultural value, to resell them as building land, using then the pay-off to create a fund for the growth of the urban value, with which new institutions and urban renewal works could be financed. See Morbelli, 1997, p. 282

"In the name of development, do not make us refugees in our own homeland." Contestations around public interest and development planning in Sikkim India

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> "As I walked round the site I thought that these days the biggest temple and mosque and gurudwara is the place where man works for the good of mankind. Which place can be better than this, this Bhakra Nangal…" (J.L. Nehru, *Temples of the New Age*, speech given by him while dedicating the dam in 1954).

Dams have become "political symbols of conquest of nature, representative of progress, and the development of a modern state."[1] They attained iconic status as temples of modern democratic India and national achievement during the Nehruvian period. Following such a model, Himalayan Sikkim identified hydropower generation as the critical variable and cornerstone of its development planning after joining the Indian union in 1975. Meanwhile, the top-down spectacular liberal development model of dams and hydropower projects imposed arbitrarily without public consultations became questionable and unacceptable to tribal and other rural constituencies who were uprooted, displaced, impoverished, and made destitute in the name of public and national interest. Hence, the eighties saw questions of equity and justice taking centre stage with mega dams and multipurpose hydropower projects no longer being considered symbols of national progress, sacred or above public criticism.[2] Simultaneously, modern technocratic top-down development planning and its practice by experts have been critiqued by the anthropology of development.[3]

Impervious to widespread critique of development and hydraulic gigantism, the development planners in Sikkim have identified cascade development of the perennial river waters of Rangit and Teesta rivers[4] as the panacea for modernizing Sikkim's economy, generating employment for its youth,[5] earning revenue to offset fiscal deficit and servicing its debt, financing human development, and meeting domestic and national energy requirements. Speeches by political representatives in legislatures and administration in press and public reports continually circulate a performative rhetoric of people-centred development in Sikkim.[6] The government maintains that they have obtained the necessary environmental clearances for hydropower projects and followed a participatory approach to implement them in public interest.

Institutions, state, and social groups enter into contingent interactions in complex situations to express power and exercise control over resources. Highly amorphous, the idea of public interest has become a manipulative symbol. This rhetoric interrelating dams and public interest is not going unchallenged within Sikkim. Three Lepcha youth affiliated to the Affected Citizens of the Teesta (ACT) and the Concerned Lepchas of Sikkim (CLOS) with the support of the Sangha of Dzongu began an indefinite relay hunger strike on 20th June 2007 at Gangtok[7] to pressurize the government into revoking

the power projects on river Teesta. The Lepcha activists banner proclaiming, "In the name of development, do not make us refugees in our own homeland [Sikkim]" and another asserting, "Dzongu is the holy land of the Lepchas. Lepchas have the responsibility to protect it," challenge definitions of what constitutes public interest in Sikkim.

Lepcha legislators including Sonam Gyatso Lepcha (the MLA of Dzongu) assert that the development prospects offered by hydel projects are being welcomed by the Lepchas of Dzongu wherein the majority of the residents have accepted them. The state government maintains that if there are some protesting voices, pleading voices of *some* Lepcha youth sitting on indefinite hunger strike, then they are marginal, anti-national and simplistically by any interpretation profusely anti-Sikkimese. This is precisely how the Chief Minister of Sikkim, Sh. Pawan Chamling framed the Affected Citizen's of the Teesta and their leaders during his public speech on the occasion of the Indian Independence day celebrations on 15th August 2007 at Gangtok in Sikkim.

Emergence of public protests by Lepchas in alliance with other civil society organizations signal the deep-seated contradictions and contested meanings of public interest and rejection of nationalist projects that could culminate in a loss of culture and identity for the indigenous ethnic minorities. For these agitating Lepchas, rivers are not merely watercourses and natural assets but the central loci of socio-cultural heritage, and their religious beliefs and practices. In this paper, I analyse the contested formulations and perceptions of public interest and development in Sikkim in order to reiterate the need of not ignoring but integrating culture in any project planning. The first section of this paper discusses the privileging of hydropower model of development in Sikkim. Following cultural ecology, the second section explains the emergence of recent protests demanding closure of hydropower projects in Dzongu and the trajectory of their non-violent oppositional politics. In the final section, I argue that development in Sikkim has become both a contested discourse and a site of identity politics. Tracing the continuities of the Teesta hydropower protests with the Rathongchu movement, I emphasize the need of participatory planning and decolonising development by integrating culture in development.

1.1 Development through hydropower

The recognition of Shri Pawan Chamling, the Chief Minister of Sikkim as the greenest Chief Minister in the country in the year 1999 epitomizes the policy, administrative, and legal initiatives and efforts articulated by this Government over the years in the field of environment and sustainable development. Over the years, he has spearheaded a relentless movement towards inculcating a better environmental ethics in the people, benchmarked development to ensure ecological security, forbade projects and programmes contrary to sustainable development, legislated stringent measures for better conservation and protection of the flora and fauna of this beautiful State (Towards Greener Sikkim, http://www.sikenvis.nic.in).

Located in Northeast India, Himalayan Sikkim measuring 7096 sq km is inhabited by about half a million persons (540, 493) people[8] belonging to 22 ethnic groups. These diverse ethnic groups are classified into three broad categories: the Lepchas, the Bhutias and the Nepalis.[9] In 1975, the underdeveloped erstwhile Buddhist kingdom of Sikkim joined the Indian Union. A democratically elected "super-active government"[10] was given the responsibility of economically developing and modernizing the 22nd Indian state of Sikkim. The population of Sikkim is predominantly Hindu (68 per cent), and the Buddhists comprise a large majority (27 per cent), while the Christians comprise a small component of the population (3 per cent).[11] About 20.6 per cent are Scheduled Tribes[12] while the Scheduled Castes (exclusively of Nepali origin) comprise about 5 percent of the total population. Official discourse continually highlights government's development intervention, the maintenance of social harmony among an ethnically plural society and political stability as a defining feature of this model state of democratic India.[13]

As a special category state (SCS), economically Sikkim is largely dependent on preferential funding from the Central government.[14] SCS receive substantial financial and non-financial support from the national government in the form of 90 per cent as grants and 10 per cent as loans. This ratio is 30 per cent grants and 70 per cent loans for non-special category states.[15] After joining the North-East Council in December 2002, Sikkim has access to additional funding for developing infrastructure, roads and transport, communications, and alleviating health, education and poverty.[16] It is maintained that post-1975, nearly three-quarters of the state budget is spent on development activities,[17] although expenditure on salaries and interest-payments nearly pre-empt most of this.[18] Despite protracted government interventions in the last 30 years, Sikkim ranks fifth among all Indian states in terms of poverty.[19] More than 40 per cent of its population is living below the poverty line.[20] Industrial development has been a low priority although the tertiary sector has been expanding steadily with the growth of tourism. Therefore, structural shift has been much slower that other parts of India with agriculture continuing to contribute nearly 49 per cent of state domestic product.[21] The sectoral distribution in 1995-6 was about 52.03 per cent in the Primary sector, 13.65 in the Secondary sector and 34.31 in the Tertiary sector.[22] Further details about development planning and state of human development are available in two official publications namely *Sikkim Human Development Report* (2001) and *Sikkim: The People's Vision* (2001). Consequently I will not be dwelling on them at length.

Sikkim's biodiversity rich landscape and waterscapes possesses immense ecological and developmental value. The innumerable streams, gushing waterfalls, abundant rain, perennial river waters of Teesta and Rangit flag off the immense potential of developing hydroelectric projects here. Sikkim is defined as the landmass constituting the river basin of the turbulent Teesta. The river originates in the Himalayan glaciers at 8598m rapidly flows downstream cutting deep gorges to drop at 213 m in Melli within an aerial distance of 100km.[23] Various tributaries join the main river to demarcate a natural divide between North and South Sikkim.

Hydel projects are not new but can be historically traced to the 50 KW Ranikhola micro-hydel project commissioned as far back as 1927 to cater to the needs of the royal family

and residents of Gangtok, Sikkim.[24] Most existing hydel projects are stated to be run-off-the-river scheme.[25] Historically until end1979, Sikkim had a total power generation capacity of only 3MW with only a few towns being electrified.[26] The shelving of the Rathongchu Hydel project on eco-social and environmental grounds in 1997 has had a profound impact on meeting the energy demand-supply gap in Sikkim and crystallizing nativist sentiments among the indigenous people.[27]

It is very much possible for Sikkim to achieve self-sufficiency in power generation by designing mini-micro hydropower projects,[28] which will neither displace nor disrupt people's livelihood and cultural practices. Nonetheless, its gigantism and mega projects with their tremendous capacity to alter social and natural worlds that are favoured by the modernist state. Hence in 1998, the Sikkim Power Development Corporation Limited was founded to provide cheap pollution-free electricity by following a project recourse financing approach to exploit its vast hydroelectric potential.[29] The Sikkim government has pinned high hopes on cascade development of the river Teesta in six-stages through 26 hydropower projects to generate an estimated capacity of 3635 MW. Various private developers of national and international (dis)repute are involved in implementing these. Table 1 below summarizes the cascade development of Teesta. Companies maintain that the efficient facilitative environment being provided by the state government and expected future profits are magnetically attracting them to Sikkim. As Y.N. Apparao Managing Director of Teesta Urja Ltd that is setting up the controversial 1200 MW Teesta III shared, "we took up the project because the Sikkim government is proactive and quick in decision-making…Land acquisition, along with forest and environmental clearance, took less than two years."[30]

Table 1: Teesta Hydroelectric Power Projects[31]

HEP Stage	Area/location	Installed capacity	Remarks
Teesta I	Zemu Lake	320MW	Under study
Teesta II	Lachen-Lachung	750MW	Under survey
Teesta III	Chungthang	1200	Environmental Clearance has been given to Teesta Urja Limited
Teesta IV	Singhik	495MW	EIA under study by NHPC
Teesta V	Dikchu	510MW	Completed by NHPC
Teesta VI	Shirwani/Rangpo	500MW	Environment Clearance was given to LANCO

The explicit purpose of Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) is to assist in scientific decision-making process based on environmental and socio-economic studies to ensure projects are economically cost-effective, environmentally sustainable and do not

flout norms of social justice. EIA studies identify the interventions necessary for mitigating the adverse impact on the ecology and preparing an Environment Monitoring Plan (EMP), the Catchment Area Treatment (CAT) plan, Disaster Management Plan (DMP) and formulate a Relief and Resettlement (R&R) policy. These studies are a prerequisite for obtaining any clearances form the Ministry of Environment and Forests, Government of India and obtaining a No-Objection certificate form the State Pollution Board. Environmentalists such as Ashish Kothari and Shekhar Singh point towards utter disregard of norms laid out for conducting EIA and the lack of accountability and transparency in implementing projects.[32] "In almost all such cases "NGOs and affected people have protested, pointed to violations and destructive implications, and often even offered alternatives, yet all this has been systematically ignored." [33] Clearance of projects without proper studies and the inadequateness and the faulty methodology used by existing environmental impact studies are widely criticized.[34]

The Teesta cascade projects are advertised as environmentally benign and largely run-of-the-river projects located in low-density population areas therefore would not displace people at a large scale.[35] Even the EIA studies of these projects and the Carrying Capacity Studies of the Teesta Basin do note that many of the hydropower projects are located in geologically fragile ecologically sensitive biodiversity rich areas.[36] Eight of these proposed hydropower projects are located in North Sikkim in and around the Kanchendzonga Biosphere reserve. Under Sikkim Government Gazette Notification No.95, 26 August 1977 and Khangchendzonga Biosphere vide notification no. J-2201/76/91-BR dated 27th February 2000, Ministry of Environment and Forests, an area of 2619.92 was demarcated as a Biosphere reserve which is to be left undisturbed. However in clear violation of these notifications, five hydel projects namely Lingza HEP, Rangyong HEP, Ruckel HEP, Ringpi and to some extent Panang are situated in and around this biologically significant ecologically rich geologically fragile area.

Rules have been flouted time and again in order to give speedy clearance to projects at both the state and national level.[37] Clearances have been issued without requisite studies being done and consulting the affected people. The track record of NHPC, which is constructing the larger of these projects is deplorable.[38] In 1998, the Ministry of Environment and Forests had recommended that a carrying capacity study of the Teesta basin be done while deliberating on giving an environmental clearance to the Teesta V project. However, in 1999 while giving clearance to Teesta V, the ministry had stated that it would not clear any other hydropower projects until the carrying-capacity study was completed.[39] In this regard, the Centre for Interdisciplinary Studies of Mountain and Hill Environment (CISMHE) based at Delhi University was assigned the responsibility of undertaking this research. After six years of research they submitted a 10 Volume report in December 2007.[40] Meanwhile in clear violation of its own rulings, the Ministry of Environment and Forests (MOEF) has given clearances to several new projects.[41] In many instances, the concerned people were not aware of scheduled public hearings as they had not been publicised. Activists accuse the government of not sharing project information and explaining the purpose and impact of these projects on the affected people, these violations and criticisms are not unique to the Teesta projects in Sikkim either.[42] There have several instances when they were forced to file a RTI in order to access the necessary documents.

The larger of these projects do entail construction of large dams and diversion of the river waters through longhead race or underground tunnels (HRTs) where they pass through a powerhouse before being dropped back into the river at a downstream location.[43] Teesta III in Chungthang envisages the construction of a 60m high concrete dam and a reservoir of gross capacity of 5.08m^3 and Panan in Dzongu involves the construction of a 56m high concrete gravity dam. Teesta V stage under NHPC has already constructed a 95m high reservoir and 17 km long underground tunnel. At a rough estimate, Stage III and IV of the Teesta Project are expected to submerge 156.41 hectares and 359.89 hectares of forest.[44] On the one hand, the government claims that the number of families who will be displaced by these hydropower projects is not very large. For instance the Panan project located in Dzongu that requires 56.835 hectares of land including 23.629 hectares of forest area would displace about 116 families while rendering only nine families landless.[45] On the other hand, it is estimated that Teesta would add 50 million environmental refugees.[46]

More recently, Professor M K Pandit, the Director of the Centre for Interdisciplinary Studies of Mountain and Hill Environment (CISMHE) under whose supervision a carrying capacity study of the Teesta basin was conducted over nearly six years has admitted that Stage I-III of the Teesta project are neither environmentally advisable nor feasible. They recommend that it's not possible to have dams above the height of 80m in North Sikkim [47] The researchers acknowledge that many people were not opposed to infrastructural development but not be done at the cost of losing their culture and identity.[48] Geographer Maitreyee Choundhury, who researched and wrote the section on the socio-cultural aspects for the carrying capacity study, has acknowledged existence and expression of substantial local opposition to projects located in the Dzongu due to fear of influx and settlement of outsiders which would dilute Lepcha culture and simultaneously bring crime and disease in a restricted-access area. Her report documents the high level of awareness among the Lepchas about their rights as the indigenous people including right to self-determination, protection from cultural ethnocide and right to control, use, and oppose the alienation of their natural resources. She recommends that Teesta projects should not be implemented by ignoring either the local sentiments or vocal opposition by the indigenous severely affected by them.[49] Many bureaucrats within the power and forestry departments (on being assured of anonymity) were critical of these Teesta projects as they admit that they would cause immense destruction of existing flora and fauna, degrade forests, disrupt the hydrological cycle, while blasting activities will trigger numerous landslides.

Emergence and organization of opposition to Teesta Projects

Lots of water flowed down river Teesta and Rungit, but we never understood its importance, now we will generate huge revenue through this flowing water (Sh Pawan Chamling, 15th August 2007, Independence Day speech given at Gangtok, Sikkim).

