Planum
Special Issue
Planum Scientific Committee

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Patrizia Gabellini

A Special Issue
of Planum Magazine:
Presentation

Planum has had a relatively long life. Conceived in 1997 at a meeting of directors and editors of the main European journals dealing with urban planning at the time and promoted within the II Biennial of European Towns and Town Planners that took place in Rome, the journal released its first issue in 1999 thanks to European financing from DG XIII Ten Telecom. The "About" tab on the website's home page states that "*Planum* was the first European www and on-line journal entirely devoted to the planners and to the whole community of people involved in city development and the protection of the environment".

Since then, *Planum*, designed as a free-access portal and initially a review of European journals, was modified in form and structure. This was done, first, to be able to tap into processes that affected digital publishing, and specialized publishing in particular, over this pan of time; and second, to represent the substantial change that regarded the disciplinary field in the same time frame. Even its name was changed in 2011, from *Planum - the European Journal of Planning on-line* to *Planum - the Journal of Urbanism*, with a desire to mark the change in the disciplines that deal with cities and territories and their international hybridization, evident in the establishment of a new term such as *urbanism*.

The accelerated dynamics that simultaneously affected the means of communication and its object necessitated flexible publishing activity that was not always aligned with the standards progressively being seen for scientific products and their channels of diffusion.

The editorial choice has always been to favour the substantial role of cultural and scientific exchange, without overindulging in academic rules. This choice was made possible by *Planum*'s ownership (the Istituto Nazionale di Urbanistica [the Italian Planners Institute]) and the *ad hoc* constitution of an association for its management. Beside its founding members, the *Planum Association* has included a variety of ordinary members and supporters, maintaining its voluntary nature. The life of *Planum* and its dynamics are also indebted to the work of young editors that have had the capacity to mobilize and motivate many collaborators. Continuity in key roles of editorial coordination and a succession of collaborators and interns, today natives of the web, are essential aspects of its resilient nature.

Over the years, the most important modifications have led to the formation of (*Ibidem*), dedicated to reviewing texts, and *Planum Publisher*, dedicated to publishing and enhancing editorial projects. This special issue completes the path of building a real magazine with the formation of a scientific committee. The sections and an archive of some relevant paper journals (covers and indexes) and contributions that number

in the thousands, some of which are decidedly excellent, still distinguish the portal. The decision to create a scientific committee arose as a response to the need to build a network of exchange that favours a flow of contributions that sufficiently represents the research and study interests cultivated today in the different contexts. For this reason, professors with different scientific profiles have been invited to take part. They are located at numerous European schools of architecture and planning and play important individual roles in international research networks. It seemed useful to present these committee members to the many readers of *Planum* in their role as scholars, researchers, and designers, authors of texts that have marked and still mark important paths of reflection in the numerous disciplinary fields that nowadays are called urbanism. A collection of contributions therefore emerges, defined by Andrea Di Giovanni as "not designed, but not by chance, either", precisely because they reflect the reasons underlying the formation of the panel of authors. My hope is that this special issue of the *Magazine* attracts our readers' interest and, perhaps, solicits other contributions.

Particular thanks goes to the colleagues that have willingly accepted to take part in the scientific committee and to participate in building this issue.

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Planum Course through Contents, Scientific Formats, and Experimental Languages on Urbanism

Planum. The Journal of Urbanism, is an international online scientific journal and represents the main element of a reality structured around a plurality of subjects: the journal, the web platform, Associazione Planum and the publishing brand Planum Publisher.

Owned by the INU–Istituto Nazionale di Urbanistica (National Urban Planning Institute), the journal is managed by Associazione Planum, an independent association that promotes its realisation and is concerned with setting up the conditions so that, for over 17 years, the activity can unfold itself on an ongoing basis[1]. In the past, *Planum* has represented an original and pioneering realty in the world of scientific journals: it was one of the first journals in the field of architecture and urban planning to be, since its foundation, entirely online, free of charge and equipped with ISSN code, setting itself apart from both the blogs and the information platforms that were springing up in the same period (the late 90s). Today, it is a known reality entrenched in the academic world, and at the same time open to future challenges on a number of fronts: that of scientific journals, autonomous publishing projects, and more wide-ranging forms of academic dissemination or divulgation.

The original project and its evolution

Retracing the history of the foundation of *Planum* helps us clarify what were the original aims of the project, in relation to the evolution of the journal and the current diversified scenario of online scientific journals.

The idea behind the foundation of *Planum* arose in Rome in 1997, during the second Biennial Festival of European Town Planners, and crystallised in 1999, pursuant to a grant by the European Community that materially enabled its launch (see, on the topic of the foundation and the first phase of activity: Gabellini 2003, Elisei, Ginocchini, Dietrich 2003; Cimato and Nobili, interview to Elisei, 2004; more recently Fini 2017).

The original name - *Planum. The European Journal of Planning on line* – reflected the cultural mission of the project: establishing a web journal and a digital platform that might act as virtual place of exchange for the different European national cultures of urban studies and planning. A *journal of journals* capable of putting forward original contributions, where it was possible to consult indexes and selected texts of the main sector journals[2]. It is interesting to note that the "Planum project" was not born as extension of a printed journal or of a major newspaper, or in order to use the potential of the web following the crisis of the publishing industry (for example: the moderate costs, the unlimited space, the greater flexibility in managing publications, etc.). At the root, instead, there is a cultural project where the web,

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1 The information on Associazione Planum is available on the website of the journal, inside the section headed "Planum Association". The founding members, the current members and the past members are indicated therein in accordance with a composition that shows the size of the original project and its evolution.

2 The journals belonging to the project were: *Raumplanung, Urbanistica, Sociedade e Territorio, Town Planning Review* (first group), later joined by *Ciudades, Disp, Jahrbuch Stadtemeuerung, Planerin* and *Spazio e Società*. Part of these indexes are still available for perusal in the section marked "Journals".

in the sense of a "virtual square", easily accessible, was deemed the tool most suited to its implementation.

In the course of the first 10 years of activity of *Planum*, some important elements of continuity have consisted in the said international character of the project (I) and its dimension of platform of contents (II). These aspects are best attested by the evolution of the institutional subjects that belonged to Associazione Planum over the years, by the 20.600 subscribers to the Newsletters (extremely diversified from a cultural-professional viewpoint and from the viewpoint of the nationalities involved, originally the outcome of a search for the most representative recipients), and, lastly, by the archive of articles and documents, expression of a network of authors and readers extending far beyond the strictly publishing network.

More recently, some factors have brought about the changes of the last years: the changed scenario of technologies and online journals, the rise in places and opportunities for dialogue and debate at international level, and especially the desire to once more clarify the cultural project lying at the root of *Planum*. In 2011, the name changed to *Planum. The Journal of Urbanism*, a switch echoed moreover by a profound restructuring of the original website. The year 2014 saw the creation of Planum Publisher, publishing brand of Associazione Planum, following the growing requests for the creation of publishing products. Lastly, in 2017 we witnessed the establishment of the new international scientific committee and a reorganisation of the editorial staff, once again focused on the publishing project[3].

The new name, revolving around the word *urbanism*, reflects the current orientation and field of work: offering reflections and materials that combine the approaches and practices associated with "design" (urban design; city design) with those related to "planning" (urban, regional, spatial, etc.), in relation to localisation processes and contexts that raise new and urgent problems. The term, as stressed by Gabellini (2010:54), "attests the cognitive dimension, alongside the operational one, in the study and in the interpretation of urban phenomena"[4]. It is a hybrid term, a neologism, which in its originality had been chosen by the Editor to underline the experimental dimension, at the crossroads of traditions, of the urban planning culture that *Planum* has represented since its foundation. A term that, with a good omen, has subsequently been blessed with growing fortune, asserting itself at last in the international literature.

Structure of the journal and monitoring of the website

Planum, having reached the 17 years of activity, is divided into four distinct sections (that have changed nature or have undergone changes over the years) and two specific projects. First of all, the "Magazine", the heart of the journal, which hosts new and original scientific contributions. The contributions can be published separately, be part of an online issue with editor, or belong to specific columns, likewise with editor and implemented with a certain deal of regularity[5]. The "News & Call" section presents a selection of news about conferences, seminars, calls for papers, notices and awards, mainly connected with the Association members, though not invariably so. Inside the section called "Books", you will find short presentations and illustrative materials of national and international volumes, chosen by the Editorial Staff or reported by the authors: the "Journals" section consists in the tables of contents of the journals hosted and in the accessory materials in download, such as the covers or the abstracts in English of the single issues. Likewise available are the complete collections of such important journals as *Urbanistica* and *Spazio e Società*.

The main sections were joined more recently by "Ibidem. Le letture di Planum", the supple-

3 The current editorial staff consists of Patrizia Gabellini (Director), Giulia Fini and Andrea Di Giovanni (Co-Directors), Cecilia Saibene (Editor-in-chief), Laura Infante and Paola Piscitelli (Editorial staff): this group is then joined by collaborators for specific projects and by the apprentices. The composition of past editorial staffs is indicated in the section marked "About" (i.e. the working team of the 2011-2014 period: Marina Reissner, Claudia Botti, and Salvatore Caschetto). "Ibidem. Le letture di Planum" is run by Luca Gaeta, Francesco Curci and Laura Pierantoni. The editorial staff is based at DAStU – Department of Architecture and Urban Studies of Politenico di Milano.

4 "Attesta la dimensione conoscitiva, accanto a quella operativa, nello studio e nell'interpretazione dei fenomeni urbani" (Gabellini, 2010:54).

5 Some examples of columns are: "Diary of a Planner", run by Bernardo Secchi from 2002 to 2005, "Peripheries", run by Marco Cremaschi, "Una finestra sulle città del Brasile", run by Marco Mareggi, and "Urban Planning Movies Archive", run by Leonardo Ciacci, etc. The columns relate to specific projects of the journal.

ment devoted to reviews, and the "Planum Publisher" area, with the production of volumes of the publishing brand of the Association. It is always possible to interlink the materials of the same section, different sections or the archive, thereby constructing novel montages, structured by content relationships, authors or keywords.

Monitoring of the logins and consultation of the materials are tracked through Google Analytics. It is a useful tool widely employed in some phases of the activity in order to understand the readers' behaviour: knowing which parts of the journal aroused greater interest and watching the activity "from without", even with some surprises as regards the most widely read and consulted contents. Google Analytics has been used for instance to test the growth or shrinkage of readers during the periods of publishing or seasonal activities or to understand the role of the Newsletters as crucial element, close to which a genuine peak of logins to the website occurs. Currently, the monthly statistics are settling around 5.319 sessions, 4.062 users, and 9.788 page views, with a slight drop compared to the past, dictated by different choices and organisation of the editorial work.

More recently, we have tried out a move from monitoring logins to the website to monitoring interactions on the social networks, which sketch out a partial yet equally significant and dynamic picture of the relationship with readers. The social networks currently seem to represent one of the main showcases for the contents and for the spirit of the journal, with a network of 3.000 followers on Facebook; 460 on Twitter, 700 on Issuu and 100 on Vimeo (the latter being two specific, rather than general, social networks).

The model of scientific communication

The hybrid nature of Planum – scientific journal and structured web platform – amplifies the possibilities of constructing contents beyond the standard timeframes and formats we are accustomed to with printed and academic journals, also in relation to the latest evolutions of scientific publications as per strictly codified formats. If we focus in particular on the "Magazine" section, some peculiarities of the scientific communication model developed by *Planum* are: I) a pronounced hybridisation of verbal-visual languages (text-image); II) the great flexibility in the construction of contents and in the formats of articles, which may be adapted to the language and to the objectives of each contribution or research; III) a constant care promoted on the artwork and on the visual communication, which the Editorial Staff deems essential for an urban planning journal, capable of reflecting experiences and the related illustrating and documentary materials.

More in general, if we observe the presence of differentiated materials in the sections, the following are peculiarities of *Planum* IV) its constant implementation (readers can consult the updated sections at different times, an aspect that proved important for developing loyalty and recognition of the publication within the academic community); V) the possibility of marrying scientific information and divulgation, intercepting a traditionally academic public as well as students, sector technicians, and general readers interested in the topics of transformations of city and territory.

The challenges to work on

The vast expressive and content-related potential of such a tool as *Planum* represents an ongoing challenge for the Editorial Staff, but at the same time presents some frailties that need be supervised. For instance, on some occasions there has been evidence of a certain difficulty on the part of the reader, as well as of the authors, to find their way among the platform materials and to clearly recognise the contents and formats of the "Magazine": an aspect that is instead crucial if one wishes to attract scientific articles from both mature and young authors with a growing interest in the recognisability and positioning of their contributions. Even the said possibility of ongoing implementation of the platform seems at times to obscure the measured, reflective dimension typical of a scientific journal.

These frailties, arisen and understood more clearly during the development of the

activity, open up to the current challenges faced by the Editorial Staff. After years of experiments – from the viewpoint of the processes of publication, languages and contents – we are faced nowadays with the need for a more exacting simplification and repetition of the formats, and a stricter scheduling of "Magazine" contributions, together with the exhibition of already implemented peer-review processes. Other objectives to pursue are the indexing of articles in international databases and an improved traceability of the archive materials (possibility that opens up to novel montages and second readings of past materials with greater ease).

From the viewpoint of the contents, what is required from us is a more exacting selection of the "Magazine" articles, coming not only from the variegated world making up the already consolidated network of *Planum*, but also through the theme-based choices of the Editorial Staff, the consolidation of columns, the single-topic services and the instrument of the call. The recent establishment of the international scientific committee, which will contribute to fathom the issues of urbanism within differentiated contexts and pursuant to differentiated approaches, is part and parcel of this work perspective.

Within this scenario, the position of *Planum*, like that of other online scientific journals, is the lack of backing from a national or international publisher (think of the current debate about the editorial policies of such international publishers as Routledge, SAGE, Wiley, etc.), and being an independent subject, with some privileged institutional links enjoyed by the Association. It is an objectively delicate condition for sustaining the activity, yet one that at the same time permits a far-reaching expressive freedom and an autonomy of precious value at disciplinary level, which the Editorial Staff has always recognised as a worthy element both in terms of publishing production and in terms of circulation of scientific contents and formats.

After years of important experiments and expansion of the networks, the next goal is to further consolidate the recognisability and the quality of the *Planum* contents within the scientific community, as a high-level journal, without however losing the peculiarity of language and topics built along the intricate path of the journal.

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Andrea Di Giovanni

On the Tracks of Contemporary European Urbanism

On the nature of the texts and the character of the selection proposed

This issue of Planum presents the magazine's Scientific Committee via a selection of texts representing the cultural profile and research activities of its members. For this reason, the texts in the selection were edited by the individual authors according to criteria of meaningfulness and representativeness.

In some cases, the contributions presented in this issue have already been published as chapters (or introductions) in books and articles that have appeared in various international journals. Others contain documents that present research or projects. Finally, others have been written specifically for this occasion.

Overall, the texts gathered here were written at various times between 2011 and 2017 for different purposes. They also differ in their consistency, internal structure, writing style, and discursive slant in relation to their various origins and the objectives therein.

In some cases, they document collective research and, for the texts written by multiple authors, delineate important research customs and shared design practices, as well as systems of consolidated relationships between European structures and research centres. Some texts instead present independent paths of critical reflection regarding important themes in each author's individual research practices.

On the meaningfulness of the texts in relation to the whole and the practices of contemporary urbanism

Due to diversity and inhomogeneity of the topics addressed and the approaches proposed, the set of contributions presented here does not allow for any sort of reduction or synthesis. The set of texts and the sequence of their presentation in this issue of Planum does not aim to build a single discourse or a structured reflection based on previously selected themes.

However, some recurrent themes emerge from the various writings which are representative of the main topics discussed in the field of contemporary urbanism.

Once again, however, the contributions collected here do not aim to either delimit or define the field of practices and studies in contemporary urbanism. Rather, the variety of empirical, design, and theoretical research paths in this collection that document the numerous questions expressing the field of urbanism in this phase can only be partially ascribed to differences in geographical or cultural context or, on the other hand, in recognized research traditions.

In this sense, the implicit hypothesis that this collection advances — not by design,

but not by chance, either — is that the research paths, that is, the reflexive and objective practices represented here offer a meaningful cross section of this disciplinary field. A summary of the arguments and important topics addressed in the various contributions allow this hypothesis to be tested.

Topics

A good part of the texts presented in this issue focus on cities (European cities, in particular) and processes that have affected them in recent years.

In this sense, starting with an Italian perspective, Marco Cremaschi investigates the reasons for evident renewed attention on the city and the way in which the dominant rhetoric addresses this question.

"Some well-known yet unresolved issues will be discussed. These include: a) the peculiar institutional and geopolitical position of Europe; b) the configuration of the Italian settlements, and the features of an emergent urban question; c) the lost opportunity of the post-industrial transition and the still immature forms of property development. The conclusion considers the priorities of an urban agenda in Italy. Italy needs to identify the path of development that cities will follow, which will enable them to challenge and exploit the global economy to their benefit. In the pursuit of this goal, the specific characteristics of Italian cities must be kept in mind".

Other texts describe the particular conditions of urban reality in other geographical contexts. Frank Eckardt concentrates on the unexpected consequences of austerity policies in some German cities. He maintains that

"the austerity politics of the last decades have produced a new line of financial and social division in Europe. Except for few (Northern) countries in the Euro zone like Germany, the impact of the austerity orientation has left the Southern European countries overburdened with social, political and economic difficulties. Nevertheless, the austerity politics have produced a rather unnoticed financial crisis in many German cities as well. [Here], four cities [Bremerhaven, Hagen, Ludwigshafen and Offenbach] will be compared with regard to their political reaction on their debt crisis. […] These cities represent four different coping mechanism which only loosely are related to political orientations but has to be seen as a product of long lasting local political and economic path dependencies".

Using some analogies, Marius Grønning reflects on the multiple effects of some integrated sets of urban policies and their effects in terms of reconfiguring the urban and territorial layout. He recognizes that

"at first glance the 'Fjord City plan' appears as a collection of international stereotypes, pre-constituted recipes, and reductive models. Through a closer look, however, what is called into our attention is how the Fjord City, as it materializes into a physical reality, represents a complex combination of regulations, active policies, standards, direct and indirect strategies, incentives, and projects; a form of government specific to the cultural context. […] The process, however, took place under a historical transition from the old form of government to a new. This makes it complex and pervaded with ambiguities. […] [Therefore] the Fjord City is not a unitary construction; it is a series of operations and intentionalities".

In the text by Carles Llop, economic, social, and political phenomena in the last thirty years are used as the matrix for territorial transformations that have significantly modified the structures and principles with which the Metropolitan Region of Barcelona operates.

"The Metropolitan Region of Barcelona is characterized by the crisis and the situation after the real estate bubble, where the preceding period of urban explosion that has characterized the post-industrial city generated a series of urban and territorial transformations that define the current state of the region. The objective of the research is therefore twofold. On the one hand, these transformations are viewed as the main challenges to face. This means reflecting on and proposing new models of more sustainable development — both on the environmental level and on the social and economic levels — that allow for greater territorial equality so that this development is produced in balance with natural supporting structures and the dynamics that characterize them. With a multidisciplinary slant, this project aims to provide an analysis to the Metropolitan Region of Barcelona in terms of territorial science. The view is of the metropolitan project as a tool that allows us to contribute to the efficient transformation of the region as a whole, diagnosing its current state in terms of the territorial conditions that are highlighted as the main challenges to address with the practice of urban planning."

With reference to specific contexts and processes, this first set of contributions traces a profile of the changes affecting some European urban and metropolitan areas. In general, this is a pervasive change that questions historical settlement structures, consolidated functional relationships, and systems of shared values. In this framework, the relationships among the parts of the city, places in the territory, between urban and rural are redefined.
The contributions by Nick Gallent and Jörg Knieling concentrate in particular on the latter aspect. In his text, Gallent

"explores the evolution of 'rural planning' [in England] over the last century. [He] consider[s]: the roots of rural planning; the system's early priorities; why the rural agenda, post 1947, was highly fragmented; and attempts made, post 1997, to move towards more integrated rural policy delivery; and the degree to which the 'reinvention' of a more holistic brand of local governance and planning since 2004 – with planning becoming a potential 'place shaper' in rural areas - chimes with the complex realities of modern rural areas. Lastly, [he] considers the strategic dilemmas of sectoral integration and territorial policy contiguity that have remerged in the wake of recent central government reorganization, a streamlining of the planning system and attempts to empower local communities in local decision making under a Localism agenda".

Knieling recognizes that

"as a result of globalization, metropolitan areas are forced to constantly strengthen their functions and their position in the international competition for investments, qualified workers, facilities and or services improving the quality of life [while] the role of metropolitan areas as engines of growth […] is also limited […]. Therefore, development perspectives can emerge from economically vibrant rural and urban areas. […] [For this reason he] explore[s] the concept of urban-rural partnerships and provides a set of guidelines developed within the INTERREG IV C project "URMA" in order to encourage the creation of urban-rural partnerships in a wider European context, but also to initiate the scientific discussion on the purpose and character of urban-rural partnerships in Poland".

The urban fringe also becomes a theme of research and experimentation for Luis Basabe Montalvo (Arenas Basabe Palacios Arquitectos). In this case, however, it is not so much nor only the peripheral location of Wildgarten in the south-west of Vienna that determines the marginal state of this area, which was the object of a EUROPAN-10 competition. On the periphery of Vienna, the border between urban and rural areas is reproduced within the settlement itself, in an area that concentrates different elements of inconsistency and incompleteness. Here

"the competition brief required the development of an entirely new urban fabric on a quite isolated green island [...], between a big municipal cemetery and an amorphous sea of single-family houses and small allotment gardens. The proposal's primary intention was to carefully reread and re-write the essence of peripheral urbanity [...]. It was not about creating something instead of the suburb but much more about delving deeper into its structuring elements, and about looking for ways to transcend its evident lack of compactness, efficiency, complexity and cohesion through its own logic".

The modification that affects the sense and role of the territory and its parts is, however, rather pervasive and it requires a reassessment of the approaches and techniques of urban planning. Over time, the latter have formed in relation to problems regarding city conservation and/or transformation, problems usually thought to be uniquely associated with some specific parts.