Hills after hills are bombed by dynamite, tunnels after tunnels dug inside our sacred hills, our most beautiful rivers, damned beyond recognition and along with it

our dying trees, fishes, animals and ecology…(weepingsikkim.blogspot.com, 23rd February 2008).

Development project often do generate unplanned outcomes unanticipated responses amongst the people whose very interest they profess to promote. People are neither a blank slate nor can their life be reductively defined in utilitarian cost and benefit statements. Bureaucratic appropriation of river waters for national development and its transformation into an economic resource disregards local cultural traditions and livelihood integrated with the riverscape. Regimes of hegemonic representation that legitimise resource extraction have not gone unchallenged by cultural politics. Identities and interests are crystallized as part of the cultural politics over landscape. Who are the people declaring that government and project developers in Sikkim are all set to dam(n) their future? Are these voices a minority representing sectional interests? Why are these voices unheard and ignored by leaders democratically elected by the people of Sikkim?

Indigenous Lepchas youth affiliated with the Affected Citizens of Teesta (ACT), Concerned Lepchas of Sikkim (CLOS) and the Sangha of Dzongu (Buddhist lamas of Dzongu) who are protesting against 26 hydropower projects planned or under construction on river Teesta in Sikkim declare: "We are not against development, but will fight against development that will extinguish our culture." ACT is the rechristened name of Joint Action Committee, an organization formed by the people living in the basin of River Teesta in Northern district of Sikkim in 2005. They define themselves in following terms, 'we are a group of people affected by dams on the Teesta and its tributaries in the Lepcha reserve of Dzongu in Sikkim. Organizations of Lepchas based at Kalimpong and Darjeeling in the North Bengal district have also organized hunger strikes and joined rallies in support.[50]

The Tibeto-Burman Lepchas term themselves *Rong* (a Lepcha word meaning ravine-folk or the dwellers of the valley) and they define themselves by their association with the sacred mountain Kanchenjunga that is regarded the source of their knowledge, culture, religion, wealth, resources, and place of their origin. The Lepchas trace their social origins and the birth of their lineage ancestors to specific (sacred) sites such as the five peaks of Kanchenjunga, the other sacred mountains, lakes, caves, and sites in Sikkim and the Darjeeling Hills. Over the past century with their numbers dwindling to about 90,000 persons who are physically dispersed in Sikkim and Darjeeling Hills of West Bengal, they have become an indigenous minority in the region. Deemed a "vanishing tribe"[51] the Lepchas are said to be loosing their cultural moorings after the settlement of migrants in their homeland.

Culture, politics, and ecology are inseparable in Lepcha cosmology. Given the strong place-based identities of the Lepchas, any severance of their connection with sacred sites strikes at the heart of their culture and civilization. River Teesta is assigned religious significance in their folklore and cannot be dismissed as an environmental and economic resource. Many of their sacred sites are located on the banks of this river or near the originating source of its tributaries. River Teesta constitutes the lifeline of their livelihood, society, and culture. According to a famous myth, a furious Teesta once

deluged the entire landscape and nearly led to extinction of all flora and fauna excepting those who got sanctuary on the peak of Mt. Tendong in South Sikkim. Every year, Lepcha shamans offer prayers to placate the protective deities and ensure harmony and environmental balance in the region. For these protesting Lepchas the rape of Teesta has officially begun and the river is weeping out and reduced to becoming a dry stream, stripped of its glory and weeping at its untimely death.[52]

Similarly, Dzongu is not merely a piece of real estate available for commercial exploitation. Located in North Sikkim, it is historically recognized as a tribal reserve area exclusively inhabited by the Lepchas belonging to this reserve, such that even other Lepchas are prohibited from residing here permanently and purchasing land. Under the provisions of Article 371F of the Indian Constitution, the government is mandated to protect the unique cultural heritage and interests of the indigenous Lepchas and Bhutias who were rendered a political minority with the incorporation of Sikkim into India. Hence, the sanctity of this ecologically fragile and culturally rich Dzongu can neither in principle nor in practice be undermined by either migration and settlement of outsiders or the implementation of environmentally destructive development projects. The Sikkim government time and again has maintained the rhetoric of its commitment to protect the rights of the indigenous Lepchas who were also recognized as the Most Primitive Tribe in 2005.

Political ecology is embedded in a wider network of cultural politics in the form of cultural ecology. "Natural resources have a value within a larger economy of signification which crucially shapes their modes of appropriation."[53] Struggles over resources are simultaneously struggles over meanings and futures. To the Lepchas, Dzongu represents the last bastion of their cultural heritage and the only place in the region where they feel free to follow their distinctive cultural and religious traditions. Its alienation is unacceptable to them. Dzongu contains a number of important sacred sites such as caves where Guru Rinpoche meditated, the Keshong lake, the Kongsa hot springs, the Tholung temple revered not merely by the Lepchas but by all Buddhists of Sikkim. The Panan Hydel project harnesses the waters of the Tholung river. The sanctity of this area is well documented in historical and religious texts including the pilgrimage guide to Sikkim. This explains the activists' uncompromising posture, "we will accept nothing less than a complete scrapping of hydel projects in Dzongu."

Vociferously protesting at the desecration and alienation of their ancestral roots, the activists assert,"[I]n the name of development, do not make us refugees in our own homeland." These concerns are strongly been raised since 2001. The activists have filed legal petitions in the National Appellate Authority at Delhi to question the grant of necessary environmental clearances,[54] repeatedly sent delegations to convince the state government to commission a review of the ecological impact of these projects, generated debate during hearings and public-meetings, and demanded a better relief and compensation package for the affected and displaced families. After being personally assured by the Chief Minister that he would review the projects located in North Sikkim, the activists decided to call-off their scheduled rally for 12th December 2006. Meanwhile, the Panan Project received environmental clearance in January 2007

and developers started to acquire land in Dzongu.[55] With government assurances belied repeatedly, concerned activists were left with no option but to mobilize public opinion, oppose and launch protests.

Since 20th June 2007, Lepcha youth are participating in a relay hunger-strike at Gangtok, organizing sit-in's, and rallying against hydel projects at Gangtok, Kalimpong, Darjeeling and even coming to protest at Delhi to galvanize public sympathy and express solidarity with other groups opposing arbitrary imposition of development projects. Dawa Lepcha (34 years) and Tenzing Lepcha's (20 years) *satyagraha* that began on 20th June lasted for 63 days.[56] Their satyagraha was hailed exemplary none other than Medha Patkar of the Narmada Bachao Andolan.[57] As Dawa and Tenzing declare, "we may die in our efforts but we will not see our land being plundered by capitalists." Adopting Gandhian methods of non-violence and resistance, sitting under an inspiring framed picture of Mahatma Gandhi, the activist base is largely composed of young men and women including Buddhist priests/lamas. In a press release the activists shared that "these fast symbolically recalls the sacrifice made by the freedom fighters, particularly Mahatma Gandhi to achieve democracy and self-rule for ordinary Indians."[58] Religious prayers by lamas to the protective deities of Sikkim in *gnas-bsol* offerings and shamanic rituals provide spiritual support to these satyagrahi.

Pressurized by these activists the government constituted a review committee in September 2007 but its composition has been unacceptable. Athup Lepcha who was the sole activist nominated for inclusion in it, has declined to participate in it. Determined to agitate against the arbitrariness of the government, these activists have sent numerous delegations to Delhi to appraise ministers in the central government. A thirty-member delegation successfully staged a *dharna* on 5-6th December 2007 at Jantar Mantar in Delhi in collaboration with other human rights activists. "Dams over Dzongu will be built over our dead bodies," proclaimed the banner marking the 200th day on 6th January 2008 of this historic satyagraha. Faced with a stalemate situation, the relay fast continued at Bhutia-Lepcha House while activists continued to campaign in a low-key manner in Dzongu during the winter months. On 5th February 2008 during a visit to Dzongu, members of Review Committee were greeted by peaceful show of protest and banners opposing the projects. Petitions demanding a fair review and shelving of projects were submitted by Lepchas and lamas belonging to twenty Buddhist temples of Dzongu. On 10th March about three hundred Lepchas of Dzongu staged a rally at Gangtok carrying placards and banners demanding the closure of all hydel projects in North Sikkim. Preceding this rally, the activists offered prayers at the sacred stones at Kabi on 7th March to galvanize moral support. Dawa Lepcha and Tenzing Lepcha commenced a second round of an indefinite fast on 10th March 2008 along with Gyabu Lepcha (19 years) of Dzongu. As Dawa shared, their intention is not to challenge or confront authority, but merely to make a sincere appeal to the concerned authorities.[59] Largely non-political, the protests are increasingly acquiring political overtones with politicians belonging to Sikkim Himali Parishad, Sikkim Bhutia Lepcha Apex committee, Sikkim United, Communist Party of India extending their support and occasionally participating briefly in the relay satyagraha.

The emergence of protests against Teesta III and Teesta Low Dam projects located in North Bengal with an ethnically diverse population, Teesta II project in Lachen and Lachung in North Sikkim that are inhabited mainly by Sikkimese Bhutias does substantiate the activists' claims that they are generally concerned about Sikkim and not merely Lepchas. They have been extremely critical of the reservoir constructed and massive tunnelling undertaken by NHPC in the Teesta V phase in South Sikkim. ACT has gallantly exposed the corruption and the paltry compensation given to the people displaced in Teesta V by using the RTI Act.[60] They have strategically gathered the support of numerous civil society organizations such as Kalpavriksh, which is an influential environmental action and research group of India. Neeraj Vagholikar, a Kalpavriksh activist has campaigned and participated in workshops at Gangtok and also written several articles in national newspapers to mobilize public opinion in their support.[61] Other important partners include the South Asian Network for Dams, Rivers and People (SANDRP), North East Society for Protection of Nature (NESPON), Delhi Forum, Intercultural Resources, River Basin Friends, Legal Initiative for Forests and Environment (LIFE), Centre for Organisation, Research and Education (CORE) Manipur. Networking with these have strengthened public outreach and helped them overcome any feelings of isolation and powerlessness.

After a prolonged period of stalemate, the Chief Minister succumbing to public pressure "officially" declared in the Sikkim Legislative Assembly in early March that excepting the 280 MW Panan Project over river Talung for which the Memorandum of Understanding had already been signed with NHPC and land acquired, all the other six hydropower projects located in Dzongu would be shelved.[62] Explaining his decision Chief Minister stated that a MOU on Panan project had already been signed and it would additionally provide sustainable alternative livelihood[63] to the Lepchas of Dzongu. At the time of submitting this paper to IPHS for review, the peaceful relay hunger strike that had begun on 20th June 2007 by Lepcha youth had clocked more than 275 days. The indomitably courageous satyagrahi duo Dawa and Tenzing were in hospital at the time of submitting this paper to the IPHS 2008. In an interview given from his hospital bed at STNM hospital in Gangtok, Dawa admitted despite their body getting weaker their thoughts and beliefs in their cause had become stronger. They want all projects to be shelved including Panan project, which is located in the heart of Dzongu. As they explain, Panan strikes at the roots of their cultural heritage and indigenous identity.[64]

1.2   Participatory Planning and Culturing Development

Development has largely been a top-down ethnographic technocratic approach, which has treated people and culture as abstract concepts and statistical figures that could be moved around on charts of progress.[65] It is not surprising to find discourses of culture and development standing in oppositional camps within Sikkim even though the culture of development practice entails participatory development planning and implementation in public interest. One needs to carefully distinguish between development as a discourse and as a process, although both are interconnected. Development itself has become a site of struggle and resistance, with people and social movements questioning a national development model which deprives them of their livelihood, identity, and dignity. The tendency to regard development as an all-powerful monolithic

enterprise and something beyond influence is quite pervasive and emerged as a pervasive myth of development.[66] As a discourse, there are several co-existent discourses of development, of which Hobart identifies three: the discourse of developers, the discourse of local people, and that of the national government and its local officials. These are not merely different but sometimes incommensurable.[67] To an extent Hobart's (1993) postulate is evident here in the discussion on the Teesta hydropower projects of Sikkim. The project developers have defined development in utilitarian terms of cost-benefit and profit while the government underscored its need to extract and distribute scarce resources in the name of development while posturing to safeguard the indigenous. Project reports have documented dissent to these projects while underscoring the necessity to gathering public support for these projects and ensuring local culture is not eroded. Differing conceptions of what and how development should be done are available and in circulation among Lepchas and the other ethnic constituencies residing in Sikkim. In a context where who is local and who is a migrant or an outsider are difficult political questions,[68] it is virtually impossible to craft discourses of the local.

Extending the argument given by Hobart and Escobar,[69] I have shown the necessity of ethnographically documenting multiple voices while crafting the local discourse of development and shattering the myth of development. Within this restricted access remote locality of Dzongu of North Sikkim, where I have been conducting fieldwork since 2001, there persist differing conceptions of what is development with the simultaneous awareness that these projects will profoundly shape their future. For some Lepchas the project implies ready cash for land that is not merely now unproductive, but for land that they are not permitted to sell to outsiders. Hence the government and project developer's promise of more schools, more hospitals, more roads and transportation, and greater employment opportunities looks attractive. Some Lepchas who have received modern education are very concerned about the negative impact on the environment and culture of Dzongu. Their cultural politics has questioned 'the development gaze'[70] that treats them as passive objects. Questions of indigeneity, cultural identity, and political power are foregrounded here. For the vocal section opposing development, these hydropower projects also signal their powerlessness against wider forces including the state and greedy capital. Yet, the strengthening power of Lepchas non-violent resistance and widening of public support beyond Dzongu in national and international arenas such as the rights of the indigenous people, testify that any attempts to deny them a future will be resisted.

At this juncture, I will emphasize that neither such articulations nor such protests are unique or novel in Sikkim. As a matter of fact, they can be traced to the discourses advanced by the indigenous Lepchas and Bhutias, and the Buddhist Sangha during 1993-97, when they opposed the Rathongchu hydroelectric project.[71] At the height of the Rathongchu agitations the lamas had questioned the moral legitimacy of the state and threatened:

> We, the monks of Sikkim, hereby demand that the Rathongchu hydroelectric project located at Yoksum be stopped immediately…the *gnas bsol* text is to the Sikkimese Buddhists what the Ramayana is to the Hindus, the Koran to the Muslims, and the

Bible to the Christians. If the Rathongchu Hydroelectric project is not stopped and abandoned, we, the lamas of Sikkim are ready to burn our *gnas bsol* text, as its meaning and purpose will be lost (Extract from a memorandum submitted by the Buddhist monastic order to the Chief Minister of Sikkim on 29 July 1995).

Rather than conferring legitimacy to government and development planning, hydel projects have required to be legitimised by the modern state. Klingesmith's assertion that "a challenge to a dam can be a challenge to much more than just a dam," is quite apparent in the Sikkimese context where the legitimacy of governments has been undermined by public opposition.[72] In August 1997, the Chief Minister of Sikkim Sh. Pawan Kumar Chamling was forced to shelve this ecologically viable and economically profitable Rathongchu hydroelectric project to avert an ethnic imbroglio. The main reasons cited by the Sikkim government for its closure were escalating ethnic tensions, preserving Yoksum as a sacred landscape and respecting the religious sentiments of the Buddhists, checking environmental destruction caused in the area by frequent landslides, the escalating costs of construction, and gaining favourable public opinion before the general elections scheduled for 1998. It is this decision along with some other policies that won Pawan Kumar Chamling the award of being the Greenest Chief Minister from the Centre for Science and Environment's in 1999.

Conclusively, development planning and the government have already forgotten the lessons that they should have been imbibed from the Rathongchu case. The situation was simpler in the Rathongchu situation as it was a state government project and a political decision resolved the ethnic imbroglio. However, most hydropower projects on river Teesta are joint ventures involving public and private companies, hence the situation is complicated for the state government which has signed memorandums of understanding with private capital that equally needs to recover cost and make profits from these projects. Activists are demanding the public sharing of information about these projects in order to generate consensus about "development." Not many among the Lepcha community are educated enough to understand or comprehend these project reports, nonetheless communication gaps and the lack of consultation has fermented discontent against the government in general. There is an urgent necessity to take informed decisions, as these projects will profoundly impact the future of the land and the indigenous people. I will emphasize that community participation in decision-making can effectively prevent large and avoidable costs of the mid-way [73]withdrawal of projects while better planning, sharing of project details, and consultative implementation can resolve conflicting definitions of public interest. Alternative development paradigms advance the necessity of inculcating a culture of development rooted in decentralized planning and routed by a decolonised mind.

Endnotes

[1] David Klingensmith, *One Valley and a Thousand: Dams, Nation and Development* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 2.

[2] Jean Dreze, Meera Samson, and Satyajit Singh, eds., *The Dam and the Nation: Displacement and Resettlement in the Narmada Valley* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997), Madhav Gadgil and Ramachandra Guha, *Ecology and Equity: The Use and the Abuse of Nature* (London: Routledge, 1995), Enakshi Ganguly-Thukral, *Big Dams, Displaced People: Rivers of Sorrow and Rivers of Change* (New Delhi: Sage, 1992), Patrick McCully, *Silenced Rivers: The Ecology and Politics of Large Dams* (London: Zed Books, 2001).

[3] Arthur Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), R.D. Grillo, "Discourses of Development: The View from Anthropology," in *Discourses of Development: Anthropological Perspectives*, ed. R.D. Grillo and R.L Stirrat (Oxford: Berg, 1997), pp. 11-19.

[4] The hydropower generating potential of these two rives is estimated around 8,000 MW. Ashok Lahiri, Saumen Chattopadhyay, and Anuradha Bhasin, *Sikkim: The People's Vision* (Gangtok and Delhi: Government of Sikkim and Indus Publishing Company, 2001), p. 21.

[5] According to census estimates, about 15 per cent of Sikkim's population is under 15 years. Hence, generation of employment is identified as a development challenge.

[6] The green vision of the government is available in a comprehensive document at http://www.sikenvis.nic.in

[7] I was conducting fieldwork in Gangtok when these protests were launched.

[8] Census, "Provisional Population Totals: Paper 1 of 2001," (Gangtok: Census Of India, Gangtok, 2001).

[9] The Nepali category is not homogeneous as it comprises groups which migrated from East Nepal such as the Rai, Magar, Yakha, Khombu and Mechi that have histories of migration and settlement in Sikkim, and there are other Nepali groups such as Gorkha, Newar, Chetri and Sunwar. Many of these communities have multiple identities and there are degrees of inclusion and exclusion in social relations between ethnic groups.

[10] Lahiri, Chattopadhyay, and Bhasin, *Sikkim: The People's Vision*, p. 15.

[11] Mahendra P. Lama, *Sikkim: Human Development Report 2001* (Delhi: Government of Sikkim, Social Science Press, 2001), p. 7.

[12] In 1978, the Lepcha and the Bhutia groups were accorded Scheduled Tribe status while the Limbu and the Tamang were recognized as being Scheduled Tribes in 2002. However, the 2001 Census had already been conducted and therefore the current Scheduled Tribe population does not include the Limbu and Tamang population.

[13] Lama, *Sikkim: Human Development Report 2001*, p. 90.

[14] There are eleven special category states (SCS) namely Jammu and Kashmir, Assam, Himachal Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim, Tripura and Uttranchal.

[15] Lahiri, Chattopadhyay, and Bhasin, *Sikkim: The People's Vision*, pp. 44-45.

[16] For more details about the North East Council see http://necouncil.nic.in/

[17] Lama, *Sikkim: Human Development Report 2001*, p. 84.

[18] Lahiri, Chattopadhyay, and Bhasin, *Sikkim: The People's Vision*, p. 16.

[19] According to a recent statement by the Sikkim Governor Mr. S. Agarwal, Sikkim has the fifth highest incidence of poverty with 41.4 per cent of its population living below the poverty line. *Statesman*, 3 December 2007.

[20] Lama, *Sikkim: Human Development Report 2001*, p. 15.

[21] Lahiri, Chattopadhyay, and Bhasin, *Sikkim: The People's Vision*, p. 42.

[22] Lama, *Sikkim: Human Development Report 2001*, p. 18.

[23] M.K Pandit, "Carrying Capacity Study of Teesta Basin in Sikkim: Executive Summary and Recommendations," (Delhi: Centre for Interdisciplinary Studies of Mountain and Hill Environment, University of Delhi, 2007) pp. 4,5,7-8.

[24] P.P Kharel, "Annual Report of the Power Department," (Gangtok: Government of Sikkim, 1998-2000), p. 1.

[25] This implies that these do not entail construction of large reservoirs for storing water. There is no spinning reserve to take care of the increased load during peak time such as the monsoons Ibid., p. 8.

[26] Lama, *Sikkim: Human Development Report 2001*, p. 77.

[27] Vibha Arora, "Negotiating Diversities in Contemporary Sikkim, India: The Case of the Rathongchu Hydroelectric Project," in *Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the British Political Association* (Leicester: 2003), Vibha Arora, "Texts and Contexts in Sikkim, India," in *Reading Religion in Texts and Context: Reflections of Faith and Practice in Religious Materials*, ed. Elisabeth Arweck and Peter Collins (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006)..

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[29] Kharel, "Annual Report of the Power Department," p. 23.

[30] Latha Jishnu, "Damming the Teesta Part I," *The Business Standard*, 7th January 2008.

[31] Sourced from http://sikenvis.nic.in

[32] Ashish Kothari, Ravi Agrawal, and Shekhar Singh, "Why Is the Government Systematically Undermining the Environment?," (Delhi: Kalpavriksh, Toxic Links, and Centre for Equity Studies, 2004).

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[36] M.K Pandit, "Carrying Capacity Study of the Teesta Basin: Executive Summary," (Centre for Interdisciplinary Studies on Mountain and Hill Environment, 2007), p. 29.

[37] Himanshu Thakkar, "Centre Absent from Water Projects," *India Together - e journal* (2007).

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[39] Neeraj Vagholikar, "Plumbing the Teesta Ii," *Statesman*, 28 November 2007.

[40] Available at http://www.sikenvis.nic.in

[41] Source, Environment Information System Sikkim available at www.**sikenvis**.nic.in.

[42] Kothari, Agrawal, and Singh, "Why Is the Government Systematically Undermining the Environment?"

[43] One of these tunnels in East Sikkim is 17 km long (Dikchu to Singtam), which means that the river will be dry for long stretches while 80-90 per cent of its water gets diverted into underground tunnels.

[44] Kalyan Rudra, "Taming the Teesta," *The Ecologist Asia* 1, no. 1 (2003).

[45] Lepcha Protest against Panan HEP in Sikkim, *Assam Tribune*, 5th August 2007.

[46] Rudra, "Taming the Teesta."

[47] Pandit, *Carrying Capacity Study of Teesta Basin in Sikkim: Executive Summary and Recommendations*, 2007, p. 220.

[48] Pandit *Carrying Capacity Study of Teesta Basin in Sikkim: Executive Summary and Recommendations,* 2007, p. 193.

[49] Maitreyee Choudhury, Carrying Capacity Study of Teesta Basin in Sikkim: Socio-Cultural Environment, 2007, pp. 134-35.

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[51] A.R. Foning, *Lepcha: My Vanishing Tribe* (Delhi: Sterling Publishers Ltd., 1987)..

[52] This is the phrase used to describe the condition of the river in the entry at weepingsikkimm.blog for 26th Feb 2008.

[53] Amita Baviskar, "For a Cultural Politics of Natural Resources," *Economic and Political Weekly* (2003).

[54] Personal communication from Tseten Lepcha, Dawa Lepcha and their lawyers Ritwick Datta and Rahul Choudhary.

[55] There is further confusion between sources on its capacity being 280 or a 300 MW project. See, Lepcha Protest against Panan HEP in Sikkim, *Assam Tribune*, 5th August 2007.

[56] The General Secretaries of Concerned Lepchas of Sikkim (CLOS) and ACT. Their fast was broken on 21st August 2007.

[57] She applauded their efforts in an email she wrote to the political advisors of these activists.

[58] Blog entry for 17th August 2007.

[59] *Dawa and Tenzing return with ACT rally, resume indefinite hunger strike*, NOW, 11th March 2008.

[60] This issue of inadequate compensation that has been given to people has been documented in some regional newspapers such as NOW.

[61] Neeraj Vagholikar, "Plumbing the Teesta I," *Statesman*, 19 November 2007, Vagholikar, "Plumbing the Teesta Ii.", Neeraj Vagholikar, "Risks without Enough Gain," *The Telegraph*, 11 December 2007.

[62] As given on the weepingsikkim.blogspot site on 13th March 2008. This information was reported in Now on 17th March 2008. An official notification has not been issued to this effect, as yet. Nevertheless such declarations made in the legislative assembly can not be withdrawn easily without loss of face.

[63] The main cash crop for the Lepchas of Dzongu is cardamom cultivation. After these plants were struck by a disease recently, new saplings had to be planted that will take time to become productive, hence cardamom has not been profitable. This has affected their livelihood drastically.

[64] Anand Oberoi, "Condition Stable but Delicate: Dawa Plans to Empty Dzongu into B-L House," *NOW*, 17th March 2008.

[65] Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, p. 44.

[66] Grillo, "Discourses of Development: The View from Anthropology," 20.

[67] M Hobart, *An Anthropological Critique of Development: The Growth of Ignorance* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 11-12.

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[69] Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World,* Arthur Escobar, "Anthropology and Development," *International Social science Journal: Anthropology - Issues and Perspectives* 154, no. December (1997), Arturo Escobar, "After Nature. Steps to an Antiessentialist Political Ecology.," *Current Anthropology* 40, no. 1 (1999), Hobart, *An Anthropological Critique of Development: The Growth of Ignorance*.

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A memorial, intervention, parsimony, and civic design

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Introduction

The death of Queen Victoria on January 22nd 1901 signalled the conclusion of an historic epoch for Britain and her Empire, one which had overseen major social, cultural, and environmental transformations. Immediately after the Queen's passing the Queen Victoria Memorial Committee (QVMC) was created for the purpose of producing a national memorial dedicated to her honour, an opportunity many argued to implicate a great architectural and scenic change in London. The occasion of the Queen's death it seemed gave no excuse for not initiating a commemorative project on a monumental scale. Prime Minister Arthur Balfour concurred with such a sentiment, and remarked that any memorial to Queen Victoria would be "of kind of which other nations have shown examples, which we may imitate, and can easily surpass."

In order to be conscious of events as they unfolded from January 1901 in London a few generic comments are necessary. To begin with it should be noted that the later decades of Queen Victoria's reign witnessed a growth in the awareness of Britain's role as the centre of a globally dispersed realm, and an eruption of imperial fervour. Assisting this process were a number of factors that forged the imperial canon: the publication of literature such as J.R. Seeley's *The Expansion of England* (1883[1]); the founding of organisations such as the Imperial Federation League (1884); the Colonial and Indian Exhibition (1886); the Boer War (1899-1902); Queen Victoria's golden and diamond jubilee celebrations (1887[2] and 1897[3]). To briefly cite the impact of imperial feelings upon the built fabric of London it should be acknowledged as having physical effects that included the erection of the Imperial Institute (1887-93)[4] in South Kensington, and the London County Council (LCC) undertaking the Kingsway-Aldwych scheme[5] from the 1890s. Importantly though the imperial context also had another kind of reach, for occasions like the aforementioned jubilees led to celebrations that attracted dignitaries from across the empire and the industrialised world. Accordingly Londoners came to be aware that the eyes of the world were focusing upon them, and in particular their city and its form. Of great significance to this consciousness was the mass media who frequently asserted that London should be seen to be of the same ranking as cities like Rome in the history of world civilisation, and consequently the city should play a greater role in the development of global arts and culture. For some in the media the matter of London's boosterism was imperative if Britain was to maintain her position at the forefront of world affairs. In this light so that Britain could continue to present herself as a global power London had to be worthy of her role as the physical and symbolic heart of nation and empire. If the situation were not important enough unforeseen domestic affairs, as shall now be touched upon, heightened the situation further.

In 1887, the year of Queen Victoria's golden jubilee, London bore witness to events that immediately instigated debates as to its, and in turn the empire's, governability. A series

of strikes and riots, the most notorious of which took place in Trafalgar Square, London's principal urban space, raised questions about Whitehall's management of Britain, its cities, and its colonies. In such a context social disorder within Victorian Cities was quickly seen to be a threat to the stability of the nation and empire[6], and the survival of the nation and empire was identified in particular with the survival of London[7]. Furthermore with the metropolis experiencing chronic traffic congestion, slow improvement in its public health, and the rise of international tourism necessitating new hotels and shops, pleasing public buildings and streets were considered essential should the city wish to maintain itself as a place of global significance[8]. Thinking imperially and better designing the urban environment in such a milieu therefore became almost one and the same, and in this regard London society looked upon itself to fulfil its needs and ambitions. As the Thames Embankment scheme (of the 1870s) was to demonstrate, large-scale environmental projects had the means to satisfy metropolitan aspirations. As First Commissioner A.H. Layard proudly observed the magnificence of the Embankment was unsurpassed within any capital of the world. Accordingly it helped to make the metropolis worthy of its empire[9]. If it could fulfill aspirations in the 1870s why not by the turn of the twentieth century?

Instigating a memorial scheme

It has already been mentioned that after the death of Queen Victoria in January 1901 a committee was formed with the purpose of suggesting, selecting and implementing a fitting memorial. The committee, the Queen Victoria Memorial Committee (QVMC)[10], by as early as April 1901 announced that a notable British sculptor, Thomas Brock, was to be directly commissioned to produce a statue[11] of Queen Victoria[12], and that five architects, Ernest George, Dr. Rowland Anderson, Sir Thomas Crew, Thomas Jackson and Aston Webb[13], would submit designs for an architectural/planning memorial scheme. As the fundamentals of the design contest relied upon the architects' capabilities in handling a variety of planning predicaments so as to establish a suitable site for Brock's proposed statue, and to produce fine vistas to and from the monument, create open spaces about it, etc., it also rapidly became apparent that the designers had to be consummate diplomats due to many prominent members of the British establishment having their own ideas as to what the QVMS should entail. As a case in point the new monarch, King Edward VII (1901-10), wanted the memorial to incorporate a 'processional roadway' which would allow for pomp and pageantry when called upon, and connect Buckingham Palace to London's main thoroughfares because the royal residence was hitherto isolated from Whitehall and Trafalgar Square. With this affair in mind *The Building News* commented that any new thoroughfare to be built as part of the memorial scheme demanded "dramatic presentation as to immediate requirements and prospective ideals"[14]. Interestingly though the views of the general public did not express such idealistic sentiments. Instead the common feeling amongst the London public was that any new road should not further hinder London's already slow traffic flow, and likewise it should not exacerbate the city's notorious rush-hour congestion[15]. In this regards a recommendation was put forward that a new road as part of the memorial project should act as a by-pass for Piccadilly Circus, an infamous bottleneck.