In this respect, Francesco Bandarin maintains that the city as a whole is — today more so than in the past — a place of change, complexity, and interrelation affecting all of its areas. For this reason, the

"urban heritage can no longer be conceived of as a separate reality, a walled precinct protected from the external forces of change by plans and regulations. It simply does not work this way, if it ever did. [...] The idea of the Historic Urban Landscape is part of a broader reflection on the evolution of urbanism, as a response to the increasingly complex challenges brought by global processes. The historic city is not an island, and all global social, economic and physical transformation processes affect both it and its spaces. The normative 'barriers' created by special legislation and programmes aimed at its protection are unable to shield it – if this was ever possible or intended – from the rest of the city".

The transformation of cities, after all, is expressed first in the change in urban societies and their way of living publicly and privately and, as a consequence, in the relationships that are being redefined between these two areas. The reflection by Ali Madanipour concentrates on these aspects and work around

"three interrelated and overlapping shifts in recent years: technological and economic changes, the shifting relationships between public and private spheres, and the growing diversification of urban society. Together, these changes bring about significant demographic, technological, political, economic, social, and cultural changes, with direct implications for public space, putting forward challenges and causing anxieties that need serious attention. [...] [In this perspective] public spaces are crossroads, where different paths and trajectories meet or collide, the stage on which the public life unfolds, the essential realm of sociability".

In this framework, the transformation of cities and territories, which often occurs by parts and affects discontinuous areas, demands suitable infrastructure policies capable of redefining connections and junctions and accommodating flows of goods and people developed with significantly different means from the past. In some cases, the spontaneous multiplication of social practices and the stratification of urban activities are deemed to correspond to integrated planning for land and infrastructure use aimed at governing consolidation processes and strengthening some urban areas, reinforcing the connections between them. In Holland, which was studied by Luca Bertolini, the

"intensification of cities has been a planning aim [...] over the last decades. A major reason for this is the expectation that urban intensification leads to better accessibility by sustainable transportation modes and therewith contributes to increasing their share. A positive feedback loop exists between the planning of high-capacity transportation networks and intensification of land uses

around these transportation networks. Urban intensification policies acknowledge this. However, the integration of transport planning and land use planning that one would and should expect as a consequence of this acknowledgement, does not necessarily follow. In the Netherlands, an "implementation gap" in the transport – land use planning process aiming at urban intensification can be identified which prevents the positive feedback loop from happening".

The framework outlined up to now renders the image of cities and territories undergoing profound change, in which both social/living practices and the technical practices of research and design are being redefined as the contemporary urban area is modified.
For these reasons, as Gabriele Pasqui states, the practices of contemporary planning are faced with the

"need to inhabit the very difficult ridge between universalistic needs and differentiated claims. […] If difference is a social product, historically determined as the overall outcome of social practices, then we must recognize that any unitary treatment of the concept of difference (something other than inequality and which can play a potentially progressive and innovative role) faces more than one risk. These are not abstract questions. […] The abandonment of a "unitary" logic defies any simplistic conception of spatial citizenship and requires planning to know how to "think by differences" that are its own but that today must be revisited in a non-identity related or "essentialist" key that can above all think of differences first and foremost in their production and reproduction within social practices situated in time and space. Yet, a difference-based approach alone, even if it is not thoughtless and well-tempered in order to avoid "individualist" and "local" implications, is probably not enough".

The stratified, multiple dimension of contemporary territories, in their constituent physical and social components, and in the complex relationships between them, lead Paola Viganò to advance an original research hypothesis according to which

"in the field of urban design, urbanism and landscape urbanism, any new investigation should produce an original work of cartography. In other words, there is no invention of a research object without cartographic exploration and innovation. […] This is a fundamental reason for pursuing and reaffirming the cognitive and projective role of maps: exploring the territory, the thick and complex ground moving surfaces, through the effort of representing its multiple material, conceptual and hypothetical dimensions".

Perspectives

Despite the obvious diversity of the thematic field proposed by the twelve essays constituting the heart of this issue, the various contributions appear to share a common interest in changed, changing, and changeable forms of the contemporary urban area. Cities and territories are viewed by the authors with interest and curiosity as fields of experimentation in which progressively, pushed by different systems of forces and produced by different phenomena, the sense, operating principles, and spatial configurations of the different sets of places are redefined.
In many cases, we can say that the spaces of the city, the places of the contemporary urban area, are "in movement" (or undergoing change): they are presented with traditional denominations that today only partially correspond to their manifold, shining natures. They are accompanied by representations that are often inadequate for describing their real changed nature today. They are even preceded by their reputation (to say nothing of their "fame"), which often incorporates prejudices and assessments that are too aggregated to be useful for reading the urban transformation. This situation inevitably invokes renewed analytical and interpretational tools, or at

least an innovative use of some traditional tools borrowed from various practices in European urbanism.

It is perhaps necessary to recognize that it could be worthwhile in this phase to suspend the most reassuring uses of interpretational categories, analytical tools, and planning devices inherited from the many traditions that come together in contemporary urbanism. It might be more appropriate — even if riskier — to renounce synoptic representations of reality that look for, first of all, immediate consistency among the different elements. On these premises, an openness to different themes and questions that do not immediately converge, as is attempted in this issue of Planum, might also in some way serve as a fertile move to feed a debate on significant issues and methodologies within the European context.

Outlooks on Contemporary Urbanism.
Scientific Committee's Papers

Francesco Bandarin

Urban Conservation and the End of Planning

*'There is still one of which you never speak.' Marco Polo bowed his head. 'Venice,' the Khan
said. Marco smiled. 'What else do you believe I have been talking to you about?' The emperor
did not turn a hair. 'And yet I have never heard you mention that name.' And Polo said: 'Every
time I describe a city I am saying something about Venice.'*
Italo Calvino. Invisible Cities

It is a paradox that in today's world, where cities have gained a central place in economic, environmental and social policy-making at the global scale, urban planning
has declined and *de facto* ended as a unified management system of complex urban
processes.

Urban planning, as a rational and comprehensive discipline for the management
of urban and territorial development, originated in the last part of the nineteenth
century and fully blossomed in the twentieth century, with the aim of governing
large-scale urban growth and urban rehabilitation processes.

This functioned effectively (and in some cases it still does) in centralised societies
where social change occurred following linear processes: rural-urban migrations,
the rise of mass public and private transport systems, as well as planned industrial growth. Nevertheless, it failed with the progressive decentralisation of social
decision-making processes, coupled with complex and unpredictable development
trends, and the inevitable domination of the global market processes in the economic and social scenes.

Today, urban planning has lost its ability to govern these processes, becoming essentially a socio-economic discipline – one of the many tools for managing cities.

Not all cities in the world are undergoing the same process: some are declining,
others expanding, while a few remain stable. But all cities are now interconnected,
and the main processes that determine their future are of a global nature, due to the
shifting of production centres, the exponential increase of communication speed
brought about by the Internet, and the accelerated movement of people for work
and leisure.

Urban conservation is not immune from these processes, nor is it unaffected by
these trends. Urban heritage can no longer be conceived of as a separate reality, a
walled precinct protected from the external forces of change by plans and regulations. It simply does not work this way, if it ever did.

In some regions of the world, the relative success of urban conservation as both
policy and practice over the past 50 years has created the illusion that sections of the

city may be shielded from change and separated from the inevitable evolution of the urban context. This was perhaps possible for monuments, individual buildings and archaeological areas. It proved impossible for a living open system like a city, no matter how historic and protected.

As much as urban planning has ceased to respond to the needs of a mobile, multi-layered, globalised urban society, so urban conservation – as it was shaped in the second half of the twentieth century – has reached its limits, and is losing its ability to deal with the new challenges to the conservation of the urban heritage. This is particularly true in regions of the world where the established principles, mostly of western origin, have been imported and are not embedded in local practices and perceptions.

One of the reasons behind this gradual marginalisation is the 'fracture' imposed by the Modern Movement of the 1920s and 1930s within a disciplinary context that was previously largely inspired by unitary approaches to the management of urban spaces, linked to historical typological research (as seen by Sitte, for instance[1]) or to 'organic' approaches (as those put forward by Geddes[2]).

Modernism rejected the attempts to ensure continuity in urban development, and promoted a radical and revolutionary approach that denied the 'old' city any function in modern life (except for the memory value of a limited number of monuments). The historic city was not considered part of modernity, nor a component to integrate; it was simply and abstractly 'erased' from the urban planning scene.

As a reaction to this approach, an architectural and urban conservation movement came to the forefront, based upon the newly established principles of city conservation and rehabilitation promoted by Gustavo Giovannoni in Italy and enshrined in the documents of the 1931 Athens Conference.[3] The impetus of this movement grew in the post World War II decades, when in the aftermath of the massive destruction of European cities during the war, and of the extensive post-war reconstruction, countries developed legislation and planning practices that fostered the conservation of important sections of the historic urban fabric. This success, however, came at the price of separating two of the main objects of urban management: the historic areas, where special regulations, planning, and subsidy systems were introduced and the development areas, considered non 'historical' or simply new, where urban planning models founded upon the principles of modernism were applied. This was based on medium term projections of the city's physical, economic and demographic development, phased by regulatory tools, such as zoning, or smaller scale plans aimed to regulate building, infrastructure development and use.

This situation generated two different urban management processes, based on different professional approaches and principles. The unified urban planning vision that had characterised development before the modern age came to an end.

Today, we face a twofold challenge. Urban planning, intended as a top-down political and administrative process to regulate urban dynamics, has clearly demonstrated its limits, and is being substituted by a variety of management, participatory and design tools. At the same time, urban conservation has also proved unable to ensure the effective and long-term integrity of both the physical and social fabric of historic areas.

These challenges are rendered even more complex by the shifting context of urban management, where issues of sustainability, energy consumption, social inclusion

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1 Sitte, C., (1965) *City Planning According to Artistic Principles*, London, Collins. (Originally published in German in 1889, as: Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grudsätzen).

2 Geddes, P. (2010) *Cities in Evolution: an Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and the Study of Civics*, Nabu Press. (Originally published in 1915).

3 Choay, F. (ed.) (2002) *La Conférence d'Athènes sur la conservation artistique et historique des monuments (1931)*, Paris: Les Editions de l'Imprimeur.

and the transformation of mobility and work patterns have become of paramount importance and will prove critical in the coming decades.

While finding a single direction is unlikely, given the diversity of political, economic and social conditions prevailing in the different contexts, it is clear that traditional 'land management based' planning practices cannot offer viable solutions. Similarly, the traditional 'districting' of historic areas shows conceptual (what is 'historic'?), political (conservation as a way to social exclusion?) and operational (which 'changes' are acceptable?) limits requiring a radical revision of the established paradigms.

After the end of planning, we need to identify which actions will enable us to reflect local conditions, decision-making systems and needs, in order to achieve a higher order of objectives that ensures respect of the principles and frameworks a society wants or is forced to impose upon itself.

These 'limits' and conditions (energy consumption, resource use, the degree of social equality, the production model, the population mix, etc.) will determine the choices related to urban management, development and rehabilitation.

This new situation, so far mostly addressed by researchers in the domains of Ecological Urbanism and Landscape Urbanism, opens up a new dimension for urban conservation itself. Instead of being a 'marginal' section of the urban complex, the historic city becomes a model, a 'resource' to respond to new needs, to define innovative physical and social patterns, and to value what centuries of experimentation in the design of urban spaces and form has given us. This is the central message of the 2011 UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape, a milestone document aimed at redefining the role of urban heritage in society, and the parameters to be used in managing its conservation, evolution, and integration within the broader urban decision-making process.

Post-War Attempts to Reconnect the City

Following the post-war reconstruction phase, with the limits of the modernist approach increasingly apparent, attempts were made to 'reconnect' the domains of Urban Development and Urban Conservation. Indeed, as demonstrated in greater detail in the previous work on this theme,[4] reconnecting the city, in defining the methodological and operational processes that allow the integration, understanding, design and management of the range of urban transformation processes, has been one of the core concerns of modern architects and planners.

Today's urban planners, managers, designers and conservators have at their disposal a vast array of tools and experiences; indeed the past 50 years were crucial in transforming the discourse on the city and in enlarging the scope of the urban disciplines. The foundations of the new approach to urban conservation, as advocated in the UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape, are now an integral part of disciplines involved in urban management, particularly in the area of civic engagement and participation, the analysis of the urban form, the reflection on the context and the spirit of place, the analysis of people's perceptions and memory in the creation of urban values, and finally, the understanding of the importance of the natural processes in guiding urban development and management and of the economic roles of the historic city.

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4 Bandarin, F. and Van Oers, R. (2012) *The Historic Urban Landscape. Managing Heritage in an Urban Century*, Oxford, Wiley-Blackwell: 23–36.

Civic Engagement

The first reactions to the modernist ideology of the Functionalist City announced in Le Corbusier's Athens Charter[5] originated from within the very structure that had propelled Modernism internationally: the CIAM.[6] During the 1950s, a group of younger architects and planners, who subsequently formed 'Team 10', started to critique the official discourse on urbanism. Among many others, the works of Aldo van Eyck[7] and Giancarlo De Carlo[8] in support of a humanistic urbanism based on social participation and on the respect of the values of the urban context, including the historical, social and economic dimensions, constituted an authentic revolution in the traditional planning approach, and paved the way to the development of a new vision of urbanism.

Clearly, the time was ripe for new approaches, even outside the realm of CIAM: the new vision brought about by Jane Jacob's advocacy planning[9] had left a permanent imprint on the work of urban managers worldwide, while in different regions of the world experiments in social participation and urbanism, sensitive to the post- colonial condition took root.[10] The approach to the historic city was bound to change as this was now seen not as a residual dilapidated area for the lower income classes, but, on the contrary, an area rich in social layers and buffers. This perception supported the adoption of specialised legislations in many European countries and provoked a reaction against blind Urban Renewal programmes in the United States.

Analysis of the Urban Form

As this new approach developed, an important methodological contribution arrived in the 1960s and 1970s from disciplines as diverse as geography and planning, with the development of the typo-morphological analysis, a powerful tool for understanding the dynamics and the layering process of the city, which obviously found its greatest applications in the area of urban conservation.[11] The Italian architect Saverio Muratori[12] and his School, pioneered the practical development of this methodology. The architecture historian and urban planner Leonardo Benevolo later promoted the first significant implementation of this approach in his conservation plan of the historic city of Bologna, which demonstrated the viability of this methodology as an effective tool for the management of urban transformations in historic contexts.

While these experiments proved effective, they nevertheless remained limited to the historic districts of the city. It was the Italian architect Aldo Rossi, developer of the modern theory of city design and management, whose work *The Architecture of the*

5 Le Corbusier (1957) *La Charte d'Athènes*, Paris, Editions de Minuit. (Originally published in 1943).
6 *The Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne* – CIAM (International Congresses of Modern Architecture) was founded in 1928 and disbanded in 1959. Its main objective was the promotion of the principles of the Modern Movement in architecture, urbanism, industrial design.
7 Lefaivre, L. and Tzonis, A. (1999) *Aldo Van Eyck. Humanist Rebel*, Rotterdam: 010 Publishers.
8 De Carlo, G. (1972) *An Architecture of Participation*, The Melbourne Architectural Papers, Melbourne: e Royal Australian Institute of Architects. See also: Guccione, M. and Vittorini, A. (2005) *Giancarlo De Carlo: The Reasons of Architecture*, Rome: MAXXI, Catalog of the Exhibition.
9 Jacobs, J. (1993) *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, New York: e Modern Library. (Originally published in 1961). 10 See for instance the work of other Team.
10 See for instance the work of other Team 10 members, such as Balkrishna Doshi and Charles Correa in India, Kenzo Tange and Fumihiko Maki in Japan, Michel Ecochard and George Candilis in North Africa..
11 The pioneering work in this eld was conducted by the German–British geographer M.R.G. Conzen in the UK. See: Conzen, M.R.G. (2004) *Thinking about Urban Form, 1932–1998*. Bern: Peter Lang.
12 For a presentation of the approach developed by Muratori, see: Cataldi, G. (2003) From Muratori to Caniggia: the Origins and Development of the Italian School of Design Typology, *Urban Morphology*, 2003, 7 (1):19–34. See also: Caniggia, G.; Maffei, GL, 2001. *Interpreting Basic Building. Architectural Composition and Building Typology*. Firenze: Alinea.

City[13] was and remains amongst the most influential modern manifestos of urban design. Rossi reaffirms the importance of the historical dimension of the city in guiding architecture and urban design (which he sees as part and parcel of a single process). The city is itself the result of an historical accumulation of human actions, and should be viewed as a living palimpsest of past processes that influence the present and the future. The complexity of the urban sphere is often beyond comprehension, beyond the reach of static rules. Nonetheless rules exist to guide interventions and the design process. The identification of these 'inner rules' entails an understanding of the layering process of the city, of its history and life that is in itself part of the design exercise.

Spirit of Place

Based on a different approach, but with converging results is the contribution of the Norwegian architect Christian Norberg-Schulz, who provided a modern definition of the classical concept of *genius loci*, seen as a result of the relationship of man with the environment.[14]

This dynamic relationship evolves with time, as it engages living human beings. Norberg-Schulz, inspired by the philosopher Heidegger, uses the concept of *Räumlichkeit*, translated as 'presence', the space of everyday life. In his view, a space changes its meaning from being a *situs* to a *locus*, because life 'takes place' there. In this respect, Norberg-Schulz anticipates many modern views on the role of intangible heritage in the construction of the significance of a place.

An equally important contribution in this direction, that used a landscape perspective rather than an architectural one to examine the city, comes from the work of J.B. Jackson, an interpreter of the meaning of places and of the impact of modernity in their transformation. His analysis of the new forms of urban development is revealing of the problems we face today.[15]

Urban Values

In the post-war period, few urban planners and designers have been able to understand the crisis of the discipline and propose alternative approaches more than Kevin Lynch. His contribution extends to all elds of urban studies and planning, from new city design to urban rehabilitation, to spatial and regional planning to preservation, and is based on the attempt to link the physical space to the perception and the usages of the inhabitants. It is a highly humanistic approach, rendered 'scientific' through the employment of modern notions of psychology, together with a profound understanding of the spirit and the role of context in modern life. His 'mental mapping' approach to urban design is certainly a precursor of modern cultural mapping processes, and a potent guide to human-centred urban design and conservation proposals. In the field of urban conservation he produced a major reflection, summarised in his book *What Time is this Place?*,[16] an invaluable text that studies the function of preservation in modern society, dissociated from preconceptions and formal schemes, and offering a perspective that allows the interpretation

13 Rossi, A. (1978) *The Architecture of the City*, New York: Opposition Books. (Originally published in Italian as *L'architettura della Città*, Venezia: Marsilio, 1966).
14 Norberg-Schulz, C. (1980) Genius Loci: *Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture*, New York: Rizzoli.
15 *'It is here in the city, not in the open countryside, that the modern road reveals itself. Even a generation ago the old architectural order prevailed: the street was still squeezed between tall and imposing façades, – the urban equivalent of those fences anking the country road: protecting what lay beyond. But the new road or street is like the eight-hundred-pound gorilla. It goes where it wants to. It is wider than roads were in the past, sinuous in its layout, no longer respectful of the grid, and it devours spaces and structures hitherto though of as sacred. It is creating its own architecture: short-lived, eager to conform to the new type of tra c and to discard its own symbols and any hint of history'.* Jackson, J. B. (1994) *A Sense of Place, a Sense of Time*, New Haven: Yale University Press: 9.
16 Lynch, K. (1972) *What Time is is Place?* Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

and design of the city, both ancient and modern, in harmony with the laws of time and history, and with a view to the social and cultural needs of modern societies, and rid of dogmatic or elitist approaches.

Natural Processes

The integration of cities and nature was certainly a key aspect of the great planning tradition of the twentieth century, typically in the form of parks and open spaces design.[17] However, contemporary design approaches have, for the most, found their origin and inspiration in the work of the Scottish-American landscape architect and planner Ian McHarg, whose seminal book *Design with Nature*,[18] and research and teachings have helped re-position the idea of landscape and the discipline of landscape architecture at the centre of the urban management process.

Thus, the work of McHarg is linked to the great tradition of environmentally sensitive design rooted in the work of Patrick Geddes[19] and of the great landscape movement in America, as exemplified in the works of Frederick Law Olmsted.[20] However, McHarg had the merit to define an interdisciplinary approach based on scientific methodologies and fully integrating the social and administrative dimensions of urban and territorial planning.

McHarg's 'Environmental Planning' perceives the city within the broader ecological context, reflecting upon the relationships between natural processes and man-made transformations, in order to identify design methods and solutions. At the core of his approach lies an innovative methodology that brings together social and natural processes through a system of analysis and superposition of the layers of values existing in a given area. As the natural processes are linked to geological and hydrological systems, the areas involved in the analysis are subsequently much larger that the city area itself, which leads to a change and an extension of the value system embraced by the plan. This also allows the identification of the intrinsic suitability of the different zones, the compatibility of usages, as well as the economic trade-offs between urban development and conservation. Such an approach is obviously better adapted to a large planning scale at the regional level, as only this scale allows the natural systems to be appropriately understood and managed.

In spite of these important intellectual and institutional advancements, the increasing complexity of urban processes, the diffculty in harnessing market forces as well as ever changing demographic, productive and consumption patterns, reveal how unsatisfactory is the situation of urban planning and design.

The defining moment of the new forms of Urbanism and their veritable point of departure can be said to be *Collage City*, the milestone text of Rowe and Koetter[21] published in 1978. *Collage City*, a manifesto of the modern 'chaotic' urban processes, is where the idea of the city as a continuum is forever abandoned. The city, from antiquity on, is shown as a continuous process; an aggregate of parts built in different eras, of accumulation and overlays. The modern idea of the city as a totalising urban design is seen as an abstract utopia, if not as a dangerous method. As the city grows by small accretions, the focus shifts from the uniform vision of planning to the individual urban design schemes that allow planned or unplanned dynamics. Each part of the city therefore follows its own rules of composition and functioning, and this is what makes the city work and advance, beyond the traditional concepts of order

17 See: Brantz, D. and Dümpelmann, S. (2011) *Greening the City. Urban Landscapes in the Twentieth Century*, Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.
18 McHarg, I. (1969) *Design with Nature*, Philadelphia: The Falcon Press.
19 Geddes, P. (2010) *Cities in evolution: Evolution: An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and to the Study of Civics*, Nabu Press. (Originally published in 1915). See also: Welter, V. M. (2002) *Biopolis: Patrick Geddes and the City of Life*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
20 Fein, A. (1972) *Frederick Law Olmsted and the American Environmental Tradition*, New York, Braziller.
21 Rowe, C. and Koetter, F. (1978) *Collage City*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

and rational control. Only after 'chaos' itself becomes a new model we can begin to understand the process whereby the different components of the puzzle establish a process of reciprocal influence and exchange, and how the mutations induced by the economic and social transformations adjust, exalt or condemn the city's parts. Urban conservation, whether we accept it or not, is part of the urban 'chaos', representing an approach to one of the fragments of the city, the one defined as 'historical' according to a variety of possible processes: political, administrative, academic, community-based or other.

Contemporary Views on Urbanism and Landscape

Chaos as the 'urban condition' has been at the centre of the debate between architects and planners for over 30 years, and it is out of this discussion that some of the contemporary approaches to urban development and urban conservation[22] have emerged.[23]

On the one hand, in reaction to the increasing complexity of urban functions that the traditional city cannot support, we find responses stemming from large-scale design and urban mega-structures, in reaction to the increasing complexity of urban functions that the traditional city cannot support, or that would require major transformations of existing patterns. This type of Urbanism, partially echoing some of the more provocative proposals of the Modern Movement,[24] aims to define an urban order without having to deal with the underlying urban chaos. Furthermore, it's an approach that allows maintaining the great diversity of the city, including the preservation of its historic parts. Many support this approach, especially as the pace of public and private investment in urban projects has accelerated in past decades. Certainly, its main theoretician and practitioner is Rem Koolhaas, whose proposals[25] and projects have established the models and led the way.[26] Today, many cities promote large-scale projects to address the complexities of urban rehabilitation, the reconversion of terminated industrial areas and of major public services (hospitals, military sites, waterfronts, etc.). These projects thus become both the focal points of the urban development strategy, and the tools that redefine urban development policies in relation to market forces.

In the past half century, vast experiments were conducted throughout the world in the area of urban regeneration, focusing in particular on the transformation of industrial areas or large infrastructures, such as harbour waterfronts, abandoned military zones or railway areas. Very often, these projects, located near the historic centres, have become the motors of urban redevelopment and re-functionalisation, as well as have guided the transformation of urban heritage, in ways more powerful than those possible through traditional urban conservation policies. France is perhaps the country that has implemented the most successful urban regeneration and conservation projects, as shown by the exceptional results achieved in cities like Bordeaux, Lyon, and Strasbourg.[27]

22 For an interesting review of the contemporary approaches, see: Fromonot, F. (2013) Manières de classer l'urbanisme, *Criticat* 08: 40–61. (www.criticat.fr)

23 For a complete review of the evolution of Urban Design in the past half a century, see: Shane, D. G. (2011) *Urban Design Since 1945*, New York: Wiley.

24 See Le Corbusier's Plans for Rio de Janeiro or the Plan Obus for Algiers: Tsiomis, Y. (2012) *Rio-Alger-Rio*, 1929–1936. Transferts, Fondation Le Corbusier. *Le Corbusier. Visions d'Alger*. Editions de la Villette: 85–101.

25 Koolhaas, R. (1995) What Ever Happened to Urbanism? Koolhaas, Rem; Mau, Bruce: *S,M,L,XL*. New York, The Monicelli Press: 959–971.

26 Rem Koolhaas has authored several projects addressing the issue of urban large scale recomposition, starting with the project for the Parc de la Villette in 1982 (non selected), to the Toronto Downsview Park Project in 2000 (Competition Prize winner) to the 2010 Hong Kong cultural district (non selected).

27 Tsiomis, Y. and Ziegler, V. (2007) *Anatomie de projects urbains,* Paris: Editions de la Villette.

On the other hand, important attempts were made to redefine the parameters of the urban design process through focusing new attention on the extended context of modern urban life, such as the territory and the landscape.

During the past thirty years, McHarg's ideas blossomed, opening the way to significant theoretical and practical developments, both within the landscape architecture and planning disciplines, and at the institutional and normative process. It is largely thanks to this intellectual advancement that the concept of landscape has become today the key for conceptualising and defining urban development process in all regions of the world.

As Charles Waldheim, one of his students, wrote:

Across a range of disciplines, landscape has become a lens through which the contemporary city is represented and a medium through which it is constructed. These sentiments are evident in the emergent notion of 'Landscape Urbanism'.[28]

The notion of Landscape Urbanism does not point to a specific model or methodological framework of disciplinary nature, but tends to be seen rather as an approach to urban design and management based on an understanding of the natural, physical and social context. In this sense, the lesson of McHarg – who was primarily interested in the role of natural components in the planning process – evolved over the past decades into a variety of approaches, termed 'Urban Landscape', 'Urban Nature', 'Urban Ecology', and 'Green Urbanism',[29] fed by contributions from the work of Carl Troll and the German geographers of his generation.[30]

While McHarg focused mainly on the natural dimension of territorial planning, his followers, both in the USA and Europe, shifted their interest toward the city as an object that could be analysed using the new categories and methodologies, as exemplified by Spirn's groundbreaking work e *Granite City*:

Nature pervades the city, forging bonds between the city and the air, earth, water, and living organisms within and around it. In themselves, the forces of nature are neither benign nor hostile to humankind. Acknowledged and harnessed, they represent a powerful resource for shaping a beneficial urban habitat ignored or subverted, they magnify problems that have plagued cities for centuries, such as floods and landslides, poisoned air and water. Unfortunately, cities have mostly neglected and rarely exploited the natural forces within them.[31]

The point that is common to the different facets of these approaches is the need to mobilise a variety of disciplines to achieve an understanding of the context within which to operate. The mono-dimensional approaches provided by 'classical' architectural and planning practices were considered insuffcient to address the complexity of the challenges posed by the new pace and type of urban development, first in the US and the European scene,[32] and later in many other parts of the emerging world.

28 Waldheim, C. (ed.) (2006) *The Landscape Urbanism Reader*, New York: Princeton Architectural Press:15.

29 The literature on urban ecological and sustainable management has expanded tremendously in the past decade. See for instance: Newman, P. and Jennings, I. (2008) *Cities as Sustainable Ecosystems. Principles and Practices*, Washington DC, Island Press. In Jenks, M. and Dempsey, N. (eds.) (2005) *Future Forms and Design for Sustainable Cities*, London: Elsevier, Architectural Press. Register, R. (2006) *Ecocities. Rebuilding Cities in Balance with Nature*, Gabriola Islands, BC, Canada: New Society Publishers. In Emeliano, C. and Stegassy, R. (eds.) (2010) *Les pionniers de la ville durable*, Paris: Editions Autrement.

30 Troll, C. (1939) *Lu bildplan und ökologische Bodenforschung (Aerial Photography and Ecological Studies of the Earth)*, Zeitschri der Gesellscha für Erdkunde, Berlin: 241–298.

31 Spirn, A W. (1984) *The Granite City*, New York, Basic Books: xi.

32 For a review of the European experience in ecological city planning, see: Beatley, T. (2000) *Green Urbanism. Learning from the European City* Washington DC: Island Press.

Within this framework of action lies a large variety of methodologies and models, from the long-term approach proposed by James Corner[33] to a project-oriented approach proposed, among others, by George Hargreaves[34] in America or Michel Courajoud[35] and Alexandre Chemeto[36] in France, to name but a few. But all possess – explicitly or implicitly – a common approach based on what Alan Berger[37] termed 'Intelligent Systemic Design', which is on a working method aimed at creating a bridge between different disciplinary fields. In particular, for the concerns of the urban field, the need exists to integrate classical urban design processes with planning approaches, and to associate cultural geography (a discipline that has pioneered the concept of landscape, long before planners and architects[38]), as well as the natural sciences in the landscape plan. Landscape Urbanism is a tool that allows the different disciplines to establish a dialogue, without the need to define a new discipline with its own paradigms and doctrines. This pragmatic approach has allowed Landscape Urbanism to embrace a large variety of situations, from the level of territorial planning to large reconversion projects on the urban scale, to fine-tuned interventions on the built urban environment. It is, in fact, more a process than a product. As one of today's most prominent theoretical and professional actors in this field, James Corner says:

The emphasis shifts from landscape as a product of culture to landscape as an agent producing and enriching culture. Landscape as noun (as object or scene) is quieted in order to emphasize landscape as verb, as process or activity. Here, it is less the formal characteristics of landscape that are described than it is the formative effect of landscape in time. The focus is upon the agency of landscape (how it works and what it does) rather than upon its simple appearance.[39]

Over recent decades this new approach has allowed an impressive array of experiences in all parts of the world, based on the large-scale consideration of the urban and territorial environment of the city, seen as the framework to orient design choices, densities, and functional mixes down to the detailed choice of materials and of sustainability solutions. Its strong interest in the context of the city and of its territorial dimension, whence its rules are derived, make it an effective tool for some of the most critical issues of contemporary urbanism, based not on urban expansion as such, but on urban rehabilitation and reconversion.[40] In this sense, the historic layers of the city – seen as a much broader context beyond that of the 'historic city' – represent a fundamental guidance for the design, jointly with the understanding of the physical and natural context.

Modern Landscape Urbanists are aware of the risk of transplanting western ideas in other cultural context, with a clear awareness of the disasters generated by western planning as it spread throughout the world in the twentieth century. In fact, the very idea of landscape is not universal or unequivocal: while for western cultures it is connected in its origins to the sense of aesthetics, or of contemplation of nature, for other cultures it is linked to the sacred or it is a constituent of the collective identity through narratives and dreams. For some cultures it is linked to religion and

33 Corner, J. (ed.) (1999) *Recovering Landscape: Essays in Contemporary Landscape Architecture*, New York: Princeton Architectural Press.
34 Hargreaves, G. and Czerniak, J. (2009) *Hargreaves: The Alchemy of Landscape Architecture*, London, ames and Hudson.
35 Nourisson, D. (2000) *Michel Corajoud, paysagiste*, Paris: Hartman.
36 Chemeto, A. (2009) *Visits: Town and Territory: Architecture in Dialogue*, Berlin: Birkhauser Verlag AG.
37 Berger, A. (2011) *On Landscape Urbanism. A conversation*. In Ferrario, V., Sampieri, A. and Viganò, P. (eds.). *Landscapes of Urbanism*. Roma: Offcina Edizioni: 96.
38 See: Mitchell, D. (2000) *Cultural Geography, a Critical Introduction*, London, Blackwell.
39 Corner, J. (ed.) (1999) *Recovering Landscape. Introduction*, New York: Princeton University Press: 4.
40 See: Marot, S. (1999) Reclaiming Sites. In Corner, J. (ed.) (1999) *Recovering Landscape. Introduction*, New York: Princeton University Press: 45–57.

the representation of the otherworldliness, for yet others, it simply has no meaning. However, as the process concerns urban management issues that are nowadays common to many different contexts, and because the idea is fundamentally pragmatic and operational, and sustained by technical protocols, it is conceivable that a similar methodology could support different cultural visions of the city. As Charles Waldheim writes:

In this context, the discourse surrounding landscape urbanism can be read as a disciplinary realignment in which landscape supplants architecture's historic role as the basic building block of urban design. Across a range of disciplines, many authors have articulated this newfound relevance of landscape in describing the temporal mutability and horizontal extensivity of the contemporary city.[41]

Since its appearance a decade ago, the approach proposed by Landscape Urbanism has not been accepted without critique and opposition,[42] predominantly pointing to the lack of sufficient 'sustainability' and to the excessive focus on the rural-suburban dimension of the city, and less to the city as an existing built environment.

As global concern for the environment expanded in the last two decades, following the surge of China and other countries as major industrial powers, and the entry into the global market for energy, food and raw materials of hundreds of millions of new consumers, the attention of urban thinkers and planners has, in fact, moved toward the issue of sustainability and resource management, and paying greater attention to the existing building stock and its relationships with energy flows.

This has prompted a specific dimension of urbanism that has been termed 'Ecological Urbanism', which may also be considered a derivation of the Ecological Planning School of the 1960s. While supporting principles similar to Landscape Urbanism, Ecological Urbanism places more emphasis on the ecological, economic and social condition of the modern metropolis, distancing itself from the cultural orientation that is a structural feature of the landscape approach. The present financial and economic crisis affecting the industrialised countries, together with the upcoming grave climatic change perspectives, have shifted the attention of urban thinkers and managers to the future impact on cities, and therefore to urban ecology as a tool for sustainability and resilience. As Mohsen Mostafavi writes:

The recent nancial crisis, with all its rami cations, suggests the on-going need for a methodological reconceptualization of our contemporary cosmopolitan condition. In this context, it is now up to us to develop the aesthetic means – the projects – that propose alternative, inspiring, and ductile sensibilities for our ethico-political interactions with the environment. These projects will also provide the stage for the messiness, the unpredictability, and the instability of the urban, and in turn, for more just as well as more pleasurable futures. This is both the challenge and the promise of ecological urbanism.[43]

Despite their different emphases, Landscape Urbanism and Ecological Urbanism offer, for the first time in a century, the possibility to observe, understand and manage cities in a unitary manner. Clearly, the presence of the natural dimension is a strong unifier of the different parts of the urban 'collage'. What appears, from an architectural viewpoint, separated and different in terms of structure, form and

41 Waldheim, C. (2006) *Landscape as Urbanism*. In Waldheim, C. (ed.) *The Landscape Urbanism Reader*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press: 37–53.
42 Duany, A. and Talen, E. (eds.) (2013) *Landscape Urbanism and its Discontents. Dissimulating the Sustainable City*, Gabriola Island, Canada: New Society Publishers.
43 See: Mostafavi, M. (ed.) (2010) *Ecological Urbanism*, Harvard University, Graduate School of Design. Baden, Switzerland: Lars Muller Publishers.

function, is seen as part of the same system when perceived from the point of view of nature and ecology. Furthermore, the modern global condition has rendered the urban, social and economic structures quite fluid, and not necessarily matching the originally intended forms. This opens the way to innovation in the way cities are used, lived and transformed. Only an open-ended, flexible, even undetermined approach, can match the speed and unpredictability of such changes.

Landscape planning has the potential to address all urban scales, but it is particularly apt to manage the very large metropolitan scale that has become the main challenge of contemporary societies. A recent planning exercise launched by French President Sarkozy in 2007 for the *Grand Paris*[44] allowed the comparison of different contemporary approaches to large scale metropolitan planning. While most of the proposals hinged on traditional infrastructure development, one project in particular addressed the issue through an innovative landscape-based approach. The project, by the Italian urban planners Secchi and Viganò, named 'The Porous City'[45] addressed the critical issues of most contemporary conurbations, that is inclusion, mobility, and sustainability, through an approach based on the analysis of the specificity of the different landscapes of the city and of its existing networks. The key concepts used for this analysis are those of porosity as a measure of the space available for movement; *connectivity* as a measure of the degree of mobility; *permeability* as a measure of the ease of movement; and *accessibility* as a measure of the ability to move from one point to another. All these measures require an understanding of specific landscape features (artificial and natural) of the different places.

Under a Landscape approach, the 'reconnection' of the city becomes a possibility, albeit not in the classical sense of a system unified by a single vision and planning process. On the contrary, it is in other dimensions of the urban complex, namely ecology, resilience, sustainability, porosity and resource management, that we find the unifying factors. Furthermore, we need to reinterpret the relationship between the social structure and the built environment to better understand how urban spaces and environment are used and transformed by people.[46]

Repositioning Urban Conservation, Reconnecting the City

As argued earlier, the idea of the Historic Urban Landscape is part of a broader reflection on the evolution of urbanism, as a response to the increasingly complex challenges brought by global processes. e historic city is not an island, and all global social, economic and physical transformation processes affect both it and its spaces. The normative 'barriers' created by special legislation and programmes aimed at its protection are unable to shield it – if this was ever possible or intended – from the rest of the city. In as much as classical planning has proved incapable of mastering contemporary urban processes, largely dominated by market forces and by increasingly swift and fluid social changes, classical urban conservation schemes are likewise demonstrating their own limits.

Protecting the historic city requires not only a special status, but also public investment in urban infrastructure and direct or indirect subsidies to private owners to

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44 The initiative was announced on 17 September 2007 during the inauguration of 'La Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine', when Sarkozy declared his intent to create a 'new comprehensive development project for Greater Paris'. In 2008 an international urban and architectural competition for the future development of metropolitan Paris was launched. The architects leading the ten multidisciplinary teams were: Jean Nouvel, Christian de Portzamparc, Antoine Grumbach, Roland Castro, Yves Lion, Djamel Klouche, Richard Rogers, Bernardo Secchi, Paola Viganò, Finn Geipel, Giulia Andi, and Winy Maas.

45 Secchi, B. and Viganò, P. (2011) *La ville poreuse. Un projet pour le Grand Paris et la metropole de l'après-Kyoto*, Geneva, Metis Presses.

46 See also in this direction: Shane, D. G. (2005) *Recombinant Urbanism. Conceptual Modeling in Architecture, Urban Design, and City Theory*, New York: Wiley.

sustain the cost of maintenance. Inevitably, this has an impact on land and housing values, and subsequently on social access to the historic city. Gentrification is not just a market process; it is often the result of public policies.

As the historic city embodies a higher urban quality and identity, it attracts tourists and visitors, shops and services. This higher quality of space and density of functions – often replicated and pursued in modern waterfront rehabilitation programmes – tends to transform the historic city into something closer to a shopping centre or a theme park,[47] where the original values linked to history, artistic forms, memory functions and social atmosphere are converted into commercial opportunities for a transient population.

This situation is obviously not applicable to all historic cities – as in fact many of them still need major interventions to be preserved. Also, in many situations, cities have been able to strike a balance between conservation and development and have been able therefore to retain their character.

In this scenario, there is a compelling need to reposition urban conservation within the overall urban management process, and to redefine some of its basic operational principles.

Some of the questions that need to be raised are related to the definition and role of heritage in contemporary and future society. Others address the relationships of 'heritage' areas with other parts of the city and the territorial dimension. And yet others tackle the ways and means of preserving urban values in a changing world.

For those interested in urban conservation, the key issue is clearly *what* is to be preserved. Until now, the issue has been solved, as discussed earlier, by placing a distinction separating what is 'historic' (to be preserved) and what is 'modern' (that can be changed). All the modern urban conservation policies follow – more or less – this dichotomy, with the related tool-kit of 'preservation' areas and districts, special rules and procedures, supervision etc. This model of urban heritage conservation has been enshrined in national legislations and in international systems, in particular in the World Heritage Convention.[48]

Today, it is becoming clear to policymakers and conservationists throughout the world that this traditional approach is no longer valid: it springs from a historicist tradition rooted in nineteenth century ideology; fails to provide a convincing de nition of what historic values are appreciated by modern societies; excludes communities in the definition of heritage, and, above all, it does not allow the understanding and management of change.

Urban conservation policies have so far achieved important results, as they have allowed preserving historic areas that would have otherwise lost their character. While

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47 See the forward-looking analysis of these processes in: Ashworth, G. J. and Tunbridge, J. E. (1990) *The Tourist-Historic City*, London: Belhaven Press.

48 As of today, historic cities are de ned as 'Groups of buildings' in the Operational Guidelines of the World Heritage Convention. For the inscription in the World Heritage List, an urban area has to be listed with a perimeter (the 'property') and a 'buffer zone'. Following the adoption of the UNESCO *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* in 2011, the World Heritage Committee has launched a process for the revision of the definition of historic cities. A workshop was organised in Rio de Janeiro in November 2013. The meeting recommended that *"in the future it would be preferable for historic cities, towns, and urban areas to be nominated as "sites" rather than "groups of buildings" within the definition of cultural heritage provided in Article 1 of the Convention. The meeting expressed the idea that, as all urban areas are works of humans or the combined works of nature and humans, the category of sites is a more appropriate way of expressing the layering and attributes as laid out in the Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape. It is felt that the definition of groups of buildings is much more limiting as it refers only to the physical attributes of the group and emphasises homogeneity rather than the complexity and diversity found in most urban areas"*. The meeting also recommended to: *"change the name of the existing category (Historic Towns and Town centers) to become "Urban Heritage" to better re ect HUL approach."* See: UNESCO World Heritage Centre (2013) *Report on the International World Heritage Expert Meeting on the Mainstreaming of the Methodological Approach Related to the Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape in the Operational Guidelines*, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 3–5 September 2013. UNESCO World Heritage Centre, unpublished document.

this is undisputed, there is today a rising consciousness of some of the dangers of historic preservation that far-seeing planners such as Kevin Lynch spotted long ago:

Rather than simply save things I emphasize the use of saved things to say something. Money gained by forgoing preservation would be spent on education. Preservation rules ought to be simpler and more flexible and yet also more widely applied. In now concentrating our historical anxieties on a few sacred places, where new construction is taboo, we encounter multiple dilemmas: everyday activities progressively decamp, leaving behind a graveyard of artefacts; tourist volume swells, making it impossible to maintain the site 'the way it was'; what is saved is so self-contained in time as to be only peculiar or quaint. A sense of the stream of time is more valuable and more poignant and engaging than a formal knowledge of the remote periods. New things must be created, and others allowed to be forgotten.[49]

This type of critique is a persistent feature in the architectural and urban design debate, as epitomised by the provocative exhibition *Cronocaos* presented by Rem Koolhaas at the 2010 Venice Architecture Biennale and later in New York.[50] Today's urban conservators are confronted with these issues in a more direct manner than in the past. In particular, two questions dominate today's discussion: 1) What needs to be preserved? 2) What is the 'tolerance' for change within protected areas?