The Architectural Review picked up on this very matter and proclaimed that the QVMS "calls for easy and unobstructed roadways".[16]

In July 1901 Brock's statue design[17] and Aston Webb's design competition entry both won approval from King Edward VIII and the QVMC. The architectural media, particularly the well-known journal *The Builder*, positively commented on Webb's win which it asserted was due to the excellence of his plan and its working up to the suggested site of Brock's statue (directly in front of Buckingham Palace). For Webb the competition win was particularly reassuring for it confirmed his status as *the* establishment architect[18] at the turn of the twentieth century, a position cemented in the succeeding years due to his presidency of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA)[19]. Additionally, the winning of the QVMS competition served to confirm Webb's ability on combining architectural and planning matters, but in time as the project unfolded it also exposed his equally great proficiency at negotiation and balancing the demands of his clients within often tight monetary confines.[20] In the case of the QVMS, the subject of this work, Webb had to be the consummate diplomat so as to meet the demands and satisfy the desires of many elements within British society who had an active interest in the form of the memorial.

The successful plan, statues and an arch

In mid-1901, as previously pointed out, Aston Webb's proposal for the QVMS was accepted for implementation. The crux of his plan, see figure 1, was his working to and from Brock's statue of Queen Victoria, and the suggested laying out of a monumental roadway, to be known as the Mall from Buckingham Palace to Central London (to the east). The shape of this new road was palpable given the aforesaid demands of procession and spectacle: straight and broad, which afforded a dignified approach to the memorial statue and Buckingham Palace, and a spectacular vista when entering the Mall from Trafalgar Square. The main planning challenge though in laying out a long roadway directly on an alignment with the centre of Buckingham Palace was that its eastern end, i.e. that located near to Trafalgar Square, did not meet head-on with the existing thoroughfares and instead had to run through existing Admiralty Buildings alongside Whitehall and a small roadway called Drummond Bank. To resolve this predicament Webb utilised the central axis of the Strand, a road to the east, which when extended westwards along its existing course would intersect with the central alignment of the Mall.[21] Intending to mark the point at which the two road axes met with a statue of Queen Victoria[22], from which the radius of a circular space would be drawn from, a means to mask the fact that the two roadways met at an acute angle, Webb was also able to save existing buildings from demolition. For this preservation strategy Webb received much professional acclaim, as did his overall QVMS plan which was widely perceived as putting aesthetics, nature, and beauty back into the built environment of Central London, in so doing breaking the alleged civil engineers and surveyors stranglehold over the shaping of the British urban form. John Belcher, a leading figure in the RIBA, described Webb's idea to preserve existing buildings as an important, interesting, and ingenious part of the scheme, whilst additionally commenting upon

Webb's Mall as adding new 'lungs', i.e. spaces for air to circulate, within the centre of the metropolis[23].

Figure 1. The plan of Aston Webb's original proposal for the Queen Victoria Memorial Scheme (source: *The Builder*, 1901).

Although Webb initially planned for a statue of Queen Victoria to stand at the eastern end of the Mall interference by 'stakeholders' meant that this proposal was quickly shelved. In this instance the statue proposal was abandoned due to King Edward's wish for an archway to be erected where the Mall approached Trafalgar Square. Symbolically the suggestion of an archway in London was noteworthy given its iconography with imperialism, but architecturally too an archway impacted upon the form of Webb's original memorial scheme. However, the ever pragmatic Webb realised he could create a matchless vista with an arch, one that framed a view towards Buckingham Palace when entering the Mall from Trafalgar Square or the Strand, and moreover the use of an arch had the added benefit of screening the change of axis between the Mall to the Strand. However, as is to explained subsequently, the design of the arch, Admiralty Arch as it became known, led to a chorus of criticisms about the lax condition of British civic design.

Figure 2. Admiralty Arch with a view through its arches to the Mall. Note the change in axis of the roadway as it passes through the arch. Critics of the structure have insinuated that it is more office building than triumphal arch.

At the far western end of the Mall, that is in proximity to Buckingham Palace, further royal influence affected the form of Webb's QVMS. In this instance Queen Alexandra desired a 'sacred enclosure', a serene public garden complete with fountains around the site of Brock's statue so as to offer opportunities to ponder Queen Victoria's life and Britain's achievements under her reign. In Webb's amended scheme this enclosure, The Queen's Garden as he labelled it, had a semi-circular form at the heart of which Brock's statue was to be placed (see figure 3). This planning simplicity won applause from his peers. *The Builder* wrote that "The whole of this design, in fact, is calculated to secure centralised lines of vista; and that is one of its great merits - it is all laid out on a symmetrical system."[24]

Figure 3. A perspective of The Queen's Garden as suggested by Aston Webb (source: *The Builder*, 1901).

To enclose the Queen's Garden Webb ran a stone colonnade, punctuated by small pavilions placed on lines of symmetry with Brock's statue. Contemporary commentators described the colonnade as giving the effect that the columns were like soldiers guarding the statue. Furthermore by cutting it at particular points, e.g. at 90º angles to the statue, imposing vistas to the sculpture's site were manufactured, and moreover by placing the entrance gates to the Palace courtyard in positions corresponding with the ends of the main (eastern) façade of royal residence the King, who as noted earlier had become embarrassed at having to leave his home thorough a seemingly undignified minor doorway located at the back of Buckingham Palace, was granted a highly visible departure point from the royal centre of the metropolis, nation, and empire.

The Critics Arise

Webb had realised in 1901 that his initial QVMS proposal contained weak points, and that its imperfections would need to be ironed out prior to the scheme being implemented. A critic of Webb's original plan in *The Builder* in 1902, for example, described the whole scheme as "triumphal architecture crippled by a sense of duty"[25], while upcoming architect Edwin Lutyens remarked: "The Queen's Memorial is horrid as I have seen it. Aston Webb has got it all inside out and far too small in detail and too funny for words..."[26] One idea for improving the original plan was outlined in *The Graphic*, and centred upon the use of opening up new vistas. This, it was argued, would integrate outlying open areas at a distance from the site of Brock's statue, for instance

within parts of St James' Park, in the overall bounds of memorial scheme. As *The Graphic* noted improvements could:

> "be introduced at the opening from Buckingham Palace Road into the park, so that a fine view will be uncovered towards the Foreign Office, a corresponding alteration being made at the foot of Constitution Hill. From both these points excellent views of the memorial will be afforded from north and south through gates."[27]

Whereas comments such as this were designed to offer constructive assistance to Webb so that a unique national memorial could be produced and so national pride attained, the episode of creating an archway, an architectural feature suggested by the King, led to much animosity towards Webb, even though as shall be demonstrated his actions were largely tied by actions of the monarch and the Admiralty, and a lack of money available to complete the QVMS.

Beforehand it has been stated that the King put forward the idea of constructing an archway at the eastern end of the Mall, a site where Webb had initially recommended placing a statue of Queen Victoria. Circa 1905, when Webb [28] began to design an arch, it rapidly became apparent that his ability to design an edifice was greatly restricted[29]. As with other design and planning affairs in the QVMS it was not long before Webb had to radically alter his preliminary design, a consequence this time of the overbearing influence by the Admiralty who were in desperate need of accommodation space. In many respects the domineering presence of the Admiralty was a two-edge sword in the context of the QVMS. On the one hand it resolved the QVMC's dilemma of acquiring a major element of the memorial scheme for no cost as by 1905 money available was running short. Therefore the Admiralty's offer to pay for an arch, estimated at £50,000, was extremely welcoming to the cash-strapped QVMC. Yet on the flip-side by paying for the edifice the Admiralty in effect came to dictate the form of the arch, and whereas a triumphal structure was initially sought in reality what was manufactured was an office building containing three large archways at the ground floor level (in keeping with the three axial lines along the Mall). The utilitarian bias of Admiralty Arch, a result of the Admiralty's need for office space, heaped much criticism onto the shoulders of the unfortunate Aston Webb. Aesthetically his Classically formed arch found few admirers. As Alistair Service bluntly put it the resultant edifice, Admiralty Arch, granted a weak visual impression to the onlooking eye: "a heavy amalgam of arch and building".[30] Once completed in 1909 criticism of the building's design rained down upon the Admiralty, the national government[31], and Webb given his role as the building's architect. *The Architectural Review* summed up the episode as being a lost opportunity:

> "…another pitiful example of national parsimony in art. Only in our land would a government be found to demand the combination of a triumphal arch, an office building, and an official residence in a block that shall be both convincing and expressive. The new building is neither."[32]

Followers of the government in attempting to deflect criticism of the scheme from the nation's political elites put forward a very partisan perspective. Whether people liked the arch was in a way insignificant they stated. Lord Alexander Thynne writing in *The British Architect* outlined such perspective: "the site is a most important site, and the arch, whether you like its design or not, is a most important edifice."[33] Ironically, despite often harsh criticism at him during the furore over Admiralty Arch, Webb's role in the QVMS did not end at this point. By way of example, to solve the problem of the narrow entrance at the eastern end to the Mall Webb (in 1910) submitted a plan for the widening of the road and demolishing "view obstructing buildings of Trafalgar Square"[34], but this was not completed until many years later because of wrangling over who was to finance this project. However the influence of the media both at home and overseas once again should not be overlooked, for it took up the road widening affair as part of its coverage of a memorial scheme to not only Queen Victoria but also King Edward VII[35], for which the opening to the Mall would be widened and the unsightly Charing Cross Railway station would be moved (to south of the River Thames). As *The New York Times* outlined, Webb's idea to remove buildings near Trafalgar Square provides an opportunity to establish a grand vista from Britain primary urban space:

> "one will be able to obtain from Trafalgar Square a view through the new stately arch, down the Mall to the beautiful Victoria Monument, with Buckingham Palace beyond. It will be one of the finest prospects in Europe."[36]

In 1912 Webb was once again directly commissioned by the QVMC to instigate more work as part of the QVMS, this time to reface the east wing of Buckingham Palace, which like the suggestion of Admiralty Arch was not in the original 1901 brief. Yet having conceived the designs for the Mall, Admiralty Arch, and the refacing of Buckingham Palace, Aston Webb oversaw the entire architectural and planning operation of the QVMS[37], and irrespective of the form of the memorial itself for this reason alone it, and Webb, have a unique status in the history of British civic design[38] for no other scheme of this scale, or scheme with so many distinct parts, was conceived at that time. Furthermore, the QVMS was one of the first modern British planning schemes to display the influence of contemporary US urbanism[39], and by this it is meant the City Beautiful Movement[40] as put forward by the likes of Daniel Burnham, Charles Mulford Robinson, and Charles Follen McKim[41], an architect of close acquaintance with Aston Webb[42]. To illustrate this matter, albeit briefly, reference can be made to the QVMS's attempt to endow the metropolis with a sense of monumental status and style, a conscious attempt by those in positions of authority to establish London as an artistic creation so as to give aesthetic pleasure, but to also establish an environment that reflected prevalent values and thoughts in society. Moreover by promoting Aston Webb's plan[43] as a coherent grand ensemble the relation between the memorial's various elements with their surroundings are emphasised. In such a way the concept of urban beauty as an entity that encourages individual artistic ingenuity yet similarly promotes coherence and unity within an architectural framework bestows aesthetic and social notions that improve the state of urban society, and in turn the nation.

Creating a New and Suitable Palace, Cheaply

It was commented in architectural journals from as early as 1901 that "Buckingham Palace is a sorry background as it stands"[44] (figure 5) given the developments taking place to the front of its principal elevation. The palace, described at the start of the twentieth century as being the only emblematic building in the metropolis that "approaches the idea of what a king's house should be",[45] was observed to have its main façade of an aesthetic quality unworthy of the spatial changes around it, and therefore to be seen as being undignified in appearance. Accordingly a new front had to be built so as to befit the environment of the QVMS, and as such to stop the palace from becoming an aesthetic/environmental misfit within its surroundings.

Figure 4. The unveiling ceremony in May 1911 of Thomas Brock's statue of Queen Victoria. To the rear of the view is Buckingham palace's east-facing elevation (composed by Edward Blore), which was increasingly viewed as being non-palatial in character. Subsequently Aston Webb was asked to redesign the front façade of the royal residence.

The exercise of refacing Buckingham Palace, discussed subsequently, was made complicated due to the significance of the edifice, i.e. it being the primary royal home in London, and a major lack of funding – an issue shown to have led to great consternation with the design and construction of Admiralty Arch. Consequently instead of Webb having the aesthetic and financial freedom to establish a plush new façade for Buckingham Palace he was constrained to such a degree that he had little option but to rehabilitate Edward Blore's original front, in this case with the durable Portland Stone – a material popular in British civic designing during the early years of the twentieth century[46].

Figure 5. Aston Webb's refaced east elevation of Buckingham Palace with the Queen Victoria Memorial Statue by Thomas Brock in the foreground as seen around the time of the completion of the QVMS.

To help support the process of making a 'suitable' front for Buckingham Palace Webb began by designing a new main entrance gate (for the Palace's forecourt) which he placed on a direct line of axis with the middle of the east-facing palace façade, the statue of Queen Victoria, and the centre of the Mall. This was important as it acted as a marker for the frontispiece of the whole refacing composition[47] which was deliberately devoid of detail thus making the scheme rather reserved in character. The style chosen for the façade was said in *The Building News* to be Late-English Renaissance, "one fitting a Royal Palace, the site, and the occasion of its erection"[48], although the actual style is a restrained and delicate Classical form similar to that used for Admiralty Arch, influenced perhaps suggests Port (1995) by Maquet's Royal Palace in Brussels[49]. In terms of the façade's design fluted columns decorated the front, and the central balcony was extended outwards over the main archway giving the impression that it was a plinth[50], in so doing providing an outside space from which the Royal Family could greet crowds in front of the palace. The simply formed front elevation was topped by a parapet, a simple yet brilliant piece of 'beautility'[51] hid the discordant skyline of the roof and its many chimneys.

With the re-facing of the Palace taking only thirteen weeks to complete the entire QVMS was achieved by 1913. Widely acknowledged as the 'first example in recent time of town planning in the metropolis', the scheme undoubtedly captured the architectural spirit under which the competition was devised: "Whatever the faults of its individual parts, the overall scheme of triumphal arch, boulevard, rond-point and palace front, is a highly distinguished achievement of the move to give London a centre worthy of an imperial capital".[52] The importance of the scheme in large-scale design and planning terms cannot be underestimated. For a start, as noted previously, a single architect controlled and designed the whole project in its entirety. But of equal note, the QVMS

wasn't just a lesson in civic design, but one in architecture, decoration, and large-scale urban planning as the whole scheme catered for small details such as street lights through to the major details, i.e., the placing of the Memorial Statue and the problem of the Charing Cross exit. Due to Webb's designing and diplomacy abilities the QVMS scheme bestowed the impression of an environment composed as a dignified, complete and reposeful whole[53], and as John Belcher, President of the RIBA in 1905 remarked: "If we want to appreciate the full advantage of a fine approach to a great public building, we only have to note the result of Sir Aston Webb's treatment of the Mall in connection with the National Monument to Queen Victoria." So successful was the overall 'whole' effect of the project that even in the first set of plans submitted by Webb *The Builder* wrote, "One could not find a better example of the principle that plan is the basis of design."[54] The end result, of course, was urban improvement on a vast scale. The statue of Queen Victoria by Brock somewhat naturally took pride of place in a setting worthy of the monarch's imperial destiny, in so doing bestowing a commemorative endeavour to allow British citizens to reflect upon the life of the monarch, revive British self-esteem, and provide a new high-water mark of self-confidence and metropolitan aspirations in Britain's capital city[55], even though as this work has suggested the process of bringing the memorial scheme from concept to solid structure was far from straightforward, and influenced by an excess of often overbearing stakeholders.