Some important innovations in the way historic cities are defined and protected have indeed appeared in the past decade, heralding a new approach to heritage management, largely based on the building of consensus between planners, administrators and the inhabitants on the identification of areas of historic value. While examples abound, the case of Bologna, a city that pioneered urban conservation processes since the 1960s,[51] stands out for its innovative approach. In remaking its urban conservation Plan in 2007, the planners proposed a transition from the traditional concept of *Historic Centre* to the new idea of *Historic City* that includes many areas external to the traditional medieval centre, some of which are, in fact, the result of modern public housing programmes.[52] This fundamental change of policy is opening new perspectives for urban conservation and is part of the new approach proposed by the *UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape.*

The issue of the 'limits' or 'tolerance' for change has been at the core of an important discussion led by ICOMOS in recent years.[53] While this discussion has been important in breaking new ground of reflection for conservators, it has yet to produce clear operational outcomes, especially with reference to urban conservation. The derivation of many conservation principles from the practice of monument restoration represents a clear limit to the development of innovative approaches within the

49 Lynch, K. (1972) *What Time is this Place?* Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press: 237.

50 *"Has preservation become a dangerous epidemic? Is it destroying our cities? at's the conclusion you may come to a er seeing "Cronocaos" at the New Museum. Organized by Rem Koolhaas and Shohei Shigematsu, a partner in Mr. Koolhaas's O ce for Metropolitan Architecture, the show draws on ideas that have been oating around architectural circles for several years now – particularly the view among many academics that preservation movements around the world, working hand in hand with governments and developers, have become a force for gentri cation and social displacement, driving out the poor to make room for wealthy homeowners and tourists. Mr. Koolhaas's vision is even more apocalyptic. A skilled provocateur, he paints a picture of an army of well-meaning but clueless preservationists who, in their zeal to protect the world's architectural legacies, end up debasing them by creating tasteful scenery for docile consumers while airbrushing out the most di cult chapters of history. e result, he argues, is a new form of historical amnesia, one that, perversely, only further alienates us from the past."* Ouroussoff , N. (2011) An Architect's Fear at Preservation Distorts, e New York Times, May 24, 2011, page C1.

51 Bandarin, F. (1977) The Bologna Experience. Planning and Historic Renovation in a Communist City. In Appleyard, D. (ed.). *The Conservation of the European City.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press: 178–202.

52 See: Patrizia Gabellini's essay: 'Bologna: from Urban Restoration to Urban Rehabilitation' in this book.

53 ICOMOS (2011) *Paradigm Shi in Heritage Protection? Tolerance for Change – Limits of Change.* VIth Conference of the ICOMOS International Scientific Committee on Theory and Philosophy of Conservation and Restoration, Florence, Italy – March 4th–6th, 2011.

conservation profession.[54]

In this respect, the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* opens important avenues for rethinking the urban conservation paradigm. In fact, the Recommendation moves away from the traditional concept of 'historic area/centre/city' and puts at the core of preservation policies the concept of 'urban heritage'. This allows a much more flexible, open-ended and people-driven approach to conservation.

Should this approach be mainstreamed in the conservation profession, an important paradigm shift will be possible in the future, with important consequences for the role of heritage in the urban development processes. In fact, linking heritage conservation and sustainability has become increasingly necessary to ensure social stability and long-term ows of resources in areas that have the potential of becoming poles of growth and attractiveness for the entire city.

As traditional policies based on the transfer of public resources to historic areas ended up penalising the weaker social groups and have now become increasingly unsustainable, there is a need to reshape the approach to urban heritage conservation and to better integrate it within the urban development processes.

This new, integrated vision of the urban conservation process is matched by the other important principle put forth by the Historic Urban Landscape Recommendation: the need to integrate the management of natural heritage processes and urban conservation – a relationship that has been consistently underplayed by a tradition largely inspired by architectural and monument conservation principles. Linking conservation and nature management requires an understanding of processes that have, by definition, a territorial scale, and that cannot be restricted to districts. This requires a new approach and a new disciplinary integration. And this is precisely why the landscape and ecological urbanism approaches that emerged in urban management in recent years are so important for heritage conservation.

Another dimension underemphasised by traditional urban conservation, yet that plays, on the contrary, a central role in the landscape approach, is the identification and preservation of urban intangible values. The growing awareness of the importance of living traditions, memory and spirit of place in the creation of values in the urban space is a reaction to the dramatic losses to the authenticity of many urban heritage areas, brought about by global economic processes. Today, many historic places that have maintained their architectural appearances are turned into empty shells, tourist supermarkets and theme parks, no different in substance (although possibly different in appearance) from other historic or pseudo-historic models presented to the public as heritage places, or even theme parks built in imitation of historic areas.[55]

As the urban thinkers of the previous generation, Lynch, Norberg-Schultz, Jacobs, van Eyck, De Carlo and others demonstrated very clearly, a city is not just architecture or a monument. It is, most of all, a living space, where the meaning of the built environment has to be understood in relation to the living society, its needs for the preservation of memory as part of its culture and life, its sense of beauty, its use of places and its changing processes. The values of the city cannot be understood without accurate cultural mapping, without the participation of the people living, using and shaping the space.[56] This is what is proposed by the landscape approach.

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54 For a presentation of this issue, see: Bandarin, F. and Van Oers, R. (2012) *The Historic Urban Landscape. Managing Heritage in an Urban Century*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell. In particular see: Chapter 1. Urban Conservation: Short History of a Modern Idea: 1–36.

55 Many historic districts in Europe, North America and Asia and have become specialised tourist commercial areas. In China, the market pressures led to complete reconstruction of heritage zones in pseudo-historical form, like for instance in the case the redevelopment of the area of Qianmen south of Tien An Men Square, turned into a pedestrian shopping mall.

56 For an analysis of a grass-root approach to urban management, see: Rosa, M. L. and Weiland, U. E. (2013) *Handmade Urbanism* Berlin: Jovis Verlag GmbH.

Conservation is a powerful tool that helps in building the collective memory and should not be allowed to perform the opposite task, as Arjun Appadurai recently observed.[57]

All these aspects of urban heritage: the physical space, its natural environment, the value system, the social and economic dimensions – must be fully integrated to allow a full understanding and sustainable management of the urban heritage. The methodologies initially proposed by McHarg and the powerful analytical and representation tools available today[58] enable urban managers and designers to address the issue of complexity and integration of urban process in ways that also allow public participation in the creation of alternative scenarios.

While an adequate tool kit still needs to be formally produced and tested, many examples exist of methodologies that enable the implementation of a landscape approach to urban conservation. The experiments that preceded the adoption of the European Landscape Convention, such as the English Historic Landscape Characterisation programme,[59] or the Belvedere Memorandum in the Netherlands,[60] for instance, are of great interest, as well as other proposals such as the ones developed in recent years in Kyoto[61] and Cape Town.[62]

The implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach, however, could not bring about a substantial change in the management of historic areas if restricted to the traditional 'historic' districts. Its main value is indeed in the proposal to 'reconnect' the so-called 'historic' and 'modern' city, in order to enable a full understanding of the significance of urban heritage, its changing dimensions and its

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57 *"These reflections about architecture raise a deep question about conservation and the related matters of heritage in the great cities of India. The standard critiques of conservationist ideologies is that they are elitist and expensive, that they take resources away from bigger projects of social housing and urban planning for India's exploding urban masses. There is the related critique of nostalgia, which is seen as out of place in an environment of fast-forward development, utopian urbanism, and nationalist modernism. There is something to these charges. But from the point of view of the argument about architecture and amnesia that I have presented here, conservation, especially of heritage sites, could present another sort of opportunity for recovery and recollection, though not of the sites themselves (valuable though that may be). Rather, conservation could enable the recovery of the pedagogical purpose of the debates that lay behind these heritage sites and the possibility that these sites themselves foreclosed as they entered the history of the built environment and made it harder to imagine the possibilities of the unbuilt. Thus conservation, usually seen as the most important tool of remembering, could actually be seen as running the risk of a second forgetting, since it restores the history of the built environment as the only possible history. Were conservation also to develop an interest in the unbuilt, the unremembered, and of abandoned options, it could bring alive the archive of architectural possibilities that always lie around us and behind us."* Appadurai, A. (2013) Architecture and Amnesia in Indian Modernity. In Mostafavi, M. (ed.) (2012) *In the Life of Cities*. Zürich: Lars Müller Publishers: 331.

58 For instance, Carl Steinitz has developed interesting computer methodologies that enable managing complexity in an integrated process. Steinitz, C. (2012) *A Framework for Geodesign*, Redlands, California: Esri Press.

59 An interesting example is e Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC) program de ned and launched by English Heritage in the 1990's, in order to support conservation of historical dimensions within a sustainability framework. The HLC supports the principle that conservation should be based on 'management of change' and in the integration of plans and processes of all stakeholders. This program allowed the creation, for the rst time in England, of a detailed view of the archaeological, historical and cultural interest of the landscape. Fairclough, G. (2001) *Cultural Landscape, Sustainability, and Living with Change?* Teutonico, Jeanne Marie; Matero, F. (2003) *Managing Change: Sustainable Approaches to the Conservation of the Built Environment*, Los Angeles: e Getty Conservation Institute: 23–46.

60 In 1999, the government of the Netherlands adopted the Belvedere Memorandum, a policy document aimed at promoting culture-oriented sustainable development programs. The objective of the Belvedere strategy is to promote a respectful approach in regard to cultural and historic values within spatial development. This is to be accomplished neither by vetoing change nor burying the past, but by seeking effective ways to create win-win situations: to use space in such a way that an object of cultural and/or historic importance is given a place and will contribute to the quality of its newly created surroundings. Netherlands State Government (1999) *The Belvedere Memorandum: a Policy Document Examining the Relationship Between Cultural History and Spatial Planning*, The Hague.

61 City of Kyoto (2007) *Kyoto City Landscape Policy. Forming Timeless and Radiant Kyoto Landscapes*.

62 City of Cape Town (2005) Integrated Metropolitan Environmental Policy (IMEP). *Cultural heritage strategy for the City of Cape Town*, Cape Town: Environmental Management Branch, Heritage Resources Section.

power to inspire and guide contemporary urban rehabilitation processes and urban development.

Reconnecting the city does not signify operating a unitary management process, but the recognition of the diversity of the urban experience. What is required is a more holistic understanding of urban processes, in order to define a unified intent that respects different outcomes. This 'meta-planning'[63] can then be used to define how the different parts of the city express their nature and become resources for the rest. In this sense the exchanges between the historic, modern and contemporary cities are not unidirectional; they operate following the needs of the changing environment and population, and within the available resources.

Urban heritage conservation has the potential of becoming a leading process in the sustainable management of cities in the future, provided its proponents learn to address modernity and manage change, and do not lock themselves inside indefensible trenches.

Let's read again and reflect on the forward- looking words of a great urban historian, Spiro Kostof:

The urge to preserve certain cities, or certain buildings and streets within them, has something in it of the instinct to preserve family records; something of the compulsion to protect a work of art. We can all rejoice that medieval Rome did not scrap the remains of antiquity. But we must not be innocent of urban process as a principle. With pretentions of historical purity to one side, and talk of a scientific approach to urban conservation kept modest and conditional, we can regain the central direction in assessing cities. They are live, changing things – not hard artefacts in need of prettification and calculated revision. Cities are never still; they resist efforts to make neat sense of them. We need to respect their rhythms and to recognize that the life of city form must lie loosely somewhere between total control and total freedom of action. Between conservation and process, process must have the final word. In the end, urban truth is in the flow.[64]

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63 For a definition, see: Wilensky, R. (1981) *Meta-Planning: Representing and Using Knowledge About Planning in Problem Solving and Natural Language Understanding*, Computer Science Division, Department of EECS, University of California, Berkeley. Cognitive Science 5: 197–233.

64 Kostof, S. (1992) *The City Assembled. The Elements of Urban Form Through History*, London, Thames and Hudson: 305. Professor Spiro Kostof died untimely in 1991 while completing this book. ese are his last words.

Enrique Arenas Laorga, **Basabe Montalvo Luis Manuel**,
Luis Palacios Labrador

Wildgarten Quartier in Wien. Ten Vectors for a Democratic and Sustainable Urban Development in Southwest Vienna

Wildgarten was born eight years ago, in 2009, as a winning entry in the EURO-PAN-10 competition in Vienna. The competition brief required the development of an entirely new urban fabric on a quite isolated green island in the city's southwest, between a big municipal cemetery and an amorphous sea of single-family houses and small allotment gardens. The proposal's primary intention was to carefully re-read and re-write the essence of peripheral urbanity, and its notable tendency to privatisation and dispersal. It was not about creating something instead of the suburb but much more about delving deeper into its structuring elements, and about looking for ways to transcend its evident lack of compactness, efficiency, complexity and cohesion through its own logic. From a theoretical point of view, the project's approach was very much influenced by the authors' contextual circumstances. In fact, it was a frontal reaction to the failed over-planning of Spanish peripheries, which have left a degraded landscape around cities like Madrid. At that time, a whole generation of young Spanish offices was desperately looking for alternatives to it, resulting in a whole range of process-oriented, participative and collaborative planning approaches. The search for this kind of alternative to conventional urbanism found a fertile ground in Vienna's political context. On one hand, the decennial Strategic Plan STEP'05 has stimulated the consolidated city's densification through big housing developments on former industrial grounds. On the other hand, the Green Party's entry into the municipal Government in 2010 was a catalyst for a series of innovative planning and development initiatives, such as collaborative processes, participative design actions and co-housing projects. They have happened to fertilise "red Vienna's" housing traditions quite well, and have been crucial for the success of many large Viennese housing projects over the past years, certainly including Wildgarten. The following text lists a series of intentional positions – what we like to call vectors – , which have been crucial in the conceptualisation, definition and development of the project. They aim to explain the project genesis and its underlying ideas, but also happen to build a quite accurate outline of our office's approach to the city and its production.

Liquid City
What is the role of the planner in the production of the city, that shows itself increasingly as an extremely complex and changing reality?

We understand planning as the generation of infrastructural supports, not only for buildings but also for the many processes that make up the city. Regarding *Wildgarten*, we have understood our task as the definition of a flexible support, capable of

working as the foundations for a diverse and porous development. Communities should easily take root and flourish over time on it, and be able to continuously adapt the urban structure to their changing needs.

Although almost anyone would sign up for this challenge, it happens to stand diametrically opposed to the most typical and conventional solutions for suburban environments. These are based either on object design and infrastructural excess – e.g. typical social housing developments – or on the carcinogenic accumulation of private plots – e.g. single-family house environments. Shared by both cases is the polarisation of public and private, and the complete absence of structures able to support the commons. It is precisely here, in the physical definition of the commons, where Wildgarten tries to make a difference.

In other words, the target was to create a kind of liquid urban texture, which was capable of defining a complex communal structure for a neighbourhood, beyond the public/private dualism. Moreover, it needed to adapt itself to its main actors' changing interests and values, before, during and especially after the construction of the neighbourhood.

Urban Support
What is the physical support of an open-source urban development?

Instead of proposing a pre-designed urban fabric, we have defined a collective pattern that is open to individual interpretation: a regular grid of gardens that spreads over the whole site, making a kind of game board out of it. It is possible to build around the gardens, but not inside them, so that they conform what we came to call "extrovert plots".
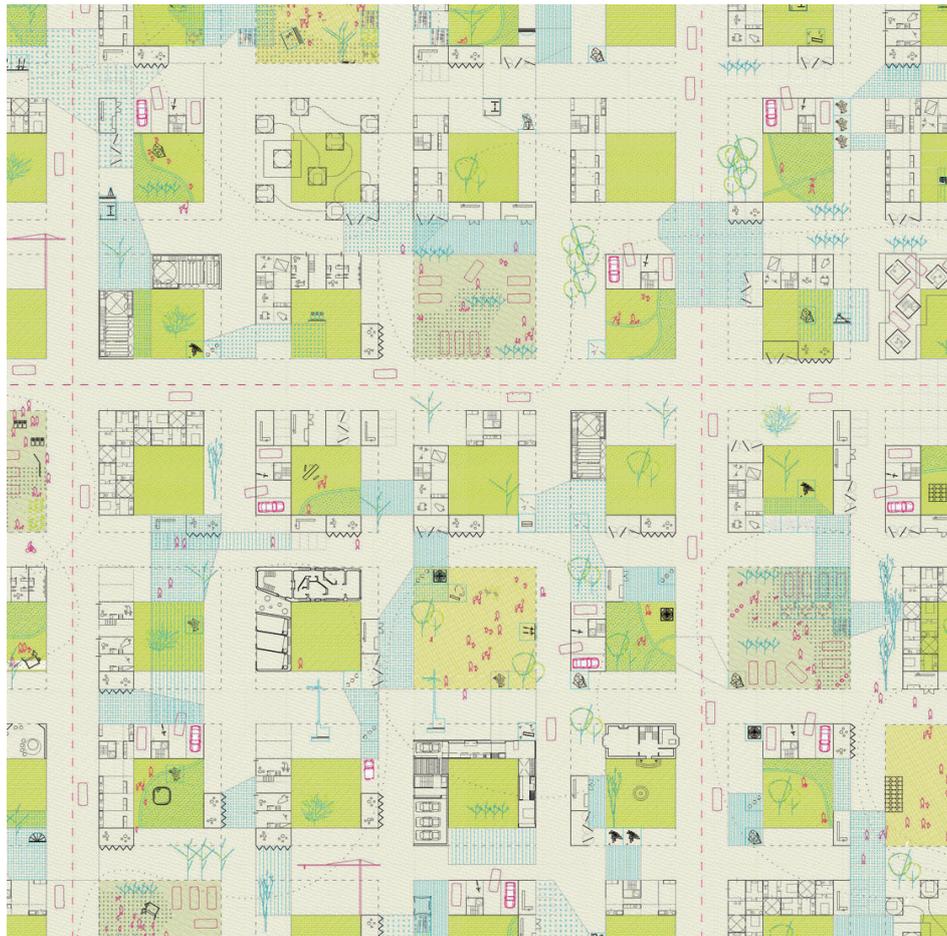
Wildgarten Competition Fabric

The private garden thus takes on the structuring role, as in the project surroundings. The so-called Rosenhügel area, in which the neighbourhood is planned, features small building structures and the overall presence of fences and hedges.

Wildgarten is built with the same suburban symbols – gardens, hedges, detached buildings, etc – but reassembled into a new structure, in which community is allowed to happen.

The proposed grid of gardens produces a differential space that enables controlled diversity and generates negotiation between the different players involved in the city's production. This negotiated space is precisely the place of community.

Multiplayer City
Who produces the city?

Several actors can colonise the so-called extrovert plots, promoting diversity of building scales, community types and urban relations.

The search for the source of real mixture is done not so much in the users, but in the producers. Diversity has to be induced already through the design of the process, and not only designed as a static mix of types. Therefore, a wide range of city producers is involved in the design on Wildgarten's game board:

+ Public housing – directly produced and administered by the city of Vienna.
+ Subsidised housing, both for rent and for sale.
+ Private housing, both for rent and for sale.
+ Co-housing projects.

The project is particularly open to the Baugruppen initiatives (co-building and co-housing projects), an increasingly important agent in Vienna's housing scene.
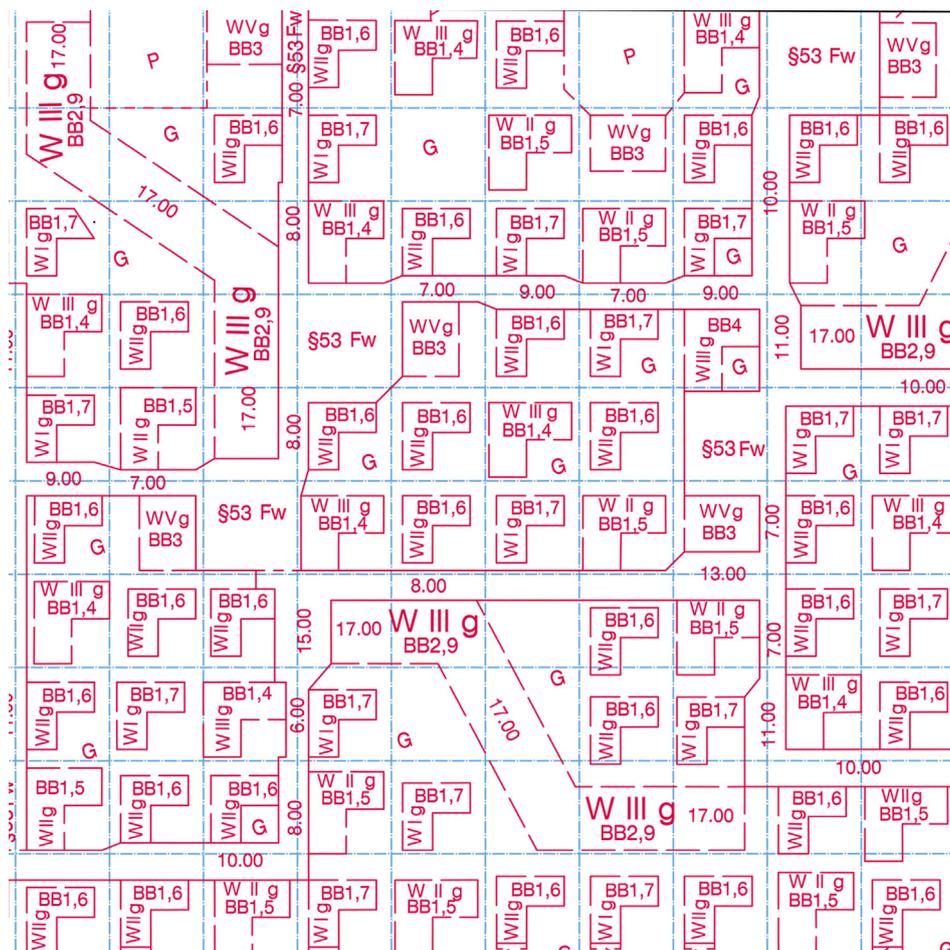

Wildgarten Widmung Document

They were involved in the planning process, and four strategic sites were reserved for them in the master plan. Their community-oriented projects will play a key role in the new district, activating free spaces and programming the neighbourhood.

Diversity

To what extent can diversity really happen in a city which is produced mainly under market rule?

Wildgarten is open to a variety of building scales (XL, L, M, S, XS) that offer a porous and fine-grained urban fabric, and favour a rich and complex urban environment without losing compactness and density. Typological diversity is brought to its limits in order to allow very different investment and community scales. The buildings' sizes range from small structures close to a family home scale (250 m2) to big and highly efficient blocks (10,000 m2).

Each building scale has a role within the urban fabric: XL-type long blocks structure the neighbourhood and divide it into parts. L-type high buildings serve as urban reference in the otherwise excessively homogenous tissue. M and S houses build the critical mass of the fabric, and define its low-rise/high-density character. XS pieces increase the porosity through freeing up some of its ground for common free space. This way, urban quality is guaranteed by the relationships, so that conventional market architecture can find a place in the neighbourhood, and even enrich the whole without necessarily having an extraordinary architectural value. Nevertheless, the project has other tools to safeguard the quality of the single projects, as we will see later on.
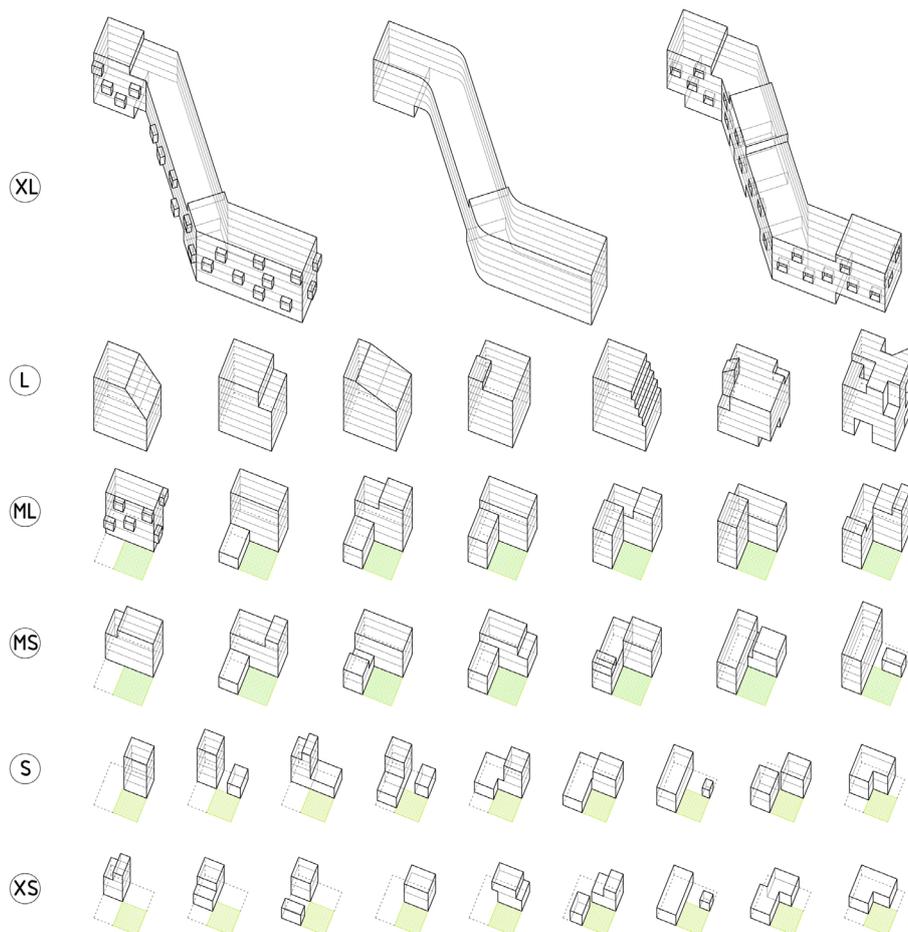
Wildgarten Diversity Catalog

Planum. The Journal of Urbanism

Open Syntax
How can we describe architecture as a process, without defining its final result?

As mentioned above, the design of supports for the urban processes provides an organised framework for a flexible urban development. These supports allow big amounts of freedom and diversity in a relatively controlled urban environment. However, a corresponding syntax is needed, in order to describe the urban fabric's production without necessarily obliging to apply a predefined form. This syntactic repertoire should be focused on the relational values of architecture and leave as many decisions as possible open for the subsequent object design.

The project uses three levels of definition for the different rules and guidelines, according to their flexibility and greater or lesser structural character:

+ The development plan (Widmung), which is the legal document approved by the City of Vienna. It defines types, amounts and largest sizes, as well as the mobility network and the mandatory green spaces. The municipality accepted an innovative approach in its content and formalisation that allowed the definition of a support with a great flexibility.

+ The master plan, which describes the concrete development. It defines, among others, the location and size of the different investment units, the free spaces related to the whole neighbourhood, the concrete section of streets, etc.

+ In addition, a "book of qualities" (Qualitätenkatalog) was created, which provides some instructions and many recommendations about mobility, free space, building materials, ecology, etc.

Wildgarten Free Space

The volumetric and design flexibility is much better in the smaller building scales, which can thus be developed by many different initiatives and can bring a broad diversity into the tissue. The bigger structures, on the other hand, are more precisely designed, as they take on crucial structuring roles for the whole.

Allmende
Where is the place of the community in today's suburb?

Once this structure was established, the following stage of the project involved exploring the relations within this framework, especially by the redefinition of the role of free space in the context of suburban housing environments.

Although structured by private gardens (the symbol of the suburb par excellence), Wildgarten tries to overcome the sterile public-private dualism by focusing on the commons as its differential element. Between the various buildings, we proposed a collective space that is reprogrammable over time and has membership capability, for which the old alpine concept of "*Allmende*" (the commons) is reused. Only the strictly necessary areas between the buildings are urbanised, so that most of them can be colonised by this new free space typology.

In fact, these spaces are formed as easily appropriable, low-maintenance, green surfaces. Thanks to some rules, a management structure and especially the inhabitants' negotiation capabilities, they support communities, and make them visible as an upgraded identity symbol for the new neighbourhood. The *Allmende* can be softly appropriated by small groups of neighbours for farming, by the whole district for an event, or just left as natural wilderness.
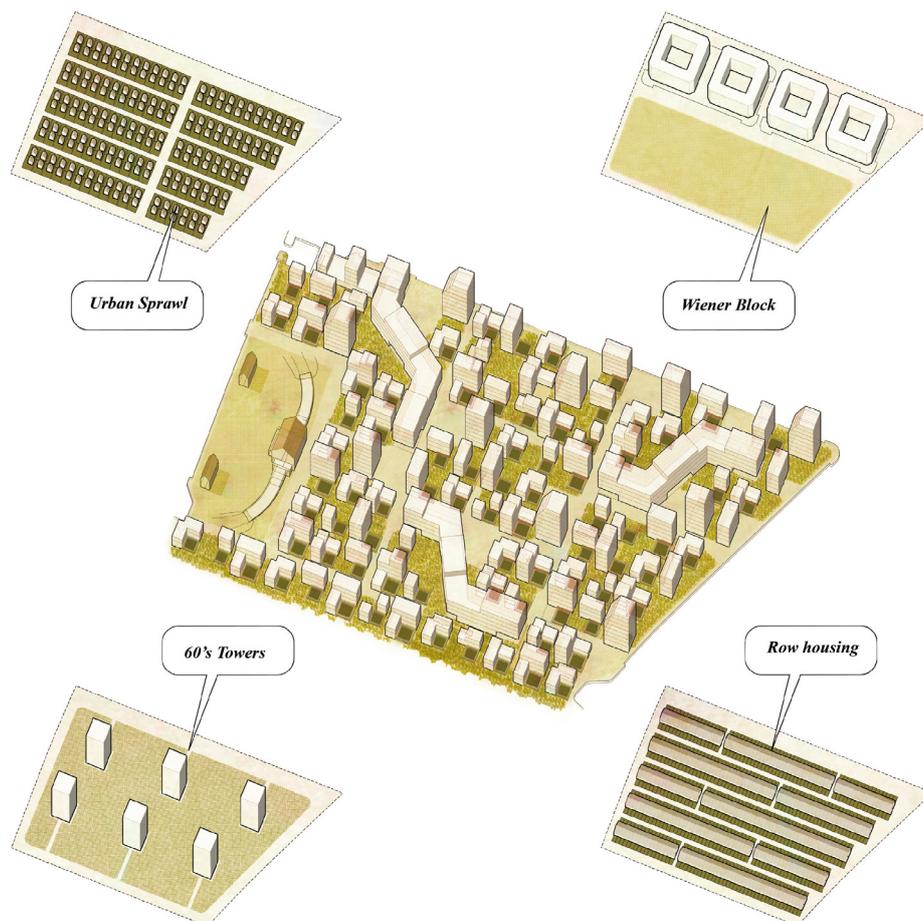
Wildgarten Suburban Qualities

The neighbourhood's landscape concept is conceived as a set of flexible tools – urban post-its – , which should empower communities on all scales to the transformation of their corresponding *Allmende* space. This ensures constructive flexibility and process continuity, and again forms a fluid that adapts constantly to the changing needs of its society.

Porosity
Can we think of ways of urbanising that allow us to coexist better with nature?

Porosity does not characterise only the permeable urban fabric in terms of image or circulations. It also defines its soft impact on the site's existing natural ecosystems. In fact, these ecosystems constitute a highly valuable island of grown-up wild meadowland in the middle of suburban monocultures.

In the new urban tissue, approximately 60% of the land is green space that allows the continuity of flora and fauna. More specifically, the *Allmende* surfaces are left as urban wilderness, as it exists now on the site: a rich mix of grass breeds, hosting a big amount of small and medium sized animal species, some of which have some degree of protection. Wildgarten does not replace nature, but rather settles down on it porously. It integrates wilderness into its structure, and thus respects ecological diversity and the continuity of the ecosystem.

Rethinking mobility has also been an essential aspect of Wildgarten. The area is planned as a car-free zone with three big collective underground garages, which can be accessed from the perimeter streets.

Cars can only drive inside the urban fabric in case of emergency, so that the whole connectivity pattern appears as a highquality pedestrian space.

Wildgarten Model

Identity

How can we define authentic centralities in fragmented periurban environments?

It is not always easy to create anchor points for identity in the suburbs. The lack of references –historical, cultural, or at least visual- is a problem we find very often in peripheral housing areas, which are outfitted in the best-case scenarios with strictly functional centralities. This weakens urban complexity and social cohesion, and increases the inhabitants' dependence on infrastructural networks, especially regarding mobility and information.

That is why the presence of a historic building ensemble on-site appears as a unique opportunity to generate a place of identity for the neighbourhood. The remains of a public pig-breeding farm from the Nazi era (1939) are integrated into the urban tissue as a historical reference – not exempt of dark sides. The main building and two director houses are renovated and adapted for a social centre with kindergarten and for housing, respectively.

The ensemble is cemented by an exuberant green space, which the past decades have partially transformed into a highly valuable urban wilderness. This character is protected and maintained, in order to provide the neighbourhood with a mature central park. It should not only build up the neighbourhood's centrality, but also offer a link – a gate – to the adjacent urban tissues.
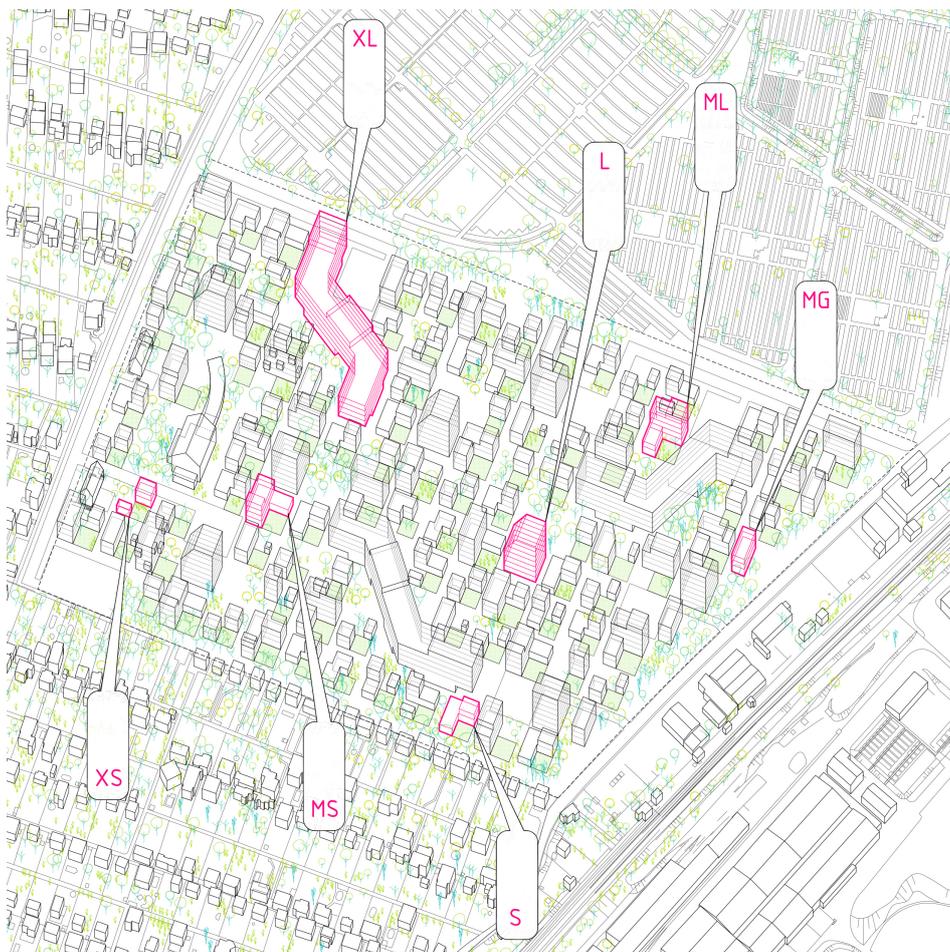

Wildgarten Rol of Types

Collaborative Planning
How can the conventional tools and methods of planning and architecture be rethought and rewritten?

The production of contemporary urbanity does not respond to a single social project anymore, as it might have done in former times. It has reached huge levels of complexity, both quantitative and qualitative, and can only be understood as an open-ended negotiation, in which many different interests converge and diverge in a continuous transformation. The conventional, author-oriented apparatus of planning and architecture seems to be highly inadequate for this task. The planner has to somehow assume the responsibility of including all relevant agents into the urban negotiation. A broad participation of different actors in this table is a sine qua non condition for the city's democratic character.

For the planning development, we formed a multidisciplinary team with our local partners Mascha & Seethaler and a group of experts in landscaping, mobility, sociology, participation, sustainability and energy. Every expert, working in thematic workshops, contributed to the project with his/her specific knowledge. This collective work developed into the definitive master plan, which was approved by the city of Vienna in September 2015.

But not only technicians make the city. We view the planning of a neighbourhood as an open collaborative process, in which as many stakeholders as possible should be represented. Therefore public institutions, potential developers as well as citizen representatives have been involved at different times during the process, and have been able to contribute to the plan with their own interests, needs and values.
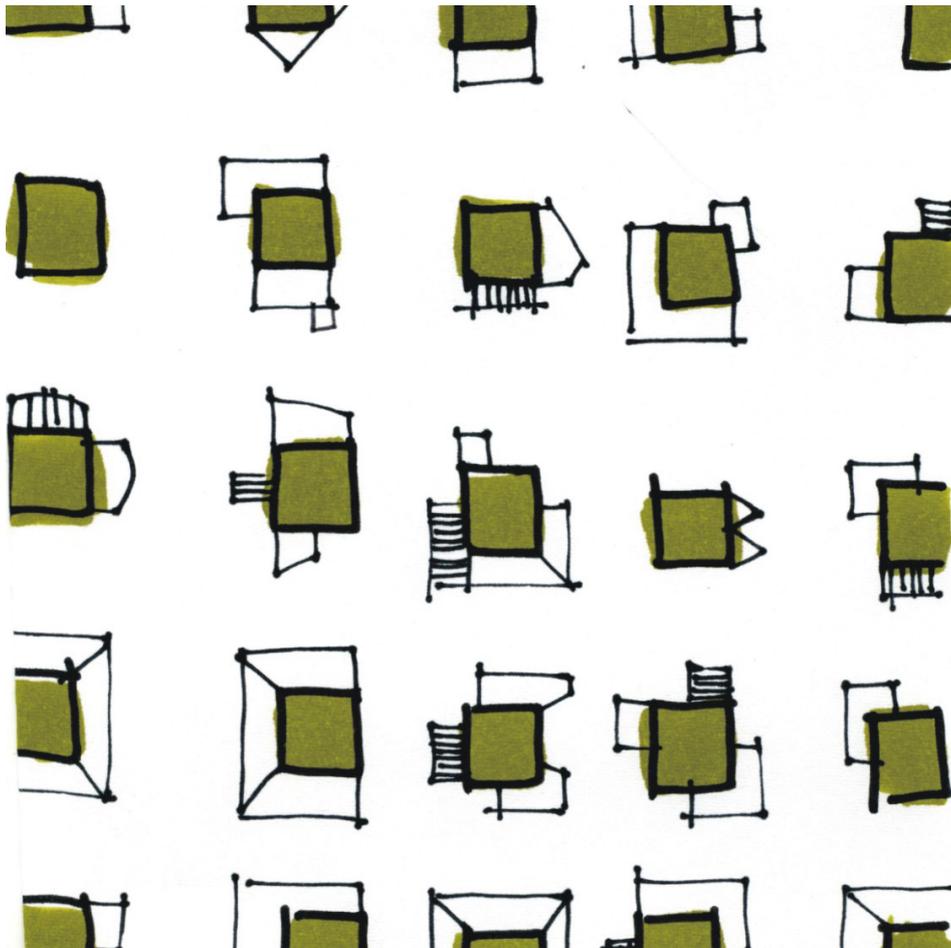
Wildgarten Sketch

Urban Software

Is everything already done, once the buildings are finished?

The built environment alone does not create a neighbourhood. That would be something like a piece of hardware, which needs to be activated by its corresponding software. Beside the flexible support and the open-sourced syntax, a transparent management structure builds an essential element in the urban plan, as it activates and animates it.

Two structures are proposed: one defensive, which controls the development quality, and another more proactive one, which programmes the urban space and activates the social processes in the neighbourhood:

+ A Quality-control board (*Qualitätssicherungsgremium*), in which architects, planners, the municipality, the developer, politicians and citizen representatives are able to proactively control the various building and free space projects.

+ A central coordinating office, which runs the social-cultural centre, manages the use of the Allmende, and in general energises social life in the area.

These two structures are working already, through the control of the different architectural projects under development on one hand, and through the implementation of participative and/or informative events on-site, such as herb collecting or summer cinema, on the other. It is not yet built, but life already seems to be flowing in Wildgarten.

After a collaborative process to refine the competition concept, in which a number of experts, municipal staff, politicians and citizen representatives were involved, the City of Vienna approved the planning in 2015. In 2015 it won the HOLCIM Award Europe Bronze, and was runner-up for the Holcim Global Award. The first building projects are already under construction, and the first neighbours should move in during early 2019.

The Wildgarten project was first published in AV Proyectos in 2009, and has since been presented in several publications, conferences and exhibitions. The text was fully reviewed and updated for this publication in Planum.

Wildgarten Actors

Jan Duffhues, **Luca Bertolini**
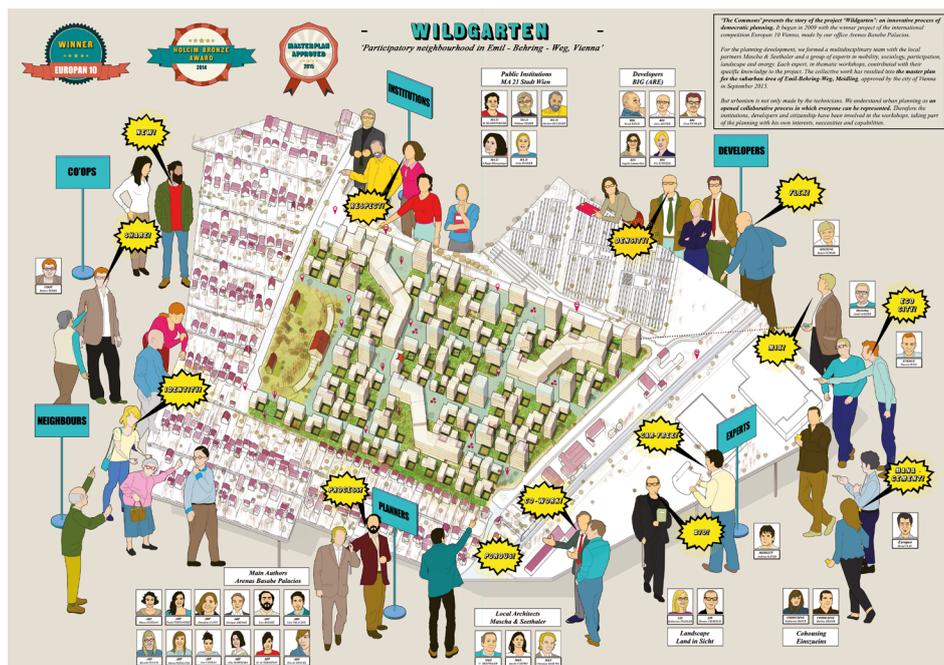
From Integrated Aims to Fragmented Outcomes: Urban Intensification and Transportation Planning in the Netherlands

Introduction

Since 2007, more than half of the world population lives in cities. Urban land area has increased by 1,6% to 3,9% annually since 1970 (UNEP 2013). To manage this growth in a sustainable way, a growing body of literature supports the notion that a denser, more mixed urban form has a positive effect on travel mode choice and transport energy consumption (Niemeier et al. 2011; Ewing & Cervero 2010; Ewing & Cervero 2001; Brownstone & Golob 2009). This increase in land use densities and mix, which we call 'urban intensification', is also expected to protect natural resources such as agricultural land and clean air, and to support better use of social services (Hull 2011). However, it has also been noted that without consistent urban transport policies, intensification-related costs (e.g. congestion, pollution) instead of benefits might prevail (Ferreira & Batey 2011; Melia et al. 2011; Niemeier et al. 2011).