Conclusion

By 1914 Aston Webb had established himself as one of the most renowned and respected British architect/planners of his time. Crucial to his lofty professional status was his role in the QVMS. As shown beforehand, the QVMS was of great national and imperial importance, a scheme that was integral to the promotion of London as the centre of nation and the empire. Due to the significance of the scheme many parties had an opinion as to what form it should take, and these to differing extents affected the actions, designs and plans put forward by competition winner Aston Webb. Of note too was the role of money, or the lack of to be more precise, and certainly this situation was exploited by the Admiralty in order to create an arch (Admiralty Arch). Of equally momentous influence was the function of competition winner Aston Webb, who it seems had to be on his best diplomatic behaviour in order to placate the various factions who wished to shape the QVMS. As shown these ranged from the Royal Family to the architectural profession, on whom more words shall subsequently be said.

So far little attention in this work has been given to the mind-set of Aston Webb, a consequence of the focus placed on private versus public interests in the milieu of completing the QVMS. However on this very matter a statement given in 1905 by Webb maybe best characterises his attitude to the rebuilding of cities for he perceived act of civic designing to be deeper than paying lip service to the design of large and prominent structures, and the simultaneous planning of urban spaces about them. Indeed to Webb civic design was a public service, and a patriotic duty: "…practical men are beginning to realise that noble dispositions in a town, noble streets and buildings, are an education as necessary for the higher development of patriotism and public spirit as good water and sanitation are necessary for the bodily well-being."[56] Arguably inspired by his

involvement in the QVMS, and maybe further armed with detailed knowledge of contemporary US urbanism due to his kinship with Charles McKim, Webb's sense of duty led by circa 1910, when the QVMS was coming to fruition, to the proposal to broaden the aggrandisement of London, e.g. by placing roofs on bridges across the Thames. His enthusiasm for London also it seemed extended to engage in the preservation of London's own idiosyncratic contribution to world town planning culture[57], the garden square, and in 1904 his zest for London ensured Norman Shaw was lulled out of semi-retirement to prepare a plan for rearranging Piccadilly Circus. With opportunities for urban planning possible therefore on almost every street corner Webb as RIBA President rallied the architectural profession so that they could take city planning for their own, just as they were to do in later years within the milieu of formative town planning prior to 1909[58], a cry to build city beautifuls rather than city efficients believed to have been manufactured under the urban arranging hegemony of surveyors and civil engineers[59]. Arguably the apogee of this process was the 1916 'Charing Cross Improvement Scheme' proposal by Webb, Reginald Blomfield and John Burns[60], an endeavour to utilise London's most aesthetic asset, the River Thames, and to be a memorial to the Great War (still ongoing). On such lines:

> "…an unrivalled opportunity presents itself of carrying out a far-reaching improvement in the civic architecture of London, a scheme of very real benefit to the public, and a superb national monument, as we all hope it will prove to be, of this tremendous war. On the part of ourselves and our Allies that war is over those ideals should find their expression in some enduring memorial that all may see and all may profit by."[61]

In summing up the QVMS must be appreciated for being an exceptional urban planning venture in the history of British attempts to aggrandise existing settlements, and a deliberate ploy to express the imperial fervour bubbling in society. In many respects the QVMS was exceptional due to its scale, its deeply rooted place within the imperial milieu at the turn of the twentieth century, and the large number of significant, individual architectural schemes incorporated into the project. However, frequently overlooked in the context of Planning History is the clash of interests and discord within the memorial scheme, which Aston Webb had to iron out so as to bring the scheme to completion. In this regards, as previously mentioned, Webb should be seen as being the consummate mediator at the time formative town planning emerged[62], a professional able to mediate the agendas of individuals representing both public and private interest. Due to the significance of the national memorial the voices of people interested in commemorating Queen Victoria were at times vociferous and challenging in their demands, in so doing affecting Webb to such a degree that he had to reshape his plans in order to accommodate their requirements. Arguably a messy affair from start to finish the QVMS nonetheless did help London to fulfill its imperial destiny. Commemorating a venerated monarch the QVMS thus in many respects was more than an exercise in urban planning, and in this sense various interests did at times collide, and opinions contrast about the nature, quality, and appearance of the scheme. Even so this should not diminish the value of the memorial for it is still an icon of British urbanism, a scheme prepared and implemented at a time when a greater rational control of the British urban

environment was exercised, an era when formative town planning emerged and foreign notions about architecture and planning filtered into British architectural circles.

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Notes

[1] The book was printed a year after the British occupation of Egypt.

[2] The 1887 jubilee and its expression of loyalty and devotion has been described by Edward Browne in *Queen Victoria* (London: Harrap and Co., 2005) as providing proof that English people and English society were not insular, but was rather a realisation that England was a mighty nation with one sovereign head.

[3] Every single British colony sent a detachment of troops to London to represent it at the jubilee pageant.

[4] Designed by Thomas Collcutt. During his career Collcutt designed numerous notable edifices in London, e.g. the Savoy Hotel and Palace Theatre. In 1902 he was awarded the RIBA Gold Medal for his services to architecture. From 1904-6 he served as President of the RIBA. An unsuccessful entrant in the Imperial Institute design competition was Aston Webb.

[5] Mention of the LCC's imperial belief is given in the forthcoming publication *British Provincial Civic Design and the Building of Late-Victorian and Edwardian Cities, 1880-1914* by the author of this paper (to be published in 2008 by Edwin Mellen Press). The Kingsway-Aldwych scheme is shown to represent an attempt to endow London with a modern sense of monumentality, status, and style.

[6] Garside, Patricia, 'West End, East End: London, 1890-1940', in Sutcliffe, Anthony (ed.), *Metropolis 1890-1940* (London: Mansell Press, 1984), p. 231.

[7] Ibid., p. 222.

[8] Port, Michael H., *Imperial London: Civil Government Building in London, 1850-1915* (London: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 19.

[9] Ibid., p.19.

[10] The committee was presided over by Viscount Esher, whose title was Honorary Secretary of the General Secretary of the Queen Victoria Memorial Fund

[11] The official title of the statue was 'The National Memorial to the Late Queen Victoria'. In 1902 a sum of £100,000 was offered to Brock to pay for the cost of the statue (source: National Archives, WORK 6/663).

[12] Brock's monument's statue when completed in 1911 stood 82 feet in height, weighed over 2,300 tonnes and was built from Carrara Marble and Bronze. At the unveiling ceremony in May 1911 Brock was knighted on its steps.

[13] C.H. Reilly wrote in 1938 about Webb's architectural office with its fifty draughtsmen as being 'a mere factory for Government building'.

[14] *The Building News*, 'The Architecture of Sir Aston Webb, President of the Royal Academy', 1920, p. 63.

[15] In 1920 *The Building News* made reference to London's traffic congestion, and environmental improvement, as being a matter of life-long passionate concern to Aston Webb. In this regards the journal stated that his QVMS win must have "meant to him particularly keen satisfaction" (p. 63).

[16] *The Architectural Review*, 'The Queen Victoria Memorial', 1901, p. 199.

[17] Brock's civic sculpting included work in Victoria Square Hull, and City Square, Leeds, and a statue to Queen Victoria in the grounds of the City Hall, Belfast.

[18] At the end of the 19th century/start of the 20th century Webb was involved in some of the largest and most significant civic and colonial projects in Britain and abroad. His work included Birmingham Law Courts and University, Royal Naval College (Dartmouth), Victoria and Albert Museum, Imperial College of Science, and Royal School of Mines in London, Royal College of Science for Ireland(Dublin), and Hong Kong's Legislative Building.

[19] Around the time of the passing of the Housing, Town Planning, Etc., Act in 1909 Webb was the RIBA's Chairman of Town Planning.

[20] The entire Queen Victoria Memorial Scheme was paid for by public donations.

[21] Webb cleverly split the Mall into the sections across its width. The two outer sections, the 'Carriageways' were for public use, while the broader middle section, the central axis of the road, was to become a 'Processional Drive', to be used only by the Royal Family. The length of the Mall was to be decorated with foliage along its length for aesthetic purposes, so to blend the roadway into the neighbouring parks.

[22] The statue was to be of a youthful looking Queen. This statue was to face towards Brock's state in front of Buckingham Palace sited at the opposite end of the Mall.

[23] In his 1904 RIBA Presidential speech John Belcher declared: "The lungs of London…must not consist solely of a few parks which…are now more or less closed in but of wide channels and routes of currents of air to flow freely through." The example of the Mall, with its broad width to allow air to move along and

through it was said Belcher "a matter I commend to the attention of our Town Councils." (see *The Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 'The Opening Address', 12th November 1904, p.8).

[24] *The Builder*, 1902., p. 377.

[25] Ibid., p. 377.

[26] Letter from Edwin Lutyens to Sir Herbert Baker, 31st November 1901.

[27] *The Graphic*, 2nd November 1901, p. 586.

[28] Webb received the commission for Admiralty Arch directly.

[29] Webb's commission to design Admiralty Arch not only allowed for his continued input into the QVMS but additionally afforded him another chance to design a prominent edifice in Central London.

[30] Service, Alistair, *Edwardian Architecture: A Handbook to Building Design in Britain, 1890-1914* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1977), p. 166.

[31] The government at the time belonged to the Liberal Party and was headed by H.H. Asquith following the resignation of Henry Campbell-Bannerman in 1908 due to ill health.

[32] *The Architectural Review*, 'Notes of the Month', 1909, p. 224.

[33] *The British Architect*, 'The Admiralty Arch', by Lord A. Thynne, 18th April 1913, p. 309.

[34] *The New York Times*, 'King Edward VII Memorial Scheme, February 5th 1911.

[35] The King died in May 1910.

[36] *The New York Times*, 1911.

[37] There is no other incident in either Victorian or Edwardian architecture where a grand scheme of great public interest and numerous facets was designed and planned by just a single architect. For this reason alone the QVMS is of great civic design significance.

[38] In the context of this work civic design is defined as "a designer's attempt to purposefully integrate new buildings of a public or quasi-public nature, or urban spaces, to their existing for the intention of obtaining pleasing effects and the attainment of convenience". See Morley, Ian, 2002, p. xxxii.

[39] Webb in 1907 visited the US and was guest of honour at the 6th Annual Dinner of the New York Chapter of the American Institute of Architects. Webb's visit to the US lasted three weeks and included a trip to Washington DC. On the outing *The New York Times* commented upon Webb's praise for skyscrapers (see 'Likes Our Skyscrapers', January 19th 1907).

[40] For further details on the relationship of the City Beautiful with the architecture and planning of Sir Aston Webb please refer to Morley, Ian, 'The Contribution of Sir Aston Webb to the Development of the Modern British Town Planning Movement, c. 1900-14', unpublished MA Dissertation, The Centre for Urban History, University of Leicester (1995).

[41] When McKim was given the RIBA Gold Medal as a show of gratitude he left at the institute a map of Washington DC and a book on American architecture.

[42] During his tenure as RIBA President Aston Webb awarded the institute's Gold Medal to McKim. Likewise in 1907 the first Gold Medal of the American Institute of Architects (AIA) was given to Webb.

[43] In 1910 Webb stated what an ideal settlement was, a place he labelled 'the city beautiful'. For more details refer to Freestone, Robert, 'The Internationlisation of the City Beautiful', presented at the 12th International Planning History Society Conference in New Delhi, India (December 2006).

[44] *The Architectural Review*, 'The Queen Victoria Memorial Designs', 1901, p. 208.

[45] Beavan, Arthur H., *Imperial London* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1901), p. 26.

[46] Portland Stone was often used in civic design schemes not only for its aesthetic qualities but due to its durability, and ability to resist the toxins in the polluted air of Britain's industrial cities. For more details see Morley, Ian, *Examples of Provincial Civic Design, c. 1880-1914* (unpublished PhD Thesis, School of Architectural Studies, University of Sheffield, 2002), pp. 634-7.

[47] *The Building News and Engineers Journal*, 'Architecture at the Royal Academy', 2nd May, 1913.

[48] *The Building News and Engineers Journal*, 'Buckingham Palace New Front', 25th October, 1912., p. 565.

[49] Port, Michael H., 1995.

[50] *The Building News and Engineers Journal*, 1912, p. 566.

[51] The term 'beautility' refers to a concept of marrying beauty with utilitarianism. The origins of the term have been covered by H.H. Wilson in *The City Beautiful Movement* (1989).

[52] Service, Alistair, *London 1900* (Rizzoli: New York,1979), p. 243.

[53] In his inaugural presidential speech presented to the RIBA in London in 1902 Webb stated that repose was the ideal of architectural design, "a quality we desire in our buildings". See *The Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 'The Opening Address', 1902, pp.10-1.

[54] *The Builder*, 1901, *op.cit.*, p. 377.

[55] Jenner, Michael, *London Heritage: The Changing Style of a City* (M. Joseph: London, 1988).

[56] *The Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 'Gold Medal Speech', by Aston Webb, 24th June 1904, p. 531.

[57] In the early-1920s Webb edited a tome for the London Society titled *London of the Future* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1921), which made reference to his 'Proposals for the Improvement of London' (see *The Geographical Journal*, 1918)

[58] A synopsis of the attitude and actions of the architectural profession during the seminal years of the emergence of town planning is given in *British Town Planning: The Formative Years* by A. Sutcliffe (ed.), Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1981.

[59] Comprehensive plans for the rebuilding of London appeared by as early a 1903, based on the idea of a prototype planning authority, a predecessor of sorts of the Royal Town Planning Institute, and in 1913 with the London Society, of which Aston Webb was a member.

[60] Burns was a major actor in the passing of the 1909 Housing, Town Planning, Etc. Act by the Liberal government.

[61] *The Observer*, 'Charing Cross Improvement Scheme', October 8th, 15th, and 22nd 1916.

[62] Attention is given to the influence historic and contemporary civic design practice in Britain had to formative town planning in Hawtree, Martin, 'The Emergence of the Town Planning Profession', in Sutcliffe, Anthony, *British Town Planning: The Formative Years* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1981).

Crossing through the block: permeabilities in the urban fabric of Portuguese cities

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Introduction

This project initiated as an inquiry into the repeated yet transparent use of this spatial pattern in Portuguese cities. It is an unacknowledged, unseen, unexamined pattern thus far. Nevertheless, it permeates old and new sectors of the cities, both in a repetitive, systematic and in a haphazard, one single case way. As the research probed into the motifs and models of the passage pattern, precedents were found in general law and usages, in municipal regulations, in political modes of dealing with urban land and in the more recent legacy of the Modern Movement.

Usages and laws

Passages have precedents in a practice that can be acknowledged as far as Roman law, as it is mentioned in SOUSA (1817) **The *Ordenações Manuelinas* and *Filipinas*** respectively from 1521 and 1603 allow the construction of private footbridges over existing streets. They are assemblages of codes and laws that have been recompiled respectively by order of King Manuel I and King Phillip - I of Portugal and II of Spain, the first of the 3 kings who ruled both countries in the 60 years period of the Philippine Dynasty of the Kingdom of Portugal, from 1580 to 1640. In its 1st book, this later set of Laws states unequivocally that it is possible for a landowner to set rafters across the street, if he owns houses in either sides; and to build on this bridge a story with windows opening into the street. It allows the transmission of ownership and the subsequent right to build on this trabeated or vaulted bridge. It reserves the right to demolish the whole suspended construction by the *Concelho* as it clearly states that it is the Municipality that owns the air both underneath and above it. It restates what had already been said eighty years earlier in the ***Ordenações Manuelinas***, which in turn restates what were the usages of the times.