To be able to grasp this complexity and deal with it in an effective way, it is argued that transportation and land use planning should be carried out in an integrated way (Stead et al. 2004; Hull 2005). However, in practice transport and land use integration has to deal with implementation barriers that are difficult to overcome (Banister, 2005; Hull, 2011). While there is a growing body of knowledge on the nature of these barriers, there is still a lack of knowledge of how they concretely play out in the planning process. Where in the process do they emerge? In which form? This process knowledge seems essential if barriers are to be overcome. In order to shed light on these matters, this paper will explore how transport and land use (TLU) planning in the Netherlands has dealt with the challenge of urban intensification. First, the concept of 'intensification' will be introduced and it is theorized how this affects TLU planning. Then, the research questions are presented, asking to what extent integrated TLU planning takes place in the Netherlands, how it is implemented and if this leads to desirable outcomes. This will be researched through content analysis of Dutch planning documents, informed by in-depth interviews and participant observations, and supported by insights in the specific characteristics of the national context. In the conclusions, potential implications of the analysis for both the Netherlands and other contexts are drawn. In this respect, the Netherlands can be characterized as a 'critical case' in that the implementation gap in this country is also likely to be present in the many countries with a lower, less explicit commitment to urban intensification and transport land use planning integration (see for a similar argument applied to sustainable urban development barriers in Oslo and Copenhagen Naess et al. 2011, p. 290)

How intensification affects transportation / land use planning

The relationships between urban density and mobility are subject to much discussion and are more complex than they at first might seem. Transport and land use influence each other directly and endogenously, but are also impacted by exogenous factors such as individual attitudes, socioeconomic and demographic variables and political preferences (Handy 2002; Krizek & Levinson 2008; Hull 2011). However, there is a broad understanding that a better coordination between transport and land use can contribute to sustainable urban development and lead to more sustainable mobility (Bertolini & le Clercq, 2003; Banister, 2008; Hull, 2011).

Some essential relationships are sketched in Figure 1 below (based on Wegener & Fürst 1999; Bertolini, 2012). Land use co-determines the location of human activities. Both firms and households trade off the quality of their present location for the costs (e.g. time, money) needed to reach activities elsewhere (Krizek & Levinson 2008). Individual preferences and possibilities, as determined by socio-demographic, economic and cultural factors, are important variables in this trade off. Grouped together, these individual preferences and possibilities to undertake and reach certain activities are the demand for mobility. This demand can only be met if there is a supply of available transport options. Individual firms and households will have to choose out of the available supply of transport options and will choose the option closest to their preferences and within their possibilities. The available transport options are determined by infrastructure investments and transportation planning and policy choices, responding to actual and expected mobility demand but also based on broader considerations (e.g. promoting economic development or social equity, protecting the environment). The available transport options together with the distribution of land uses create accessibility, defined as the ease of reaching the desired activities from other locations. Changes in land use are influenced by accessibility (more accessible location will be more rewarding to develop), alongside other factors such as the quality of the local environment, available land, and land use planning policy. This interrelatedness between transport and land use is often conceptualized by means of a 'transport land use (TLU) feedback cycle', as for example discussed in Wegener and Fürst (1999) and Bertolini (2012).
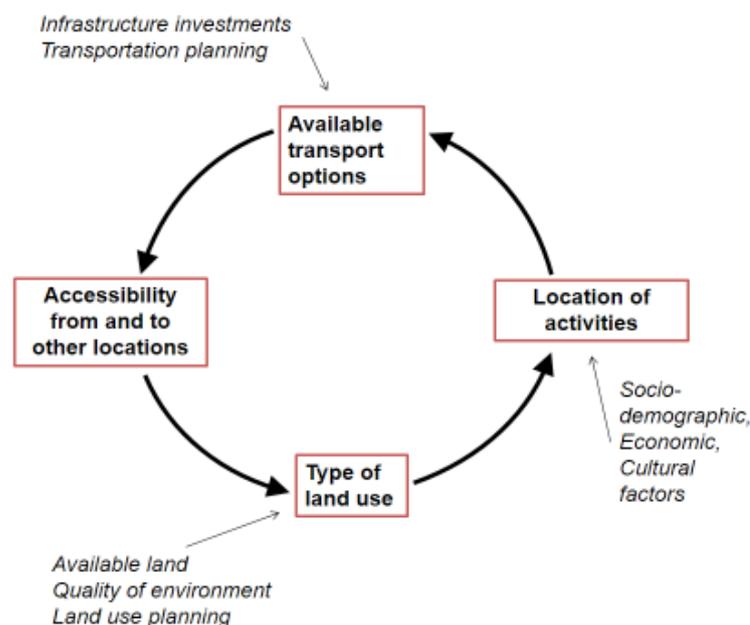

Figure 1: transport – land use feedback cycle

'Intensification' is understood in this paper as an increase in activities accessed by both inhabitants and visitors (e.g. commuters, business travellers, tourists) in cities, leading to a more intense use of space by people. Changing land use through urban intensification can lead to a larger number of activities within reach in a constant amount of time. Intensification is expected to have a two-fold effect on the transport-land use feedback cycle: it favours less vehicle kilometres travelled and leads to more travel by sustainable transportation modes. (Næss, Strand, et al. 2011a; Næss 2005; Banister 2008; Schwanen et al. 2004).

On the neighbourhood level, walking and cycling are expected to take up larger shares as land use is more mixed (Cervero & Duncan 2008) and the neighbourhood design encourages walking and cycling to everyday services (Aditjandra et al. 2012; Ewing & Cervero 2010). Intensification around existing public transportation networks enhances their use (Cervero & Day 2008; Cervero 1998) because this leads to changing activity patterns and modal shift (Geurs et al., 2010). However, intensification can also lead to congestion on the transportation network, which might cause accessibility to decrease and increase negative externalities because of the concentration of cars and traffic. This is called the 'intensification paradox' (Melia et al., 2011). In large cities, this might result in more, not less travelling because of negative agglomeration effects, causing people and jobs to move further out (Ferreira & Batey 2011; Wheeler 2009), although this still benefits residents because of increased choice and opportunities (van Wee 2011).

The following intensification/sprawl TLU 'feedback cycle' helps to understand these dynamics (see Fig. 2). A 'TLU intensification feedback cycle' is introduced: denser and more mixed land use will lead to more activities in the same amount of land, thus intensifying the use of the urban area. This also means that the transportation network will be used more intensely, and for short distances in particular. To support intensification, the available transport options need therefore to be high-capacity, slow modes such as walking, cycling and local and regional public transport. Furthermore, increases in land use intensity need to occur where the accessibility by those modes is highest.
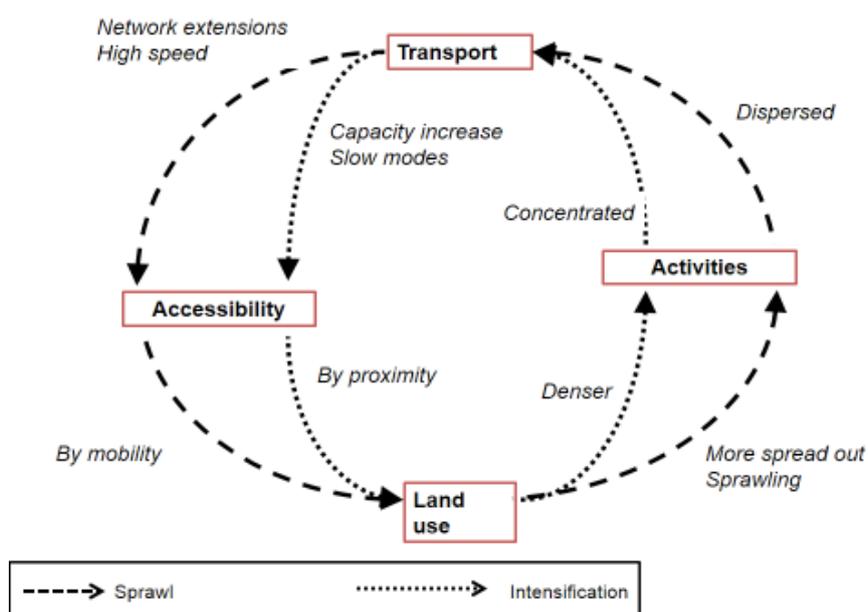

Figure 2: intensification/sprawl feedback cycle

This could lead to a 'self-amplifying effect' (Næss et al., 2011) in which intensification makes city areas more attractive and accessible, leading to a higher residential and visitor population within these areas, which becomes a base for further high-capacity and slow transportation network improvements, and so forth.

This can be contrasted to a 'TLU sprawl feedback cycle', in which sprawl is defined as a less dense and less mixed land use which leads to more dispersed activities. This is reinforced by a transport planning that prioritizes the improvement of high-speed networks (such as highways), leading to an increased accessibility of places further away from each other, and attracting new activities there. Increased use of these networks will lead to congestion of their most central nodes, which will in its turn lead to an increased demand for further network extensions and activity dispersion, and so forth.

A mismatch occurs when land use planning is directed at intensification while transportation planning is directed at speeding up and extending networks, or, conversely, when land use is becoming more dispersed while transportation planning is directed at improving slower, high-capacity transportation networks. In the first case, transportation networks will not support the intensive land use patterns, and will instead facilitate land use sprawl. In the second case, the opposite applies. So, in both cases of mismatch transport and land use planning are weakening, rather than reinforcing each other. Furthermore, it can be argued that planning for the 'intensification feedback cycle' contributes more to sustainable urban development compared to planning for the 'sprawl feedback cycle', as argued earlier on.

An important nuance to this line of reasoning is that both ways of reinforcement between transportation and land use planning are not by necessity alternative, endlessly diverging spirals, leading to ever further intensification or ever more sprawl, but can also be used to complement each other on the regional scale. For example, on the scale of the city region, dispersion to and intensification of places outside of the central city can still contribute to sustainable development for the city region as a whole, preventing further congestion of those parts of the central city already intensively used. This, however, should be a conscious planning choice, taking into account (amongst other things) the characteristics of the city region, its scale and its transportation network. Most importantly, sprawl at the city-region level should still be combined with 'intensification' at the neighbourhood level, in particular around locations with high public transport accessibility, as, for instance, in transit oriented development strategies (Bertolini et al., 2012).

The overarching quest for planners is to match the quality of the accessibility of a given location to the sort of activity to be located there (Bertolini & Le Clercq 2003) so people can reach more opportunities with less, or less harmful mobility (Straatemeier 2008). The TLU feedback cycle can be used to plan for accessibility in an integrative way, acknowledging both the role of mobility, as facilitated by transportation networks, and that of proximity, as facilitated by land uses (Handy, 2002). By doing so, shortcomings of the traditional, mobility focused urban transportation planning can be overcome (Straatemeier, 2008), leading to more sustainable development of cities (Bertolini et al., 2005). In the remainder of this paper, we focus on what this would require of transportation and land use planning implementation, and whether this occurs, or doesn't.

Questions and methods
Research question

Integrated accessibility planning, while conceptually clear, might not be an easy task in practice. When trying to implement plans and policies directed at more transport and land use integration, institutional barriers arise, causing a gap between the stated goals and the eventual outcomes (Gaffron 2002; Hull 2008; Hull 2011; Stead

et al. 2004; Næss, Næss, et al. 2011). In the literature, much attention has been paid to the different types of barriers (institutional, legal, financial, organisational) and the measures that can bring these barriers down, such as changing financial incentives, improving coordination between policies and develop better appraisal tools and methods. However, while we have knowledge about the contents of barriers and ways of overcoming them, knowledge about the process in which both might emerge is more limited.

The Randstad Area, the most urbanized part of the Netherlands, is seen as a critical case to provide more understanding of these processes. It can be characterized as a 'critical case' in that this implementation gap is also likely to be present in countries with a lower, less explicit commitment to urban intensification and transport land use planning integration. This article aims to position the Randstad in relation to the existing work on amongst others Copenhagen, (Næss, Strand, et al. 2011b) Oslo (Næss, Strand, et al. 2011b; Næss, Næss, et al. 2011) and Perth (Curtis 2008) and to provide a in-depth look at the ways relevant land use and transportation plans address implementation and the measure of success.

This paper looks therefore in detail at the transport – land use planning process dealing with intensification, from strategic plans to projects, to identify when in the planning and development process these barriers arise. It is expected that this will lead to a better understanding of the causes of the barriers to integrated TLU planning and help better identify the interventions that might prevent the mismatch from happening. Do, for instance, barriers arise from the outset in strategic plans, during their implementation or do they become visible only in the set-up and outcomes of specific plans and projects? This paper will try to answer this question through applying the 'intensification/sprawl feedback cycle' to analyze the TLU planning and decision making process regarding intensification in the Netherlands. A mismatch occurs when plans or projects with effects on either the 'transport half' or the 'land use half' do not engage with or acknowledge the effects they have on the other half of the cycle. While the findings cannot be assumed as valid for other contexts, we believe they can still have a resonance with many of them, and, perhaps most importantly, that the same method of analysis could be fruitfully applied there.

Methods

To be able to identify abstract concepts of when during TLU planning implementation barriers arise, a qualitative content analysis (Bryman, 2008) was carried out on all currently ruling 'development strategies' and 'regional agendas' for the four provinces, four city regions and four largest municipalities in the Randstad area. The Randstad area is the most urbanized part of the country. These were development strategies for the provinces of North Holland, South Holland and Utrecht, the city region of the Hague and the city of Amsterdam (see table 2).

These documents were coded using categories relating to the intensification feedback cycle for the stated aims and objectives of the mentioned strategy, the policy measures or other types of implementation tools and the ways goals are measured or monitored (Pedersen et al. 2009; Timms 2011).

Goals, projects / actions and measures were categorized as follows:

1. Conducive to the intensification of land use
2. Conducive to increasing the share of sustainable transportation modes (public transport, biking, walking)
3. Conducive to intensification of land use and increase of sustainable transportation modes through integrated accessibility planning (as conceptualized in the intensification TLU feedback cycle depicted in figure 2)
4. Conducive to sprawl of land use
5. Conducive to increasing the share of motorized and high-speed transportation

6. Conducive to sprawl of land use and increasing shares of motorized and high-speed transportation

A goal, project or measure is seen as 'conducive to intensification' if it addresses a part of or the whole intensification TLU feedback cycle. If for example the goal, project or measure is directed at increasing density of land use or activities, it contributes to intensification of land use. If a goal, project or measure is directed at increasing the share of sustainable transportation modes, it is seen as contributing to intensification of the transportation network. A goal, project or measure that explicitly addresses both halves of the TLU feedback cycle is categorized in the third category. The 'expectation' of the effect does not have to be explicitly stated, but can also be latently categorized. For example, higher average speeds on the highway network is not explicitly linked to the increase of sprawl, although following the reasoning of figure 2 it does contribute to sprawl. Codes were subject to constant comparison and constant discovery during the content analysis, as in ethnographic content analysis (Bryman 2001).

	National scale	Regional scale	Local scale
Development Strategy	1	4	1
Regional Agendas		3	

Table 1: types of documents analyzed

During coding, the interpretation of the documents was guided by concrete experiences of the researcher and observation and reflections of practitioners.

The researcher was involved in the implementation of two development strategies. Through 'reflective practitioning' (Schön 1984), concrete experiences were linked to concepts from literature. To prevent bias, these concepts were further explored in the interviews. Six practitioners with key roles in transport and land use processes from various levels of government were interviewed in a semi-structured way during approximately 60 minutes. Of each government level (national, regional, local), two people were interviewed, one from the land use department, one from the transportation department but all of them dealing with development strategies and integrated TLU planning. The subject of how intensification affects transportation networks and vice versa and the way development strategies deal with this subject were discussed. They were asked about what happens during the planning process starting with a development strategy and leading to projects or policy actions with the interviewer prompting questions on 'how processes go' and 'what do you think is important'. Furthermore, they described if and how 'documentary reality' differs from actual reality during this process. Recurring themes were found in the interviews, although from different perspectives. This was seen as sufficient saturation to start with the content analysis.

A possible problem with formal content analysis can be that only manifest content can be found. Through the triangulation of literature, observations and interviews, latent content was also addressed, providing an in-depth understanding of selected documents.

Results
Context

Context for the analysis will be provided by a short introduction of Dutch intensification policies and outcomes.

Under Dutch law, governments on all levels are required to have a 'development strategy' document (a 'structuurvisie'). This is a comprehensive plan or vision which serves as a legal basis for land use decisions and has a long-term horizon for day-to-

day decisions (typically 30 years). The plans mostly consist of a vision and a number of actions to be taken to make the vision reality. There is a strong tradition in the Netherlands for making these plans since the 1960s and the first national 'Report on Land Use Planning'. Lower-level governments are expected to make their 'development strategies' comply with those of higher-level governments, although there is substantial freedom in choosing otherwise, and more than it used to be in the past. The 'development strategies' deal with a broad range of subjects which influence land use, from transportation to climate change to nature conservation.

Investment decisions on large scale infrastructure and spatial projects are made in the context of a national program, MIRT, in which projects are listed in three phases: exploration, planning, realization (Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Milieu, 2011b). MIRT stands for 'Meerjarenprogramma Infrastructuur, Ruimte en Transport' or 'Long-term program for infrastructure, transportation and land use'. The purpose of the program is "to increase consistency in investment for major land use and infrastructure projects such as ports, airports, landscaping, public transportation, roads etc."(Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Milieu, 2011b). Regional, provincial and national governments engage in periodical negotiations on this program, its projects and the funding of the projects. The MIRT is an appendix to the national budget which has to be approved by the national parliament every year.

Since 2009, 'regional agendas' are a mandatory part of the MIRT-process. These regional agendas provide a 'shared vision' by national and regional governments which leads to a limited 'long list' of possible future projects for the MIRT. The regional agendas are updated permanently (Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Milieu, 2011b). So, a 'regional agenda' is the result of a collaborative process between various scales and levels of government, which each has their own long-term 'development strategies'. The whole process from development strategies to specific projects is a complex affair, with a large number of stakeholders and decision making 'rounds' (Teisman, 2000). Local and regional governments also initiate numerous small-scale projects and programmes of their own, for which a collaborative process with national government is not deemed necessary. Table 1 summarizes the main planning documents and actors involved.

Name	Development strategies	Regional agendas
Who?	Every government level for its own jurisdiction; lower-level governments expected to comply with higher-level strategies	Collaborative process between national, regional, and local governments
What?	Plan for long-term (30 years) land-use development	Plan and long list of projects
Legal status	Legally binding in principle; exceptions possible	None

Table 2: status of planning documents in the Netherlands

Planning in the Netherlands has aimed for a more compact urban development since the 1980s. This has been done for various reasons, such as preserving open space between the cities, reverse the decline of population in the larger cities and increasing the modal share of sustainable transportation modes, together forming a complex of interrelated arguments (Boelens & Spit 2011). However, what 'compact' exactly meant and if it should be applied to central cities, urban agglomerations or

even larger geographical entities was never specified (Boelens & Spit 2011). Recent spatial development trends are ambivalent. As figure 3 shows, the number of new dwellings built within the existing built-up area of the year 2000 (BUA2000) is lower than dwellings outside of this area, and the number of inhabitants in the existing built up area went down while that of those outside went up (Planbureau voor de Leefomgeving, 2012). This resulted in a decline of the percentage of inhabitants inside the BUA2000 from 90,3% in 2002 to 86,3% in 2010. The percentage of dwelling inside the BUA2000 went down from 92,3% to 89,0%. The same applies for jobs; between 2002 and 2010, the number of jobs within the built up area stayed constant while outside of the building area it rose substantially.
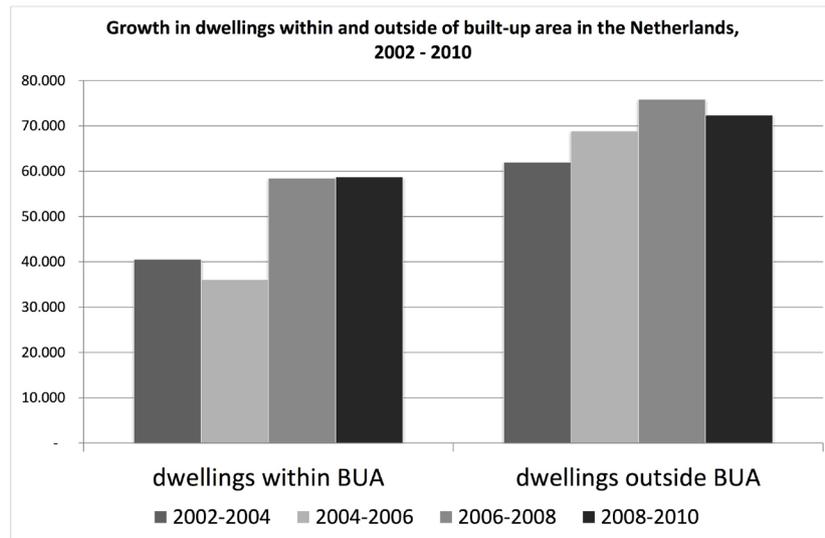

Figure 3: Growth in dwellings within and outside of built-up area. Source: (Planbureau voor de Leefomgeving 2012)

The Netherlands traditionally has a high share of bicycle use, although there is much differentiation socially and spatially, with the largest and growing shares in the cities (Harms et al. 2013). Despite aims of further reducing the share of motorized travel, the modal split at the national level has remained fairly constant over the last 20 years, (Figure 4). Furthermore, the total number of trips per person is declining across all modes, while at the same time the average distances per trip are rising across all modes (Figure 5). This indicates that, people travel less often to meet their needs, but if travel is needed they travel further. This corresponds to the idea of 'peak travel' (Millard-Ball & Schipper 2011).

Regional public transport (busses, subway, tram, max 80 km/h) is used for fairly short trips (< 13 km on average), while the national transport network (national railways, max 200 km/h) is used for fairly long trip trips (> 40 km on average).

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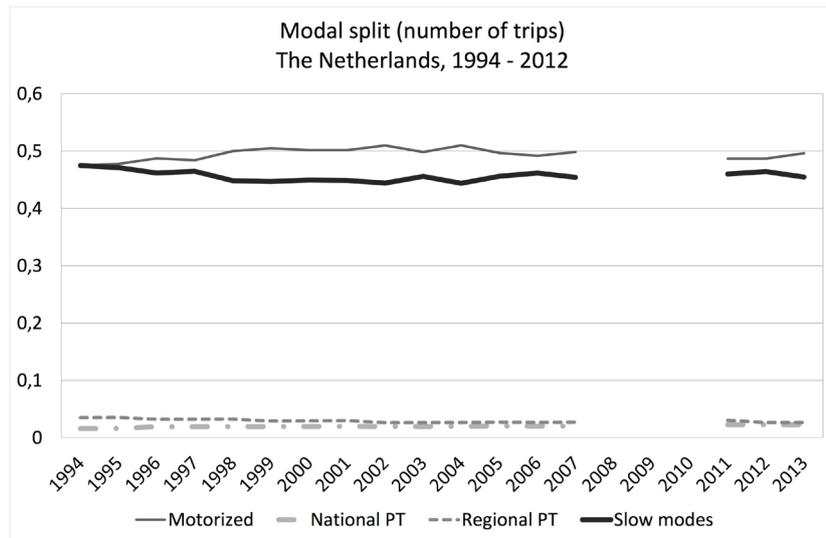
Figure 4: modal split (number of trips). Source: (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek 2014)
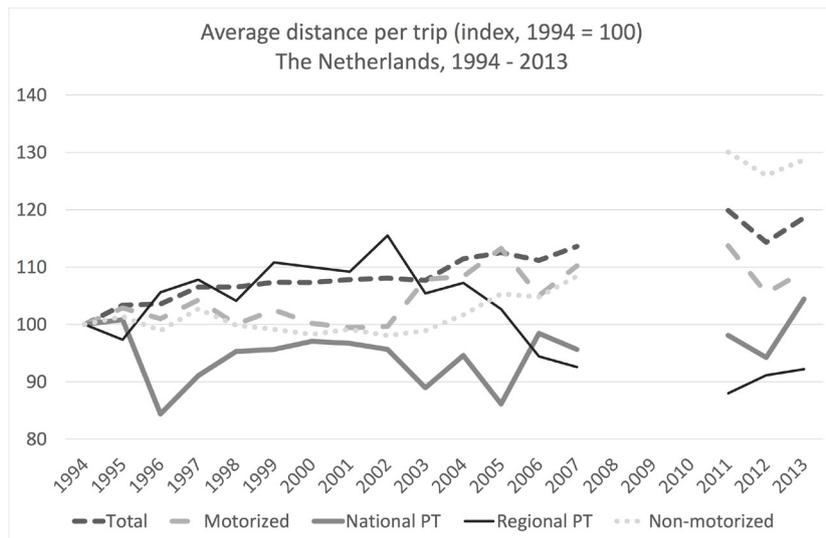
Figure 5: average length per trip mode in the Netherlands. Source: (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek 2014)

Together, these trends show that population and job growth is largest outside the current built up area and trips are getting longer on average. In terms of the transport / land use feedback cycle, a trend towards sprawl can be seen, despite longstanding efforts for more compact city development.

Policy aims

In the documents analyzed 'aims' are interpreted broadly. Some strategies speak of 'interests' that should be acommodated, others about 'tasks' or 'challenges' the region faces or 'development directions' the region should take. What is analysed here as 'aims' are the elements that structure the strategy and together provide the future image of the region.

The aims mentioned in the strategies are wide-ranging, from 'a national ecological network to help flora and fauna survive' (Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Milieu 2012, p.27) to 'improve competitivity on an international scale' (Provincie Noord-Holland 2011, p.42). Recurring themes are climate change, increasing economic competitivity, preserving open space and improving accessibility, see table 2.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Total number of aims	13	12	14	3	15	7	5	5	5
Climate change	1	3	1		1	1	1	1	1
Economic competitiveness	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1
Preserving open space	1	3	4		5		1	1	1
Improving accessibility	2		3	1		2	1	1	1

Table 3: number of aims in documents on one of the recurring themes
A = Structuurvisie Infrastructuur en Ruimte, B = Structuurvisie Noord-Holland, C= Structuurvisie Zuid-Holland, D = Regionaal Structuurplan Haaglanden, E = Provinciale Ruimtelijke Structuurvisie, F = Structuurvisie Amsterdam, G = Gebiedsagenda Zuidvleugel, H = Gebiedsagenda Noordwest-Nederland, I = Gebiedsagenda Utrecht

Integrated transport and land use planning related to intensification can be found in all of the documents. There seems to be widespread recognition of the interplay between intensification and transportation, for example in these quotes: "Within the multi-modal transportation network, the public transport infrastructure determines where further urbanization can take place. This means an ongoing intensification of urban centres and station areas"(Provincie Zuid-Holland 2012, p.44), "Concentration of supraregional services and offices takes place mostly in urban centres, near important public transport nodes" (Provincie Zuid-Holland 2012, p.71), "To improve livability and accessibility, inner city growth should be located close to public transportation stops"(Provincie Utrecht 2013, p.38). The 'intensification paradox' is mentioned a couple of times: "Although intensification will lead to larger shares of public transport use, more car traffic will also occur. Possible new bottlenecks should be carefully examined" (Stadsgewest Haaglanden 2008b, p.61), "Land use developments need to take safety and pollution issues into account from the start" (Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Milieu 2012, p.123). With the possible exception of the national strategy, the full feedback loop between intensification and sustainable modes seems to be understood and strived for.

However, there are some remarkable findings. The national development strategy does not have intensification as an aim. Other development strategies often mention intensification but mostly as a 'stand-alone' aim, not related to transportation and not mentioning mix of land uses, only density. Also, although improving public transport and densifying land use around its stations is an aim in nearly all development strategies, slow modes are absent in all but three strategies. This is remarkable regarding the importance of the bicycle in Dutch transporation, with modal shares over 50% of all trips in some cities (Fietsberaad 2009).

Most of the time improved transportation is also seen as a 'stand-alone' aim, without any mention of possible land use effects. Almost all of the documents have 'improving accessibility' as an aim, which is without exception operationalised by capacity and speed increase of the long-distance network of highways and railways. Its direct consequences for land use, i.e. pollution, noise etc., is mentioned but its indirect and long-term consequences for land use, i.e. a further dispersion, is never taken into consideration explicitly.

Concluding, in these development strategies, full 'intensification feedback cycles' are recognizable in the documents, meaning that intensification is strived for and transportation and land use goals strengthen each other. However, apart from these integrated aims, a large number of sectoral aims and aims contributing to sprawl can also be found. This corresponds to the lack of explicit focus on compact city devel-

opment as found by (Næss et al. 2009). Especially improving highway networks does not strengthen the intensification feedback cycle. For long-distance railway networks it could be argued that it leads to intensification on the local scale of the railway station, but to dispersion of activities on the regional scale. This tension between competing aims is not resolved within the strategies, so they are ambivalent on this aspect: striving for intensification and at the same time promoting high-speed transportation network extension.

The regional agendas have a smaller number of aims, ranging from 'improving the economy' to 'sustainability and climateproofness'. 'Intensification of the urban area' is an aim in every regional agenda. So is 'improving accessibility'. The documents differ less from each other compared to the various development strategies, so the same type of aims are mentioned in every agenda. This implies either horizontal coordination between regions, or vertical coordination of all regions by the national government. The aim of 'improving accessibility' is sometimes related to improvements in public transport, but more often to increases in highway capacity. This means that just as in the development strategies, the competing objectives of both sprawl and intensification are strived for. Although the parts are there, a full 'intensification feedback cycle' is harder to find in the regional agendas. However, some projects in the regional agendas are seen as contributing to multiple goals, e.g. economic development and intensification, which implies a more integrated approach.

Instruments and actions

Every development strategy lists a number of 'actions' or 'projects'. The type and number of policy instruments differ greatly between the various development strategies, ranging from a large number of instruments as an integral part of the strategy to the delegation of instruments to follow-up sectoral documents. The development strategies do not have a financial annex and only for some specific projects budgets are mentioned. For example, one 'project' consists of "prioritizing urban regions over rural regions regarding the available budget for infrastructure"(Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Milieu 2012, p.33), without mentioning budget size.

A recurring policy instrument is the 'sustainable urbanization ladder' for land use development. This is mentioned by all strategies and is being laid down in national legislation. This ladder consists of three questions that need to be answered in decision-making on future development:

1. Does the development meet present market demand?
2. Can it be realized through transformation of the existing built up area?
3. If not, can it be realized on a location accessible by multiple transportation modes?

If the answer to all three questions is no, a planning permit should not be awarded. All documents acknowledge extensively that this requires strong horizontal and vertical policy coordination.

For the regional agendas, providing long-lists of projects is their main purpose. Transportation projects are more frequently listed compared to land use projects. Although the sectoral categories are similar in all regional agendas, the number of projects and what is defined as a project differs between various agendas. Some agendas list specific location developments as a separate project. The transportation projects are mostly very specific (with definitions as "connecting the A28 and A30 highways" (Rijksoverheid et al. 2009, p.52)), while the land use projects are more generally worded (as in "integrated development of station areas"). Furthermore, projects concerning high-speed networks (especially car) take prominence over smaller-scale policy actions (dealing either with local and regional public transport and slow modes, or with land use). Slow modes are once again almost absent.

Measuring and monitoring

The development strategies mention different kinds of indicators by which to assess whether mentioned goals are reached, including:

• Climate related (reduction in greenhouse gas emissions)
• Land use related (% and numbers of dwellings & offices to be built)
• Transportation related (minimum average speeds, minimum railway frequencies, minimum rise in kms traveled by slow modes and public transport)

Climate-related indicators are mostly stated in a broad sense, for example, '60% reduction in CO2 emissions' (Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Milieu 2012, p.23), 'climate neutral province by 2040 (Provincie Utrecht 2013, p.12)', 'Production of 60 Megawatts of wind power before 2020' (Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Milieu 2012, p.9). None of them are made specific for transportation, although some documents acknowledge transportation causes a large and growing part of CO2-emissions.

All regional level development strategies have quantified goals for intensification in a relative sense, stating that "x % of new housing and offices should be built within the existing built-up area", with the number ranging from 50% in rural areas to 80% in the urbanized part of the province of South Holland (Provincie Zuid-Holland 2012, p.44). Virtually all regional development strategies also mention the absolute number of dwellings 'needed' to address present and future housing demand. Only in the province of South Holland are these figures linked to transportation, by stating that 40% of new dwellings should be located within 1200 metres of railway stations (Stadsgewest Haaglanden 2008a, p.69). For the other regions, the quantitative targets agreed upon are based upon 'spatial capacity', which is not contingent on transportation. The local and the national development strategies do not provide indicators for intensification.

Some development strategies not only have very quantitative goals on the number of dwellings, but also on the area needed for offices and business parks. In one case, this is a negative indicator, requiring transformation of existing office parks into residential areas.

The national government mentions the largest number of transportation indicators. Mobility growth needs to be provided for in all circumstances. Car traffic is expected to grow by 20-25% by 2020, public transport by 25-30%. One indicator states the minimum number of lanes on a highway, depending on the amount of expected traffic and the economic importance of the area. Some long-standing indicators, dating from previous development strategies, are reconfirmed, such as 'Average minimum speed on the highway network should be 80 km/hour or more', 'Peak hour travel times should not exceed free-flow travel time by a factor 1,5, and by a factor 2 around the five largest cities'. Also, minimum train frequencies on specific corridors are mentioned (e.g. '12 trains/hour'). Some regional development strategies incorporate these goals, but most are less specific on transportation indicators, even if they list specific projects, roads or railroads. Only The Hague regional development strategy has quantified the goal of improved use of public transport and slow modes in an indicator: "Before 2030, bicycle use (trips made) and public transport use (passenger numbers) should have risen by 50% (Stadsgewest Haaglanden 2008a, p.121)".

The regional agendas comply mostly with the national level indicators on transportation, since they are co-produced by the national government. So, the same minimum average speeds and train frequencies can be seen as in the national development strategies. This indicates an attempt at vertical coordination by the national government. In the following table, an overview of indicators is given. Some of the indicators and aims are shared by all three regional agendas, some are specific

for one region. The way the indicators and aims are given can be analysed in terms of the intensification/sprawl feedback cycle. In the table below, per indicator an analysis is made if moving towards the stated aim contributes to intensification or to sprawl or both.

Indicator/goal	S-H	N-H	U	Contributes to sprawl or intensification
Number of new dwellings before 2020	175.000	175.000	100.000	depends on location
Percent of new dwellings within existing built-up area	80	x	67	intensification
Trains per hour per direction on main corridors	12	12	10	depends on location
Specific road, railroad or public transport projects	multiple	multiple	multiple	depends on location
Average speed on main roads 80 km/h during peak hours	yes	yes	yes	sprawl
Less supply of office space	no	3.500.000 m2	no	depends on location
New jobs	no	110.000 (in sprawl locations)	no	sprawl
Percentage of dwellings that should be social housing	no	30	no	unspecified
Maximum housing shortage	no	no	1.5%	unspecified
Percentage of CO2 reduction by 2020	no	20	no	unspecified
Percentage less energy use by currently existing dwellings	no	no	30	unspecified
m² open space outside built-up area per new dwelling	no	no	75	intensification
Percentage of built-up area that should be playground	no	no	3	unspecified
Hectares of new industrial areas	no	no	750	sprawl
Hectares of new nature	no	no	11.000	intensification

Table 4: indicators used in regional agendas.
S-H is Province of South-Holland, N-H is province of North-Holland and Flevoland, U is province of Utrecht

The impacts of the goals differ. Generally speaking, land-use goals contribute to intensification because of the minimum percentages of new dwellings that need to be built within the existing built-up area. However, tensions exist between these 'relative' goals and the absolute goals of building large numbers of new dwellings, creating new jobs and locating a large share of new dwellings near railway stations (which are not necessarily within the existing built-up area). Transportation goals point in the direction of sprawl. Minimum speeds on the whole network and specific projects to extend the high-speed networks are very prominent throughout both the development strategies and the regional agendas.

The monitoring of the progress towards the achievement of the goals is done in various ways. Some directly translate policy goals, indicators, and actions into monitoring their progress. This is done extensively by the national government and the province of South Holland. All other development strategies are not monitored explicitly, although some of the indicators and goals can be found in sectoral monitoring documents not linked to the development strategies. The regional agendas are not monitored at all. Although a large number of actions, measures or projects are proposed, leading directly to different output and outcomes, there is no comprehensive monitoring that provides insight on how these outputs and outcomes develop. Data is available in various guises, in various organisations and in various projects, but not comprehensively or related to the regional agenda.

Reflections

Apart from providing themes for the content analysis, the interviews and participant observation provided some interesting reflections in their own right. They are presented here to provide further depth to the content analysis and directions for further research.

Interviewees state that actors involved underline the necessity for integrated transport-land use planning and act accordingly in the strategic planning phase in which the general development strategies are made. However, in the everyday practice that follow these strategies, actors focus on their own individual responsibilities. The development strategy is just "one of many policy areas"(Marsden et al. 2014,p. 13). Actors act strategically depending on how parts of the development strategy influence their own agenda and responsibilities. As soon as general goals need to be implemented through specific policy actions or projects, other considerations that were left outside of the strategic planning process show up. Characteristic comments include "if intensification means more congestion on our road network, we might not want it after all", or "we want more users of our public transport system, let's support intensification around railway stations, even if they are outside of the built-up area". Interviewers mention no apparent mechanism or accountability framework that urges or incentivizes actors to plan for intensification in an integrated way after the strategic plan has been agreed upon.

Funding for infrastructure mostly comes from the national government, so their indicators and aims are adopted by regional and local governments in competition for national funding. This leads to the effect that accessibility goals and actions are mostly perceived from a regional, if not national scale, rather than a local scale. Transport planners seem to focus on large-scale high-speed networks and have a large number of sophisticated planning tools to analyze these when making strategic plans. These are generally large-scale infrastructure projects, extending high-speed networks instead of contributing to intensification. This might be caused by 'infrastructuralism' (Olesen 2013; Marshall 2013).

Despite the large modal share of the bicycle, it is almost absent in strategic planning. It is seen as something that 'always fits' and doesn't need strategic choices, so is only relevant after the general development strategies have been made. The mounting congestion and capacity issues related to a surge in bicycle use in central cities seem, however, to questions these assumptions. Due to the focus on high-speed networks and the lack of attention for slow modes, the documents are 'ambiguous' (Næss, Næss, et al. 2011) on transport policy.

It can be argued that this ambiguity counteracts intensification and the transport-land use feedback cycle. Intensification is not only about large-scale, one-off land use or infrastructural projects. If these are not coordinated, they might even be counterproductive. Lots of reciprocally reinforcing small interventions, both on the land use and the transportation side of the feedback cycle, together may also make intensification possible, and perhaps even most importantly so.

Conclusion

Content analysis shows that the full 'intensification feedback cycle' is a major aim of the development strategies of Dutch governments. Also, in the regional agendas and long lists of projects, there are interventions that deal with intensification and transportation planning in an integrated way. So, "significant commitment to many of the principles that enable the integration of transport and land use" (Curtis & Armstrong 2009) can be found. However, there are contrasting goals which lead to sprawl through increasing capacity and reach of high speed networks. Also, there seems to be little consideration on the contribution of slow modes or the mixing of

land uses for achieving strategic aims.

When moving from policy aims to specific policy actions, fragmentation occurs and actions are formulated sectorally. Although there are various actions that contribute to a full intensification feedback cycle, there is a larger number of actions that don't. They either deal with fragmented parts of the cycle or counteract intensification, or both.

Regarding the indicators and monitoring mentioned, this fragmentation increases. Quantified indicators deal with outputs regarding land use on the one side, and the transportation network on the other side. Indicators are mostly directed at providing land for growth and increasing speeds and frequencies on the transportation network. There is only a very limited number of indicators dealing with using existing built up areas more efficiently, or providing for accessibility needs by means of proximity and slow modes. Monitoring of these indicators is often fragmented in itself, being delegated to sectoral sub-documents instead of the general development strategy. Regional governments mostly monitor land use developments and comply with national level transportation indicators. This does confirm that performance measures do not converge towards a single goal, as also found by Miller & Evans (2011).

For the 'intensification feedback cycle' to be implemented in the planning process in the Netherlands, two moments seem crucial. First, when the policy aims have been set and actions or instruments have to be defined. The analysis shows that the latter are often conflicting with the former, or at best fragmented. Second, when indicators have been put in place, and a feedback loop to the achievement of the original, comprehensive aims needs to be established: the analysis shows that this feedback is lacking. The two reinforce each other: it is not seen as necessary to have integrated actions and instruments, since monitoring is not integrated or if it is, results will not be fed back into the planning process.

By focusing on the inconsistencies and contradictions in these two steps, on how and why they emerge, institutional barriers to intensification might be better understood and possibly overcome. This provides a focus for further research.

As far of the implications of the findings for other contexts, the following applies. As mentioned in the introduction, the Netherlands can be characterized as a 'critical case' in that this implementation gap is also likely to be present in countries with a lower, less explicit commitment to urban intensification and transport land use planning integration. While this assumption would need, of course, to be verified in these other contexts, the analysis in this paper provides some cues. Most importantly, it is essential to extend the analysis to all phases of the planning process. Only by identifying when the implementation gap emerge, can we understand where the problem precisely lies, what might cause it, and what might address it. The latter does not need to be easy. As we have seen in the Dutch case, the lack of consistency might reflect the existing of unsolved conflicts around the aims, or of deep-seated institutional fragmentation. In any event, just assuming that the adoption of intensification and transport and land use integration as a strategic policy aim is a guarantee that it is followed up in the rest of the planning process will not do. Some of the most crucial, and perhaps most difficult choices are to be made further down along the line. The work of others seems also to point in this direction (Handy, 2008: Miller & Evans, 2011).

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Marco Cremaschi

Will this Be the Century of the City? Let's not Miss it (Again)

The new course of *Urbanistica*[1] has asked for a comment on the next Urban Agenda, precisely as international agencies are repeatedly proclaiming that the twenty-first century will be marked by the triumph of the city. Yet this triumph must be addressed cautiously. Cities have become a worldwide phenomenon, a belief shared by a few European Commission papers that place it at the core of the development strategies of the old continent. While the 'return' of the city has been celebrated for some time now, it is clear that European cities never really 'went' away. Moreover, they are rather dissimilar from those triumphing in the rest of the world. Why insist upon cities then? Why re-ignite expectations that were raised a long time ago, that fell through after a few disappointments and delays? In doing this do we not risk, feeding the "fog of amiable generalities"[2], so common when debating about the city? This paper will offer an analysis of the urban dominant narrative, highlighting some of its weaknesses. It also seeks to assess the claim of the urban century from an Italian perspective, combining analytical and normative arguments for this purpose. In the following pages, some well-known yet unresolved issues will be discussed. These include: a) the peculiar institutional and geopolitical position of Europe; b) the configuration of the Italian settlements, and the features of an emergent urban question; c) the lost opportunity of the post-industrial transition and the still immature forms of property development. The conclusion considers the priorities of an urban agenda in Italy. Italy needs to identify the path of development that cities will follow, which will enable them to challenge and exploit the global economy to their benefit. In the pursuit of this goal, the specific characteristics of Italian cities must be kept in mind.

The European exception

The promise of an urban renaissance appeared relatively recently (Grogan and Proscio 2000; Rogers 2005), and as an idea it enjoyed extraordinary success, quickly infecting the entire world (Burdett and Sudjic 2008), it was much later before the first alarm was raised (Peirce et al., 2008), yet still, essentially taking a normative stance, it became the preferred exit strategy from the crisis (Katz and Bradley 2013). Europe's cities are significantly placed in the overall process of rescaling (Brenner 1999). As the world rediscovers the city after neglecting it for decades, cities in Europe occupy a unique position. The same international politics now recognizes the urban arena as

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2 As expressed elsewhere by Krieger (2009: quoting Sert on urban design).

a favorable setting, mayors and local events are now center stage, although in a contradictory manner after the crisis of 2008 when a barrage of questions were thrown at nation states.

Though there is no doubt that cities matter today, as stated earlier such rediscovery has already been celebrated some time ago, indeed best practices and experimentations are already part of the manuals. Since the 90s, numerous studies have concentrated on the new patterns of urbanization (Hall and Hay 1980). This wave of research has brought about innovative concerns, such as new technologies (Graham 1994); or epistemological issues (Soja 2000); eventually conceptualizing new and innovative forms of urban coexistence (Martinotti 2001) and organization (Ascher 1995). Not surprisingly, the effects on the formation of the early EU policy agenda were progressively stronger (Parkinson 1992, CEC 1991). In Italy, a considerable number of studies have tried to deal with the impact of global issues on cities, such as the socio-demographic trends, the settlement form, the ratio of real estate investments, the local combination of spatial features of development and so forth. An original concern focused on the urban sprawl and the "città diffusa" (Indovina 1990), leading to the re-conceptualization of the internal change of cities (Perulli 1992) as well as the various 'urban effects' (Conti and Spriano 1990). Roughly thirty years later, only a few interpretative reviews are available that try to hold together all these different trends (Dematteis, ed., 2011).