A compilation of laws dealing with buildings published in 1817 in Lisbon replicates these statements, adding a short discussion and a negative account on this both usage and legal possibility. The author proposes that it should be forbidden and that any such built bridges existing in the kingdom of Portugal to be demolished. Almeida e Sousa substantiates this proposal with his negative account based on (a) the impairment to the visual quality of the street; (b) at night, they become hiding places for murderers, thieves and the exercise of indecency; and, when he states the conditions for not impairing third parties when such a bridge is built, (c) the disadvantage caused by their low ceiling to the transit of loaded cars and religious processions.

The **Civil Codes**, from 1867 and 1967, present conflicting concepts of absolute property ownership and appurtenant easement. The first Civil Code, which was influenced by Napoleonic Codes, states that ownership of the plot includes the aerial space above it; and so does the next important Civil Code published in 1967. In its Article n. 1344, dealing with material limits to land ownership, the 1967 Code states that both aerial and subterranean space pertain to the same possessor as owns the plot. As they adopt the standpoint that property makes a projection into the terrain, they prohibit such amalgamation of public-private rights as the residential bridges implied. No longer should they be built.

The Building Code of the City of Lisbon was enforced from 1930 to 1951 and, until 1938, permitted the existence of 'vilas', rows of housing units forming enclosed clusters separated from the public realm. They were built by private initiative and meant for workers' families. The last 'vilas' were built in the 1920's. A number of these 'vilas' and 'pátios' included private streets, of which at least 18 subsisted in 1993 (*O DIA*). In 1994, 371 'vilas' could be counted in the area of the Municipality of Lisbon (*ROTEIRO DAS RUAS DE LISBOA*). These constituted a particular form of public-private negotiation of urban land, and were brought about by the belated industrialization that completely transformed major cities in Portugal from 1870's onwards. And they are a persistent sight in the denser sections of the city of Lisbon.

In Porto, the equivalent housing units built for the workers or poorer population were the 'ilhas', long and low rows of small houses built by private initiative in the rear yard of more bourgeois blocks. Their dependence of access to the street is solved by a passageway meant for persons on foot. Since the beginning, dating from the 1830's onwards, when approximately 200 'ilhas' were numbered, they were slums in the heart of the city. At the beginning of the1880's, 550 'ilhas' housed 6000 families and almost 20.000 inhabitants, accounting for 16% of the population of the municipality. In 1939, this proportion was similar. This proliferation was possible due to a lack of control by public authorities on anything built behind the public façade. Only in 1889 a municipal by-law is changed, making it mandatory that projects for buildings less than 5 meters from the street should be approved by the Municipality. So most of the 'ilhas' built in the core of blocks averted any form of control (TEIXEIRA, 1985). And only in 1905 a new **Code of By-Laws of Porto** established the need of a Municipal approval for any construction to be built in the city, regardless of its exact location vis-à-vis the street. This finally included the 'ilhas' in the public control. At the same time, 'ilhas' were forbidden, although they kept on being built.

These cases of Lisbon and Porto show the double standards that permitted a differential relationship of land on which to build with the public realm. Privately owned and privately led, these lucrative endeavours tended to seclusion and isolation in the face of the city. The rights of way had social and physical restrictions - either a gate, a spatial funnelling or a means of access under a passage, or all three combined.

Ethos of modernity

The **Modern Movement** and the **Athens Charter** set forth a profound change in the tight stitching of the urban fabric, celebrating an ideology of openness and movement. This occurred in various stages, starting with the opening up through arches of the still perimetral built closed blocks, such as in the Spangen Housing Complex in 1918-1921. Of the more avant-garde housing schemes built in the 1920's and 1930's, a large number incorporate the figure of the portal (ARÍS, 2000) - either as a symbolic door or as a constructive novelty – a lifted entrance allowed by an inexpensive straightforward use of reinforced concrete. In the Netherlands, in Germany and in Austria this arched or trabeated feature is a recurring theme in the vast city extensions (Fig. 1).

[A]

[B]   [C]   [D]

Figure 1 [A,D]: *Arch.* M. Brinkman, ground floor plan, drawing and aerial view of Spangen Housing Complex (1918-1921), Rotterdam (Arís, 2000).

Three buildings of up most importance in the diffusion of the Modern Movement – the Narkomfin Building (1928-29) by Ginzburg, the Bauhaus by Gropius (1925-26) and the Maison Savoye by Le Corbusier (1929-30) all offer a foremost feature of interplay between people and cars, of a novel circulation or work space above ground over a void, or a recess to acknowledge the automobile. The will to move and to flow is celebrated by these suspended bridges or carved out ground floors (Fig. 2).

[A]   [B]   [C]
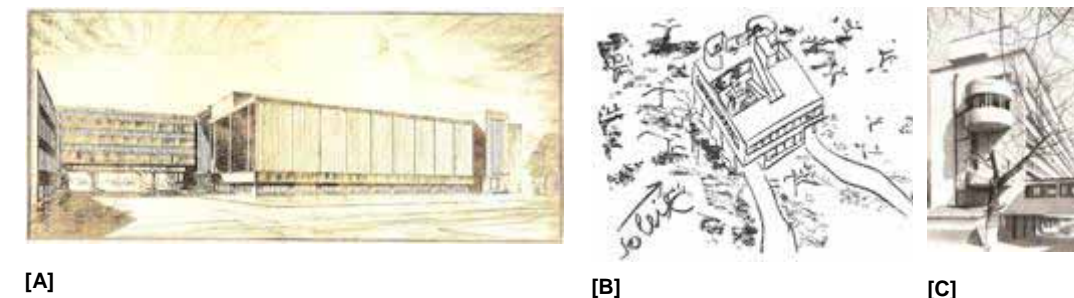
Figure 2 [A,C]: [A] *Arch.* W. Gropius, sketch of Bauhaus (1925-26), Dessau (Fiedler and Feierabend, 2000); [B] *Arch.* Le Corbusier*,* sketch of Villa Savoye (1929-30), Poissy (Besset, 1992); [C] *Arch.* M. Ginzburg, view of Narkomfin Housing Building (1928-1929), Moscow (Arís, 2000).

The passage under the building is going to be present, both in the quasi-modern projects of social housing at the beginning of the 20th century and in the housing proposals of the Modern Movement itself. In all of these projects a need is felt of crossing through the block or to give access to buildings which are very much marked by linearity in expression and by very long stretches in actual dimensions.

At the beginning of the century, Amsterdam was the setting of various examples. The workers quarter of Spaarndammerbuurt is located in the Western part of the city and includes long linear buildings that define in their inside open green areas. Various architects participated. Between 1913 and 1921 De Klerk designs three buildings. In an initial sketch of his making it is possible to distinguish the intention of creating arches in the 5 stories buildings. These passages are also present in the project of another architect, Walenkamp, for the South portal in Zaanhof. H. P. Berlage, together with architects Gratama and Versteeg designed the buildings at Transvaalbuurt.

Another sketch by De Klerk subsists, intended for double story single families housing on a row. In this project, a predominance of symmetrical and regular window arrangements is intercepted by the opening the architect creates for the crossing through the volume (Fig. 3).

[A] [B] [C]

[D] [E]
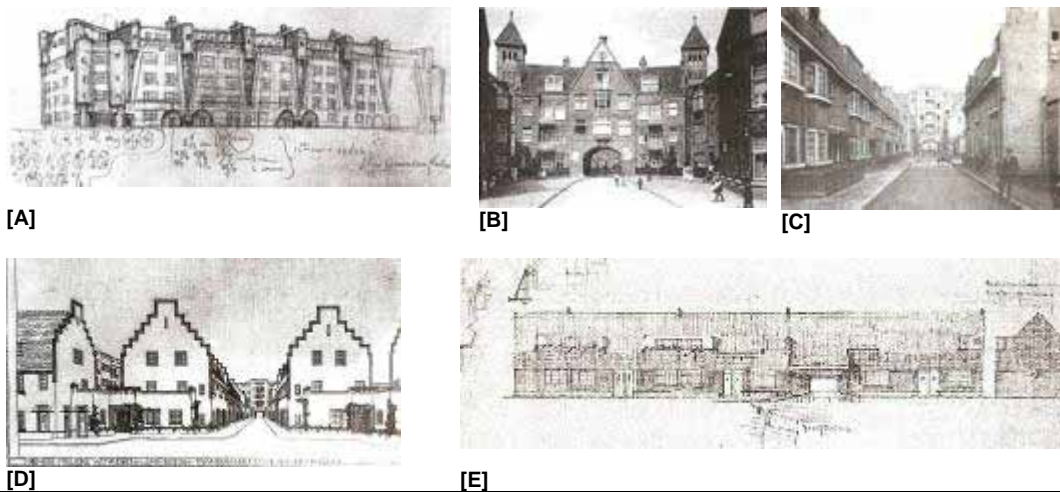
Figure 3 [A,E]: [A]: *Arch.* De Klerk, Early sketch and views of Housing Blocks (1913-1921), Amsterdam (Casciato, 1996); [B]: *Arch.* Walenkamp, Housing Blocks (1918-1920), Amsterdam (Casciato, 1996); [C and D]: *Arch.* Berlage, Gratama and Versteeg, Amsterdam (Casciato, 1996); [E] *Arch.* M De Klerk, sketch for a row of families housing (1920-1923), Amsterdam (Book et all, 1997)

In 1924-1927 Berlage designs a generous plaza in Mercatorplein, Amsterdam, in which a prominent feature is the concave angle heavily marked by a tower and an opening meant for vehicular traffic underneath the building (Fig. 4).

[A]   **[B]**   **[C]**
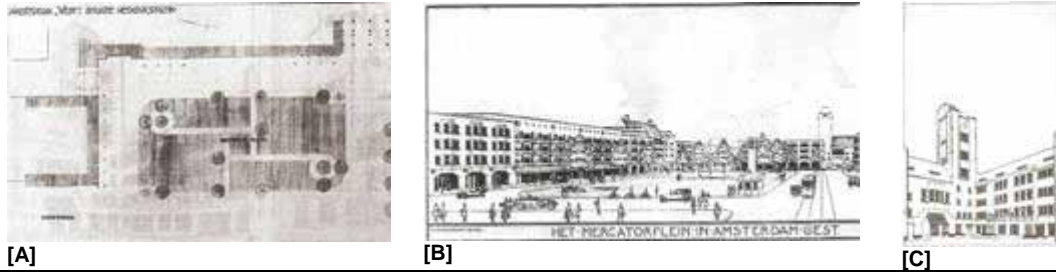
Figure 4 [A,C]: *Arch.* Berlage, plan and sketches of Mercatorplein (1924-1927), Amsterdam (Polano, 1987).

In Germany, the projects for large housing estates showed much the same investigations into the new *terra ignota* – that of great stretches of land being treated as a whole and for a specific use, that of housing. The designs seem to sense, to validate a need for defined limits or thresholds in the face of the novel immensity of space and abstractionism of forms. In the Siedlung Heimat (1927-1930) in Frankfurt, the architect F. Roeckle produces a break into the otherwise oversize longitudinal dimension of a single building, and marks this break with an underneath passage, choosing to position a street so as to trespass this inflection. The plan and views of Siedlung Weisse Stadt (1929-1930) in Berlin, by architect O. Salvisberg, show a prominent 'urban door' located right at the centre of the housing area, while the core of the blocks are also permeated by this newly found fluidity.

Throughout Europe, mainly in the socialist and social-democrat municipalities of Central Europe, similar studies in the art of closing and opening the vistas were being conducted. New, anti-Renaissance ways of exploring of art of perspective were experimented. In particular, the Beaux-Arts approach to a main building, presented at the end of an axis, was abandoned in favour of an approach to a void, which gave its top built structure the appearance of a monument, as it is poised on slender columns and hovers effortlessly in mid-air.

Without the possibility, for the time being, of being able to actually built any such grand scheme that his Eastern colleagues obtained, Le Corbusier designed in 1925 the Immeuble Villas, very large blocks which added to their more celebrated characteristics the feature of interconnecting through 6 entire height pedestrian bridges over the adjoining streets. This would create a rhythm of recurring thin membranes supporting alternate galleries, flanked by staircases and lifts. The appearance would be that of a horizontal trellis high in the air and hiding of its heavy vehicular traffic in a double story street resembling Leonardo da Vinci's famed section (Fig. 5).
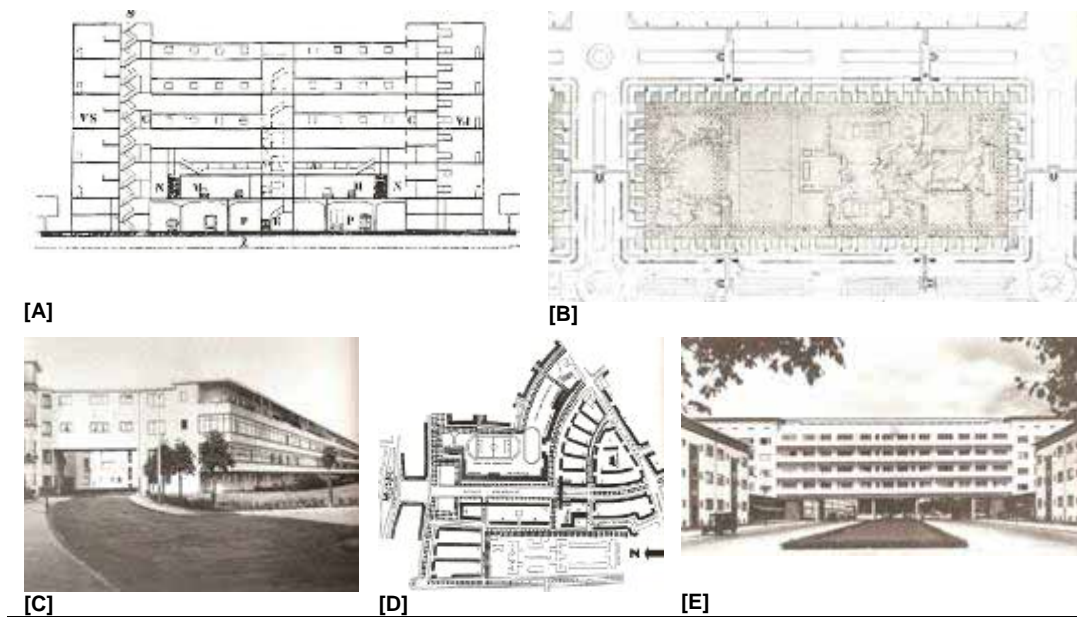
Figure 5 [A,E]: [A and B] *Arch.* Le Corbusier, Immeuble Villa (1925), (Arís, 2000); [C] *Arch.* F. Roeckle, view of Siedlung Heimat (1927-1930), Frankfurt (Arís, 2000); [D and E]: *Arch.* O. Salvisberg, plan and views of Siedlung Weisse Stadt (1929-1930), Berlin (Arís, 2000).

Living traditions and emblematic figures

Most of the housing bridges referred to in relation to the Manueline and Philippine Codes were demolished or obliterated by time, as they were precariously build and easily destroyed. The only ones that have reached our time belong to the group of sturdy, better built bridges, usually belonged to families of higher ranks, frequently to religious institutions. In time, they have become what since the Romantics are recognizable as picturesque. Their careful design and often decorative highlights sets them as conspicuous figures in urban historic quarters. They have become emblematic of and participate in the sense of identity of the cities they embellish. Throughout Portugal, many such bridges are still in existence. In the examples shown in Tomar, in Elvas and in Belém, Lisbon, a street goes under these built bridges. In Albufeira, a similar opening acting as the main pedestrian access to the beach is in fact a tunnel underneath an existing street, complete with such buildings as a hotel. In Alfama, Lisbon, a number of such arches are doors were officially or unofficially opened in the city walls that shielded the city from the river approach. Also in Lisbon, a simple passage allows the connection of house and garden over a street. The Arch of the Tower, by the Tower of Belém, allowed what used to be a national road to cross it, where drove all the traffic to and from Cascais to the West of Lisbon. Up to the 20th century, almost all of these connections were arched, as affordable building technology privileged this constructive pattern (Fig. 6).
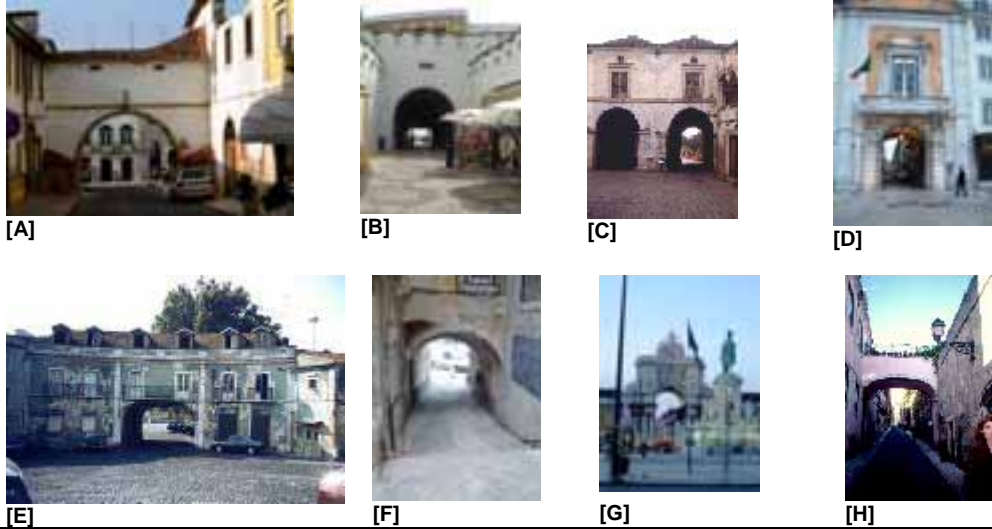
Figure 6 [A-E]: [A]: Arch in Tomar; [B]: Arch in Albufeira; [C]: Arch in Elvas; [D]:Arch of Bandeira, Rossio, Lisbon; [E]: Arch of the Tower, Lisbon; [F]: Arch in Alfama, Lisbon; [G]: St. Augusta's Arch, Lisbon; [H]: Arch at Inglesinhos, Lisbon.

The triumphal arch of Street Augusta and the more unassuming Arco do Bandeira are landmarks of the 'Baixa Pombalina', the downtown area of Lisbon which was reconstructed by the Marquis de Pombal after the catastrophic earthquake of 1755. They act as main doors to respectively the Square of Commerce by the river Tagus and the Rossio, in the opposite side, these being the public areas bounding the perfect rectangular urban lay-out to the South and North. These and other important doors and archways are part of the monumental structure of Portuguese cities.
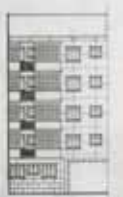
20th century cases

In the 1940's and 1950's an expansion of Street Sá da Bandeira in Porto was designed and built. In its Northern top, the urban lay-out and buildings are designed as a section of a modern city, including its end and intersection with a right-angle street through a passage underneath a vast urban block. Being a main street in Porto, it brings about the largest passage registered so far in a Portuguese city. Alvaro Siza's Bouça neighbourhood (1973-78; 2004-06) uses a set of passages in the buildings' design. Gonçalo Byrne's 'Pantera Cor de Rosa' (1973-1979) connects confronting buildings by means of slender pedestrian bridges, in a way reminiscent of Le Corbusier's Immeuble Villas (Fig. 7).

Figure 7 [A-B]: [A]: St. Sá da Bandeira, Porto; [B]: Bouça, Porto; [C]: 'Pantera Cor-de-Rosa', Lisbon.

A succession of nine cases was selected in the city of Lisbon to put on view the continuity of this passage solution throughout the 20th century. They spread out throughout the century from its beginning to the last decade (Fig. 8).

Date	Plans	Local	Drawings
[A] 1918	St. António Cardoso/ St. Morais Soares		
[B] 1939	St. Lucinda do Carmo/ St. Augusto Machado		
[C] 1952	Av. Roma/ St. Edison/ Av. Madrid		
[D] 1954	Av. Roma/ St. Sacadura Cabral		

[E] 1958	St. Cidade Cabinda		
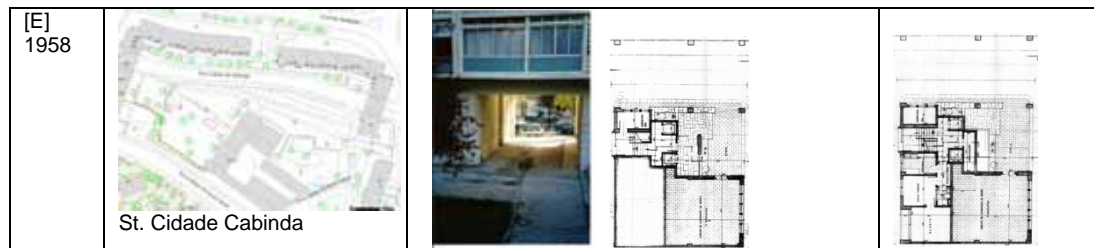
Figure 8 [A-I]: Perforations in Lisbon.

Date	Plans	Local	Drawings
[F] 1962	Rainha Santa's Square		
[G] 1963	Av. Igreja/ St. Alberto de Oliveira		
[H] 1970	St.Luis Pastor de Macedo		
[I] 1992	´Pátio' Bagatela		

Figure 8 [A-I]: Perforations in Lisbon. (Cont.)

The majority of the perforations in the vaster group which were recorded create passages comprising both vehicular and pedestrian transit and sometimes they are conceived as pairs of twin passages. Other cases allow only pedestrian use, either as a level linear route or as stairs surmounting a slope. An instance of this condition is the most recent case selected – the 'Pátio Bagatela' (1992). It is located in the same place where a 'Pátio Monteiro' existed. Part of this working class housing scheme was rehabilitated by the new project, which retains other pre-existing architectural and urban characteristics – the buildings' orientation, the pedestrian passage and more volatile features such as the dominant colour. The route is public and crosses the built complex

made up of housing blocks of different heights and densities with shops in the ground floor along its longitudinal axis. It places the perforation in its Eastern end, at right angles to an important street in the urban fabric of Lisbon.

Resulting from private initiative as in the previous case, another situation where the perforation favours an exclusively pedestrian use consists of a route in the core of a block belonging to an expansion area of the city in the 1930's, the 'Bairro dos Actores' (1939). This block is made up of collective housing 4 floors' buildings with two 'doors' in either end of its longitudinal axis which are barely perceptible in the urban facades. The path is organised as a semi-public pedestrian street enclosed by a low wall forming indentations and delimiting private yards.

The third case of pedestrian passage is located in Street Sacadura Cabral, which is perpendicular to the Rome Avenue and dates from 1954. The perforation is located in the Alvalade neighbourhood, an expansion area which was planned in North-Eastern part of the city in the 1940's; it is organized in blocks whose cores are for collective use and is structured as a built *continuum*, most of it consisting in 4/5 floors' high buildings with ground floors fully built.

The Street Sacadura Cabral perforation has generous dimensions, although being used exclusively by pedestrians. It presents an expressive use of constructive structure and built-in shop units margin it transversally. It is one of the sole passages with a permanent occupation of a street café.

In Alvalade are located two other situations destined to pedestrian and vehicular crossing alike. One includes a sequence of double perforations, as the plan shows - Av. Roma /Street Edison/Av. Madrid (1952). It was designed as part of a partial urban plan. The perforation is noticeable in the façade opening into the main avenue through its double-height space, its composition and the ornamental details in its façade. The differentiation of ownership in either side of the passage is made conspicuous by a different use of colour. The two halves of this passage were independently built and made use of cantilevered volumes high up in the air.

The other selected passage in Alvalade is located in Street Alberto de Oliveira which is perpendicular to Avenue of Igreja. It is also part of a sequence of double perforations in either side of the Avenue. Differently from the previous situation, where it gave way to a open-ended street, this passage allows access to the inside of a block in the form of a cul-de-sac.

The passage situated at Street Morais Soares (1918) – the earliest selected case for this chronological sequence – gives way to a narrow single roadway curved street, set at right angles to one the main avenues of Lisbon's urban fabric.

In the Lumiar area to the North, stands another sequence of perforations (1970), this time set in the urban fabric in a non-linear scattered way, although an integral part, by means of a winding hoop, of the same street – Street Luis Pastor de Macedo. Both

perforations – of which only one is presented - are singled out by their prominent structure and corresponding contrasting colour.

In the Olivais Sul neighbourhood (1960), another set of double perforation is to be found, but this time placed in a discontinuous urban fabric. An entirely planned housing sector by public initiative where the buildings are scattered on the terrain. Even so, there is an intentional design promoting the access underneath a building in the Street Cidade de Cabinda (1958).

Finally, a case is found where a perforation gives access into a square from a street that extends it North wise. In the vast square Rainha Santa (1962), the passage is barely perceptible, although the street allows contact with the main shopping and social services area of the neighbourhood.

St. António Cardoso/
St. Morais Soares (1918)
[A]

St. Lucinda do Carmo/
St. Augusto Machado (1939)
[B]

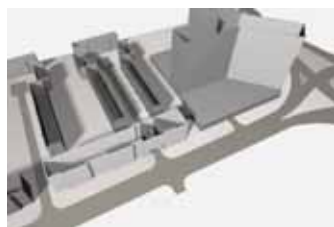Av. Roma/St. Edison/Av. Madrid
(1952)
[C]

Av. Roma/
St. Sacadura Cabral (1954)
[D]

St. Cidade Cabinda
(1958)
[E]

Rainha Santa's Square
(1962)
[F]

Av. Igreja/
St. Alberto de Oliveira (1963)
[G]

St. Luis Pastor de Macedo
(1970)
[H]

'Pátio' Bagatela
(1992)
[I]

Figure 9 [A-I]: Nine cases in Lisbon.

Conclusion

Movement and accessibility are major forces in the creation of built form. The same feature – the built passage – testifies to the continuity of this driving force. It presents many forms of variability (Fig. 9), depending on objective conditions such as constructive skills, material and labour resources, as well as on subjective ones – such as a will to protect, identify and impress. This feature as it appears in Portuguese cities is a result of public initiative in the large planned sectors and of private initiative in numerous cases diffused throughout the urban fabric. This feature acts as one the prominent elements that separate and differentiate public from non-public ground; although it can mislead on the true nature of the space it veils. It contains a contradiction in its vertical legal status, as it frequently covers public territory with private residential space. Changes in the nature of the land occur through these architectonic devices and are a result of complex interplay of forces, including profit, urban problem-solving drives, catalysts for circulation, and a will to permeate the city with accessibility filters.

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Urban Renewals or urban transformations? Creation of the Avenue Magalhães de Almeida – landmark of modern architecture in São Luis, Maranhão - Brazil

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State University of Maranhão, Brazil

Influenced by large urban transformations in Europe and in the United States, the historic city of São Luis of Maranhão, northern Brazil, built according to the Portuguese colonial architecture of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, receives a diagonal avenue which rips the urban fabric, leading to the demolition of colonial houses, as well as establishing a new architectural style, with buildings in art Deco and modern architecture. This research seeks to highlight the importance of the avenue Magalhães de Almeida as milestone of modernism in the city. It also seeks to understand the tensions between private and public interests and relationships in the changing context of the city and the process of urban transformation caused by its construction.

Temporalities of the historic city center of São Luis - Maranhão

In the perspective of the twentieth-first century, we seek to understand the different temporalities of the city of São Luis, Maranhão – Brazil. With a new outlook on the tendencies and styles of architecture, dating of the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century, valuing this ensemble that has incorporated itself to the historic ensemble, as well as reflecting the influences of the architectural movements that occurred in Europe and in the United States.

In São Luis, the power of the colonial Portuguese-Brazilian architecture from the eighteenth and nineteenth century, recognized by UNESCO, concentrated all the efforts of research by federal, state, and municipal organizations, into cataloging these buildings for the protection of this ensemble. Therefore, the architecture of the nineteenth and twentieth century has not been thoroughly researched. This is understandable, considering the historic and cultural context. However, new initiatives started seeking to reawaken the importance of the twentieth century architecture, through researches developed by the Architecture and Urbanism department at the State University of Maranhão Uema, with the support of the Foundation of Aid to Scientific Research – FAPEMA, in the scope of the State government, and of new research organizations created, in the scope of the municipality. Together, these partners strengthened the stimuli for research on the architecture of the twentieth century, avoiding demolitions and the loss of the original characteristics of these properties.

Other modernities

In the historic Center of São Luis, it is possible to state that, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the colonial architectonic ensemble incorporated, slowly, the influences of the new European styles, using the new materials from the industrial

revolution, such as: new hydraulic installations, electrical installations, and the use of iron, glass and decorative elements.

These sophisticated elements such as parapets and balustrades ornamented by pinnacle, pediments and neoclassical colonnades, decorative elements made of stucco, eclectic elements such as garland, crowning vertical lines from the art deco on the parapets, or, round windows or doors from the art nouveau, were inserted into the façades of the buildings of traditional Portuguese-Brazilian colonial architecture. This was done specially in the higher parts of the city, above the João Lisboa Square all the way to the Deodoro Square (Rua da Paz, do Sol, Passeio, Rua Grande, etc.). Soon after, new buildings were constructed on the structuring axis of the urban growth of the city, which encompassed from the Rua Grande to the Avenue Getulio Vargas, as well as in areas subjected to renovations such as the Rua do Egito and Avenue Magalhães de Almeida.
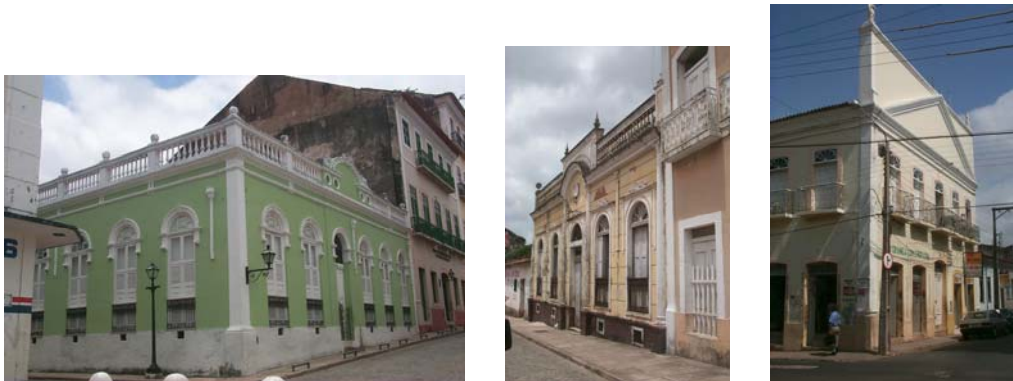

Illustration 1 :Source: Archive of the Professor Margareth Figueiredo-UEMA

The map below, part of the dossier created for the world heritage commission[1], shows the styles and their locations in the city center. There is a predominance f the Portuguese traditional style, followed by the other styles: *neoclassical, art deco, eclectic, modernist, bungalow, and popular.*

Illustration 2 - mapa 1998

The Modern city – the construction of the Avenue Magalhães de Almeida

The greatest change in the profile of the city of São Luis was between the decades of 1930 and 1940, during the government of Paulo Ramos. This audacious project, according to the historian Mario Meireles[2], was initially a plan by the young urban planner and mayor of the city, the engineer Otacílio Sabóia Ribeiro, whose wish was to transform the old capital into a city with modern looks. In face of the presentation to the chamber of deputies of the necessary resources for the renovation and the polemic caused by the costs and transformations, he was dismissed from the job. Part of his plan was executed by his successor, the mayor Pedro Neiva de Santana. This meant that the Rua do Egito tripled in width in the section from the Largo do Carmo to the Beira-mar Avenue. It also meant the creation of the Avenue Magalhães de Almeida, cutting a diagonal to the new Market.

This urban transformation of São Luis, done with many demolitions, in the search for a "modern image of the city" (RAMOS: 1941), was influenced by the ideas of the urban renovations executed by the mayor Haussmann in Paris during the nineteenth century, by the works of the opening of the Central Avenue in Rio de Janeiro, during the administration of Pereira Passos, and, particularly, by the plan to remodel and beautify the city of Rio de Janeiro, by Alfred Agache (1927/1930). In Rio de Janeiro, the governor Paulo Ramos, worked as a employee of the Ministry of Finance, before taking on the govern of Maranhão.

Following the plan of Sabóia Ribeiro, who was a disciple of Agache, Pedro Neiva de Santana opened the Avenue 10 de Novembro, which, later on, was named in honor of José Maria de Magalhães de Almeida, navy officer, congressman, senator and governor of the State. This way, the pattern of the traditional architecture was replaced by the architectural language of the time, which reflected the arrival of modern times, through the *eclectic* and *art deco* styles.

Today, the new strategies of rehabilitation of historic centers avoid demolitions of pre-existing real estate stock, promoting their use and integration. The practice of demolishing buildings, which vas very common in the beginning of the century, was replaced by a vision of integrated urban conservation. According to the Lisbon Charter[3], urban renovation is an action that implies in the demolition of the morphological and typological constructions existing in a degraded urban area and its consequent replacement by a new urban pattern, with the new buildings attributing a new functional structure to this area.

Illustration 3- Source: Postcard of the construction of the Avenida Magalhães de Almeida.

The Great Avenue – Avenue Magalhães de Almeida – landmark of modernity

The change in the urban design can be observed on the cartography of the twentieth century, in the maps of 1912 and 1950. Note the diagonal alignment of the avenue.
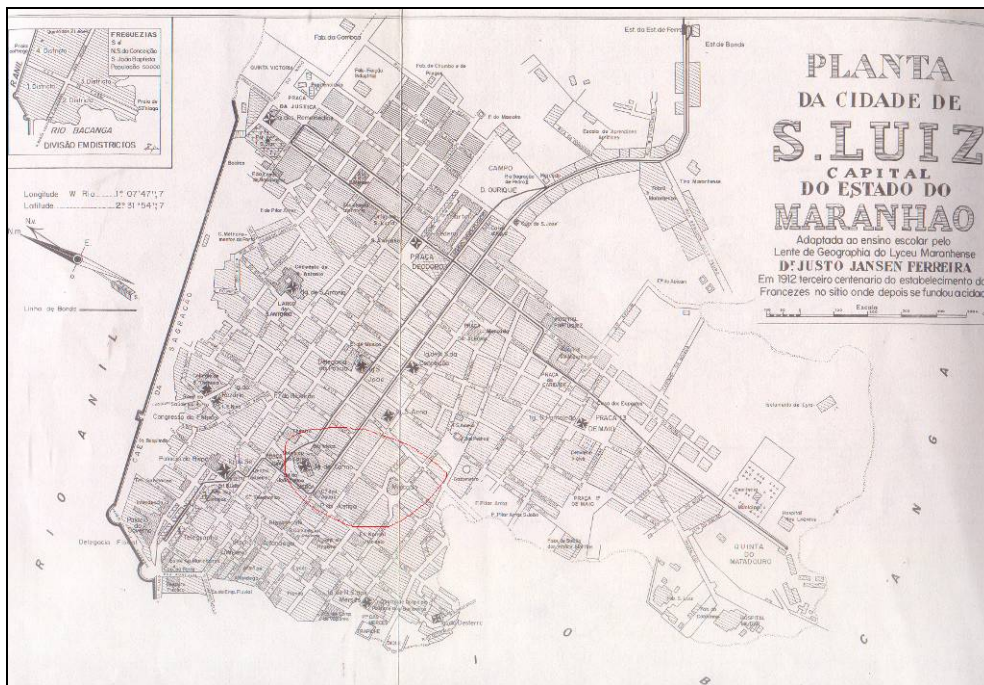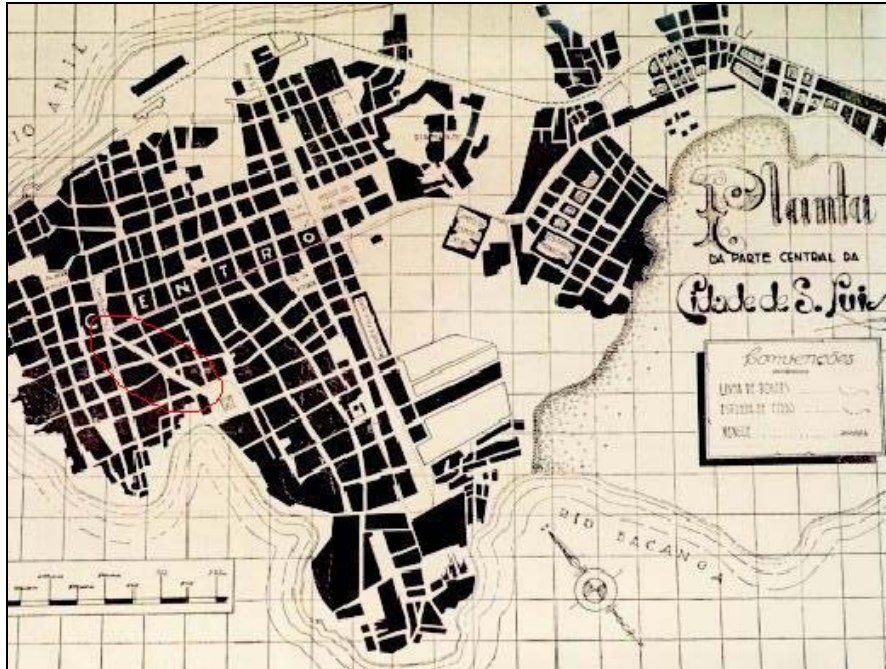

Illustration 4-1912 maps of Justo Jansen

Illustration 5 - Plan of São Luis in 1950, detail for the diagonal of the Avenue Magalhães de Almeida.

Urban renovation

Another area of urban renovation was the Rua do Egito, which can be seen in the photograph by Gaudêncio Cunha of 1908. In this photograph, it is possible to identify the colonial houses that were demolished when the width of the street was increased. These houses were replaced by the two-story bungalows as shown in the current photograph of the street.

The term bungalow has its origin in the India. It designates a one-story house with a porch. It is important to point out that, in São Luis, the term bungalow represents a house with two stories, influenced by American Cinema and eclectic references, such as access from the side and change in frontal setback lines. On Rua do Egito, there are many types of bungalows and, at the end of the street, the State Bank of Maranhão (BEM) Building can be seen. An important modernist building, with metallic structure, it has its lateral façade covered by a decorative ceramic tile panel, which was inspired by the MEC building, in Rio de Janeiro, designed by Niemeyer and Le Corbusier.

Current photograph by T. Matos

Photograph by Gaudêncio cunha, 1908

Revista cruzeiro, 1930

Illustration 6- rua do Egito – foto 1908 , atual e revista cruzeiro

According to Cavalcanti,[4]2001, the time period of modernist Brazilian architecture is from 1928, date of the construction of the modernist house in São Paulo by Gregori Warchavichick, until 1960, before the construction of Brasilia.

Two theoretical reference points shape the movement in 1920-21: the publication of 10 articles by Le Corbusier, based in the L'Espirt Noveau, and in 1933, the Fourth International Congress of Architecture, in a ship from Marseille to Athens, where The Athens Charter was created, along with the basic concepts of the new style. In Brazil, an important fact was the visit to Rio de Janeiro by Le Corbusier, in 1936, and his collaboration to the project of the MEC building, which was decisive for the Brazilian Modern Architecture.

The influences of the modern movement arrived in São Luis during the decades of 1940 and 1950, when they [5]were inserted into the classified ensemble, with some modernist buildings to house public organizations of federal institutions. Such modernist projects spread the new language to different areas of the country. In this context, the following buildings were constructed: the INSS or João Goulart Building in the Pedro II Square, the building of the State Bank on Rua do Egito, the house of the DNER in the Jansen Muller, and the Sulacap building on Rua de Nazaré. Within the modern buildings, the

Caiçara Building stands out, located in the Rua Grande (in the old site of the Nossa Senhora da Conceição Church, demolished a few years earlier) as the first modern buildings of ten floors in the city, changing forever the skyline of the historic city, which was characterized before by the towers of the churches.

In different neighborhoods of the Center, isolated examples show influences of the French modernism of Le Corbusier, as well as American influences of the designs of the architect Frank Lloyd Wright, which can be seen at the Dutra Hospital built in 1950 by the Cumplido Santiago & CIA company and in the houses of the Avenida Getulio Vargas, both with interesting shapes of rooftops.
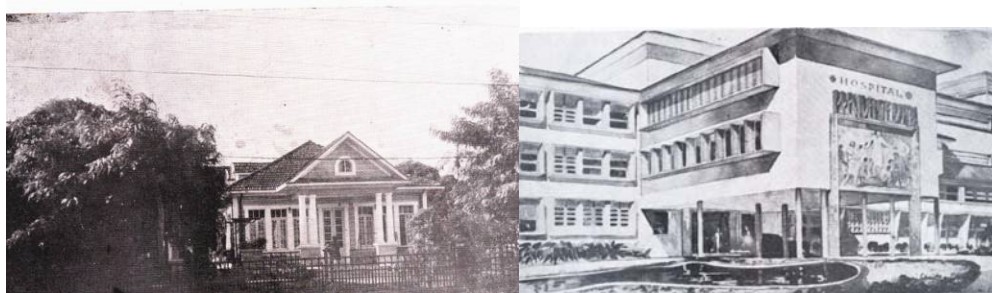

Illustration 7-Source: Collections of Miercio Jorge, 1950. Archive of the Public Library. House at the Avenue Getúlio Vargas and Dutra Hospital.

INSS - Praça Pedro II

Caiçara Building-Rua Grande

DNER - Rua Jansen Muller   SULACAP-Rua Nazaré

During that period, the decades of 1940 and 1950, the Benedito Leite Public Library was built in the Praça Deodoro, at the old site of the Campo D'ourique. It was a contrast to modern buildings and it was associated with the initial debate *of being or not being modern*. It used the same materials of modern structures, concrete and iron, but the formal repertoire followed the eclectic language, with influences from neoclassical style. The Post Office Building on the Praça João Lisboa was also built in the Art Deco style, as well as the Hotel Central and the Roxy Cinema. The art deco style also influenced the popular or vernacular architecture, incorporating parapets, with vertical lines, in the smaller sized buildings both in the capital city of the sate and in the countryside.

Illustration 9 Source: Collection Miecio Jorge 1950 [Library, Post Office and Roxy Cinema] archive of the Benedito Leite Public Library, current photo of the Hotel Central from UEMA's research archive.

The tendency of revivalism brought back elements from Portuguese-Brazilian colonial architecture. However, these new buildings combine them with changes in frontal and lateral setback lines, as well as with new materials and different forms of occupation of the terrain, creating a new effect. This way, neocolonial buildings, such as the old Liceu, were inserted into the city Center.

Illustration 10- liceu maranhense Álbum miecio Jorge, Liceu 1950.

In 1958, the engineer Rui Mesquita created a Project to remodel the urban structure of the city, with a plan to build bridges and new avenues. This audacious plan was not executed fully, only partially. In 1968, the Caratatiua Bridge was built over the Anil River, shortening the path to the neighborhood Olho D'água. In 1970, the dam over the Bacanga River was built, opening the way to the new port and to the university campus in 1970. The bridge planned to connect the neighborhood of São Francisco to the Center, which finally allowed the possibility of urban growth in the direction of the beach, decreasing the concentration in the Center.

Ten years later, in 1980, the Bandeira Tribuzzi Bridge was built, connecting the neighborhood Jaracaty to the Center. These new connections allowed new paths for the urban growth as well as new architectonic languages in the new neighborhoods.
In this context of urban growth of the city, the modernist residential architecture was consolidated by the works of the architect Cleon Furtado. Our very own "Le Corbusier", born in Maranhão, in 1929, studied architecture at the Mackenzie Institute, in São Paulo, from 1950 to 1955. He was influenced by the São Paulo school, by the works of Rino Levi and Warchavichick, and by the Rio de Janeiro school, the designs of Niemeyer and Lucio Costa.

Cleon Furtado, along with the architect Braga Diniz, innovated and dared, spreading the modern architecture in São Luis through his many residential modernist projects. He was motivated by the ideas of the German architect Mies Van der Rohe and in his statement *"less is more"*. He valued the pure form of the French architect Le Corbusier, author of the Athens Charter and the project Villa Savoye, a concrete residence built in the surroundings of Paris, shaped as a parallelepiped with a square base on top of pilotis. This reference can be seen in the works of Cleon, spread in various neighborhoods of the city: on the Beira-Mar Avenue, in Apicum, on Rua do Norte, among many others, where the five main points of the new architecture - the pilotis, the

garden ceiling; the free plan; *a fenetre on longe* (windows along the façade) and the free façade - were correctly used, bringing to the island *L'espirt nouvau*, the new language.

Many losses of characteristics – public and private – urban interests

All this modern ensemble, eclectic, art deco was still not protected by the laws of classification inside the historic city center. Only a few properties inserted in the areas of state and federal classification, are subject to the preservation laws. Some of them are excluded from the classification and are subject to demolitions and possible loss of the original characteristics of the building. In the areas of urban expansion, close to the classified zones, the area of urban growth in the twentieth century, such as the Avenue Getulio Vargas and Beira-mar, the properties are not protected, for there is no legislation. In these areas, the bungalows and the eclectic or modern houses have been frequently demolished or lost their original characteristics.

The change of the tendency from residential to commercial, specially the transformations into medical clinics, has changed some historically interesting buildings into simply colored façades, altering their typology and form.

It is fundamental to observe that, these properties are subject to renovations, for they allow for a larger flexibility than the colonial buildings, due to the use of modern materials and construction techniques. However, the total loss of the original characteristics of the building has been erasing the records of the architecture of the twentieth century, which is very little recognized and valued in São Luis.

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Historic and Artistic Museum of Maranhão – photographs by Gaudêncio Cunha, in 1908

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[1] Source: Centro histórico de São Luís.org. Phelipe Andrés. Audichroma. 1998

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