Despite the few superficial similarities in the discourse about cities in Europe, and particularly in Italy, it differs significantly in substance in contrast to the rest of the world. Throughout the world, a new urban question regarding demographic expansion has arisen, which ranges from the basic needs for survival and the hope of increasing basic income by the poor. Such growth in income was mostly delivered by the informal sector, and raised extraordinary concerns about citizens' rights, environmental sustainability and the need for formal policies. The latest neo-liberal development had the dubious honor, at terrible costs, of enlarging the number of countries that are now reverting to produce cities at a pace akin to that of an assembly line. National programs in China and India are aimed at creating networks of cities of over a million inhabitants. In India, new cities are planned in the vicinity of the 20 largest metropolitan areas (in addition to those already built since the 60s). In China, the government is preparing to offer urban accommodation to 300 million farmers by 2020, by planning an unprecedented connection of gigantic urban regions including several metropolises. Critics highlight the poverty of urban design (cities made of towers and highways), as well as the counterweight made of slums and shanties. Concurrently international agencies are concerned about the global issues of water consumption, desertification, food, pollution, health, and calamities.

From this perspective, Europe is a peculiar global region that corresponds to a geopolitical sphere, both (region and the sphere) built by cities even before nation states and today's political cleavages coalesced. In fact, the interweaving of global geographical scales and historical perspectives characterize this region. The European urban network is an ancient one, widespread and composed of numerous cities of medium dimensions (features which are even more apparent in Italy). When addressing these legacies, scholars are compelled to enter into laborious details strongly referring to the historical specificity of local trajectories, and emphasizing the unprecedented parallel between institutional and spatial forms (Kazepov 2008; Le Galès 2006). A question still open is whether this continent has yielded to the neoliberal turn or, on the contrary, it has somehow tamed the new mantras of the market and kept alive the traditional role of state and municipalities. No doubt that, compared to other global regions like the USA, the 'hollowing out' of the state is far from an accomplished task, and the welfare state resists in some sectors. This has been the

European exception so far, one that has often been questioned by critics, that have found these concerns both limited and ambiguous. Finally, they are at risk because of the present weaknesses of the EU institutions, and the progressive marginalization of the European economy. Such political exception has had a direct impact on the EU urban policies. The growth of European cities is uneven, with some cities shrinking or declining. Because of the assorted processes of change, the thick network of cities changes in different ways. Both the shrinking and declining of cities support different understandings (Pallangst 2009) that rediscover distant causes and historical cycles. Thus, the Commission has often adopted narratives of growth and cohesion at the same time, thus contributing to the implementation of a rather mixed set of policies. Correspondingly, the EU policies focus mostly on the maintenance and the infrastructure (rather than on the expansion) of the urban network. Such policies are therefore aimed at the innovative regeneration of the economy during a period of prolonged stagnation. These are pursued through a mix of initiatives consistently assisted by the state, in particular by the local state.

Concerning Italy, both alternatives appear inadequate. The country has not consistently targeted either the growth or regeneration of its urban system. As various case-studies have shown, the picture is patchy and we lack a reliable system of assessment (Bricocoli and Savoldi 2010; Cremaschi 2009; Dematteis, ed., 2011; SGI 2009; Gabellini 2013). As suggested elsewhere (Cremaschi 2008), a hybridization process characterizes the Italian case, mixing traditional, modern, and postmodern policies as well as voluntary agreements. Though such a hypothesis would require a long discussion, it seems effective to explain the variety of initiatives taken by different cities (Cremaschi 2009), Genoa, Turin, Milan and Rome being the often quoted examples. Without paying attention to this mix of principles, it would be impossible to assess the variety of outcomes. In fact, strong doubts have been expressed about the consequences of the (mainly implicit) urban policies expressed so far by both cities and the state (Calafati 2009). This is especially the case if those outcomes result not from a coherent policy, but from the sum of contradictory and collusive actions. This becomes all the more true if we consider what is usually left out, for instance the case of the Italian urban decline. In fact, areas of structural decline require special attention, and perhaps non-conventional development policies (Cremaschi 2011). Why are Naples, Lamezia, Taranto and Gela (southern cities that are helpless in the face of inconclusive policies) not the priorities of a national urban policy? Is it not clear enough that urban policies went astray when led by the rhetoric of competitiveness, forgetting all those initiatives that should have fostered spatial cohesion?

This assembling of priorities is even more alarming when considering the surfacing of a new urban question (Donzelot 1999), and the increase of social inequality. An inequality that presents specific spatial cleavages in Italy, those within regions and cities, more than by neighborhoods (Cremaschi 2008). Besides, the increase of cultural differences clashes with the egalitarian policy of redistributing material advantages, taking on new spatially framed characters (Secchi 2011). The question therefore is that what are the cognitive infrastructures that would generate the proposals to be included in a national policy for cities? Where do ideas, reflections, assessments, and projects come from? As already considered in the debate on federalism, local development and metropolitan areas, too little attention has been paid to the agencies that should produce these strategies. The European Union has offered large positive effects and some risks in this area. Today it would be risky to miss the growing gap between Italian and European cities due both to the crisis and to recent policies.

Who returns?

After almost fifty years, the exodus from the cities seems to be slowing down. Only in a few celebrated cases, like London or Frankfurt, the trend is inverted, though changes are limited and these cities can be considered as the exception rather than the rule. Since this process is less apparent in Italy than in the rest of Europe, it's worth clarifying certain crucial though not all-inclusive features.

First, not all cities are returning to prosperity or growing despite some short-lived declarations. In fact, according to the latest Urban Audit just two-thirds of the EU cities have shown a feeble demographic growth. However, the growth of population characterized less the cities than the metropolitan areas, which are often differentiated by a distinctive level of government. On the contrary, most Italian cities were in a consistent state of decline in the last decade[3], including entire southern metropolitan areas.

Second, those who celebrate the return to the city, perhaps unwittingly, risk underestimating the extent to which cities have changed qualitatively. One of the most striking indicators is the residential sprawl[4] that has reshaped the patterns of life and movement in metropolitan areas. In 90 per cent of EU urban areas, the population of the first and second belts has grown more than in the city centers. Office space and consequently jobs have been spreading since the 90s (Fareri 1991), a process that continues even now (Lang 2003).

Third, as often recalled by Glaeser (including recently in his 2011 work), cities attract the poorest people not because cities are inherently poor but because they offer them the opportunity to improve their standard of living. Aging and immigration impact differently but still have an influence on the social pact of welfare states[5]. Other forms of internal migration toward large cities is negative, with growth depending on international migrants (whose decisions to move have been affected by the crisis of 2008). Today, in most Italian cities, the rate of international migrants is more than twice the corresponding rate at the region level; while it doubles again in some neighborhoods. Recently, due to the lack of affordable housing and the financial crisis, the geography of migrants has changed again, increasingly involving small towns and areas that were previously in decline.

Fourth, innovations and conflicts raise problems of acceptance and opportunities. New social relations, along with rising prices of some goods, affect the cohesion of cities.

Though it is difficult to measure these phenomena, the social geography of cities appears to be increasingly polarized. The superimposition of social inequality and sprawl produces contradictory socio-cultural zoning: individuals in the dense city, families in the open space of the diffused city. The city centers, traditionally replete with rich public goods and institutions, is home to the new "lonely crowd" of the elderly, migrants, tourists, and young professionals. Instead, families both rich and poor are relegated to the outer rings of the metropolitan area, where built areas tend to be more homogeneous and deprived of social services.

3 The core municipalities of the 11 metropolitan areas lost 3.6% of the population between 2001 and 2011, even more if compared with 1991 with the partial exception of Rome (and Turin to some extent). In the last few years, Milan, Bologna and Florence too gained a few new residents. However, municipalities in the first and second belts have compensated for the loss of the core city. The time has come to question whether these are two entirely different phenomena.

4 Italian sprawl differs from the mainstream process of predominantly middle class, white, spatially uniform suburbanization. Neither social nor physical conditions of the "diffuse city" are comparable to the Northern European or the US suburbs (Indovina et al. 2005; Gabellini 2013).

5 The number of aging households in need of personal assistance is still on the increase. If addressed by migrant caregivers living with those in need, the urban geography will change considerably with a decreasing spatial segregation, at the neighborhood level, and an increasing social distance. The policy of social 'mixité', for instance, will be dramatically affected (Fioretti 2011).

Finally, the latest changes in the urbanization process suggest that a new condition of 'porosity' characterizes those metropolitan areas resulting from the outcomes of both sprawl and agglomeration, along with the open land. Such variety emphasizes the conditions *in-between* (Sieverts 2001) and a syncretic approach to both the landscape and the built environment. This happens to the point that the image of an archipelago of distinctive urban regions and landscape units replaces that of the metropolis. It must be noted that within this configuration the spatial ordering of society starts to vanish. Precisely, the order that had endured at the core of the European identity since the Middle Ages, and that was based upon the coincidence of society and space, coupled with a single political system. As the comeback of cities is selective - only a few are involved and the dispersion process is massive - the sheer size of the sprawl changes even the geographic scales. Those who return are not the same cities, nor the same inhabitants. Slowly, the metropolitan language is adapting, rephrasing concepts like sprawl, density, coalescence, conurbation. Yet currently, the dominant celebratory narrative is unable to articulate the emerging differences.

Game over?

As of the end of the 80s, Italian cities saw a range of new constructions; universities, commercial centers, office towers, theme-parks and aquariums, foot bridges, railways stations, new residential neighborhoods and, to a lesser extent, technology and research laboratories. Such a list of new buildings adequately illustrates the intentions of the late (though implicit) urban policy. In fact, the urban landscape of the new service cities can be compared to the traditional administrative cities of the 50s. The signatures of star-architect's have added little to the overall scheme. Builders, property developers, international finance, local governments and some technical centers were the protagonists in these years. They recycled the industrial areas hoping to revitalize the economic basis of cities through a rejuvenation of the built environment. This vision saw old factories giving way to new and more competitive service-oriented businesses, the real estate profits lubricating the transition, and the creative outcomes of the cross-fertilization between the knowledge economy and service industry would become apparent.

These were by and large the crucial agents of the post-industrial transition; a vague term, which refers to a series of innovations in all sectors. Conceiving that manufacturing would be replaced by the service sector (which is not what happened in many cities in northern Italy or in Germany, for example) has been a rough over simplification (mostly neoliberal, and geographically bound to Anglo-Saxon countries). Manufacturing has in fact resisted in most of the advanced economies, and the effects of this transition are still unclear. In particular urban manufacturing has been misunderstood, as shown by Milan's plan in the 80s. Initially, the zoning of industrial areas seemed to guarantee manufacturing against the risk of redevelopment and relocation, probably an abstract and maximalist expectation. Soon, a reverse approach in zoning led to the complete redevelopment of the old industrial areas. If the first policy proved weak, the sudden rezoning had far too radical (and very little governed) outcomes.

Furthermore, later local integrated development projects and the few implemented urban strategies did produce the desired results and were often stifled by the weight of bureaucracies and patronage. Even in the most celebrated cases, it is difficult to reckon the added value of the strategic plan compared to the availability of investments. Turin and Genoa, for example, received significant private and public investments,the amount of which has never been clearly outlined or estimated, but is likely to be larger than the share of southern cities. Though larger funding does not necessarily lead to better achievements, it is often a crucial precondition. Today,

the first critical assessments reckon that even the physical outcomes have not always been satisfactory (Bricocoli and Savoldi 2010), while there is an even greater concern regarding the lack of connection with the urban economic development. New technologies have repeatedly promised positive spillover effects (Neal 2012), as recently called for by the ministerial program on the Smart City for example, but the share of advanced services is still unsatisfactorily low (Cremaschi 2009).

Major cities have long justified the urban projects as opportunities to face international competition in a time of economic and ideological radicalization (Savitch and Kantor 2002). The projects of the last thirty years have in fact been interpreted as an expression of a specific neoliberal revanchism (Swyngedouw *et. al.* 2002), a strategy of internationalization based upon the imperative of competitiveness, the submission of urban development to the rules of entrepreneurship (Fainstein and Orueta, 2008), and the financialization of urban investments. The financialization of the market produced an excess of liquidity everywhere, inflating the real estate sector not mechanically, but with the complicity of banks and governments (Gallino, 2013). To what extent can these interpretations be applied to Italy? Given the variety of trajectories of the Italian cities, this announcement of a "single thought" of the neoliberal city does not fit all expectations. In particular, it neglects the neo-corporative vestiges of the local government, and the contextual hybridizations of policies. This raises in turn the peculiar problem of interpreting the urban housing markets during the last decades: have the liberalization of land development and financialization of real-estate driven urban investments? Or is it the intermingling of the traditional urban regimes with new partnerships (today critically revised with a certain alarm: Codecasa and Ponzini 2011; Sagalyn 2012), under a neoliberal narrative, a new urban regime has been forged by political elites, entrepreneurs and bureaucrats. This is an interpretative problem not sufficiently debated, not only in Italy. Finally it must be acknowledged that the historical event of the post-industrial transition has been regarded merely as a real estate opportunity, often with tricky results, while the regeneration of the productive basis has been overlooked. New buildings have been abstractly designed as mere office or residential spaces, without exploring the potential linkages with the new economy. Quite often, the old manufacturing provided the iconic references to the hasty romanticisation of the new building complexes. Ultimately, the industrial decentralization was a missed opportunity. The real estate actors invariably usurped the profits of redevelopment, and did not induce the change of the productive basis or the growth of advanced service activities. In the present crisis, most if not all these shining new urban episodes may soon become a desert of wrecks.

In conclusion

Three arguments have been advanced in this review. European cities are exceptional as is the EU framework for designing innovative policies. Both aspects help in clarifying some of the gaps of the Italian policy-making. However, the EU urban narrative is fraught with two misjudgments; firstly the rescaling process threatens the historical coincidence of space, society, and polities at the core of the European cities, and secondly the specificities and priorities of the Italian urban network are underestimated. Finally, the last season of urban projects has *created more problems than* it has solved.

The first consequence of these arguments is that Italian urban policies, should they come out of the shadows, must assess a few crucial points: a) the hybrid and uncertain outcomes of previous initiatives; b) the diverging trends between northern and southern cities; c) some priority areas; d) the prospect of a worsening social situation. Urban policies should not borrow the rhetoric of competitiveness, and should

instead pay attention to the peculiar characteristics and individual character of cities in our country. A likely guess is that the priorities of any urban agenda should concern the maintenance, regularization, and disaster recovery of cities rather than more ambitious but less affordable plans.

A further and more general consequence stems from the fact that both the political landscape and the patterns of action are truly mixed in this era. A crucial question concerns whether Italian researchers should polarize their interpretations of policies, or rather investigate the increasingly hybrid nature of the initiatives. If they do, then there are many avenues available for experimenting with new models of intervention. Many lessons have been learned thus far, and it is significant to note that many of these have been promoted by EU policies. That has been the positive outcome of the EU exception, and the EU has emphasized its experimental and multilevel policies for good reasons. The future will see which parts of Europe come out of the political crisis that has hit the continent, and if the positive features of the European exception will be repeated.

The implied argument is that Italy has been investing in the construction sector during the last thirty years, following the same policy as before, and failing to renew the economic base of cities (Calafati 2009). In either case, the great effort spent in innovating both the planning system and the development initiatives has not achieved the expected results (Palermo and Pasqui 2008). This gap is due to a deficit of strategic intelligence and planning on city development, namely the lack of a national policy aimed at supporting cities in planning long term initiatives (Dematteis, ed., 2011). These combined arguments suggest a negative assessment of the last season of urban regeneration initiatives: Italy lost a game season, spent mostly investing in real estate or planning ephemeral events.

In conclusion, cities are not simply 'returning' to the scene after the parenthesis of deindustrialization. Rather cities are realizing that the geographical rescaling and the change of production modes raises the challenge of creating a new economy. Expecting these cities to produce such a result relying solely on their own resources is unrealistic, particularly during a period when municipalities are operating with tightening budgets and local entrepreneurs are under pressure. However, both the prerequisites of national policies, and the nature of partnerships must be reviewed. If these elements had been at the core of the national urban agenda previously, we would already have witnessed a significant step forward.

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Frank Eckardt

Austerity and Urban Crisis: Insights from German Cities

Introduction

Often blamed for being the motor behind austerity urbanism in Europe, it is over-seen that the impact of this principle of state reorientation has also changed the spatial geography of Germany itself. While a booming economy seems to support the argument of a neoliberal political agenda, the effects on cities in Germany has been overlocked in the general debate on the consequences of austerity on cities (Peck 2012, Tonkiss 2013, Donald et al. 2014, Tabb 2014). In this article, the paradoxical situation of "loser cities" in Germany addressed and thereby a newly emerging political geography with social and political divisions are pointed at. On the basis of four cities facing severe financial crisis, it will be discussed in which way cities can manage the consequences of being decoupled from the economic growth centers of Germany.

Eearly 2014, forty cities of the Ruhr area in Germany associated under the slogan "Für die Würde unserer Städte" (In favor of the dignity of our cities) and called for a cut of their debts. Soon, more cities in Germany from the states of Rheinland-Pfalz, Brandenburg, Saarland and Mecklenburg-Vorpommern joint this initiative. Their main address of protest is the national government but not for having a direct financial support. It is clear to all political actors that the precariousness of these cities derives from a variety of factors that can only be changed in a multi-level approach to the total fiscal system in Germany (Wieland, 2014). The current state of affairs is characterized by high level of complexity created by the interferences of all levels and fields of policy in the corporative and federal political system. Regaining the ability for reform in this complexity is one of the major objectives of the discussed political reforms. The call for transparency is therefore often heard.

In recent years, reforms in Germany have often been motivated by juridical arguments. The constitution and its definition of the state role and the architecture of the different levels of the state has been central points of discontent and conflict. The principle of local autonomy and of equal living conditions in all parts of the country (Art. 84) are the main references in these controversies. The constitutional article 104 moreover is regarded as defining the obligation of cities to not only execute national policies but also (financially) share burdens. This has led to a cost division that differentiates between obligatory and voluntary tasks that cities have to fulfil. While costs for individual unemployment and social beneficiaries were reimbursed by the federal budget, many additional and rather community oriented costs have to be decided (and thus paid for) by each city itself. This has led to the fact that cities were saving money to cut in those areas like local libraries, sport facilities,

cultural institutions, street repair, infrastructure investments, or economic stimulus programs. Decisions for cuts in these voluntary offers have undoubted negative effects on the economic performance, attractiveness and livelihood of the cities, the policies for community support and for persons with special needs. As a result, those cities which were most indebted had often no other choice to cope with their fiscal crisis by creating critical social conditions on the longer run (cp. Fujita, 2014). Therefore, most affected cities see themselves trapped into a downward spiral.

In this article, the situation of indebted cities in Germany will be discussed in the framework on the theoretical concept of austerity which will worked out in the first chapter. It will propose to look at austerity from a wider perspective and link it to earlier research before the current crisis in the European cities. By doing so, the author hopes to enable to see how much of the current urban crisis is related to actual politics since the 2008 word economic recession and the following austerity measurements. In a second chapter the situation since than is detailed by looking at the state frames that create the paradox of German cities being indebted although the national economy is booming. In contrast to discussions on the impact of austerity politics in Southern Europe, the German discussion (chapter 3) reflects on the crisis by reflecting on changes with the implementation of reforms already since the 1990ties. To overcome the difference in the international and German discussion on the effects of austerity on cities, the author follows the claim to regard Germany as an early example of austerity politics which was introduced in terms of "saving" (Keller, 2014). However, the Geman case might also irritate the international view in urban studies which merely links the urban crisis to the emergence of a state crisis caused by the all-encompassing neoliberalism. In chapter 4, the author illustrates how four cities are coping with their fiscal crisis. Here, the main assumption is that still local politics and the state framing can have a significant impact on the left over room to maneuver for cities.

What is austerity?

The notion of austerity urbanism assumes that a city needs to be understood as primarily concerned with the financial dimension of local politics, in which the debt of a city is viewed as the most important problem and in which therefore there may be given priority to "save money" over other policy objectives. Although the concern about the local financial situation is historically nothing new, the prioritization of debt avoidance and debt reduction is more recent. In this sense, we can speak of a political paradigm shift, which is to be viewed in the context of further changes in politics and society. The emergence of austerity has to be understood as a concept of statehood that has changed in the context of a new political framework, which is inevitably also expressed by the municipal authorities. Austerity assumes a fundamental connection with a changed role of the state and its tasks with regard to the issue of social cohesion, in which the idea of "generational justice" is entering the redefinition of the welfare state and in which it appears unjust to burden the next generation through over-indebtedness. From the point of view of austerity policy a redefinition of the economy needs to be introduced in the first place, where state action are judged on the basis of criteria of the market rating. This means that a lack of austerity is seen as an obstacle to investment.

However, the first attempts to define the connection between austerity and local politics have not been based on such reasoning and, on the other hand, pointed out that with the austerity principle the political scope for action becomes bigger. This view is particularly expressed in the work of Poul Erik Mouritzen (1992), who described for indebted states the relationship between diminishing "political capital" and "fiscal stress" through a comparative study in ten countries at the beginning of

the 1990s. Analyzing the literature at the time, Mouritzen understood the problem primarily as a problem of difference between input and output into the local financial system. He identified three different discourses that explain the input-output difference differently: Firstly, explanatory approaches can be found that place this phenomenon in a context of socio-economic disparities. One would have to take into this category today's narrower theories of "austerity urbanism". Secondly, there are theoretical approaches (so-called maladaptation theories) which reduce the problems of austerity to the lack of adaptation of the local financial system and which only problematize the remaining political scope for action. Finally, Mouritzen identifies theories working with an "expectation gap approach" which see the gap between the political expectations of the citizen and the achievements of politics as a starting point of the debt crisis. The latter theories do not consider the lack of financial but political resources as the real problem. In summary, one can say that the second and third approach primarily sees policy as responsible – whether to deal with the lack of financial resources or to be politically responsible towards citizens with their expectations – while the first approach sees primarily the problem of austerity as a non-local and non-political one, which affects the political system from the outside. Intrinsically interwoven with the concept of austerity is the concept of crisis. Regardless of the three possible explanatory approaches, it is assumed that a financial crisis does not allow the cities to provide adequate care for the citizens. However, early studies have shown that the link between an urban financial crisis and the general prosperity of a city is not necessarily to be assumed. As it becomes clear in the international comparison, the role of the state and its contributions to the cities is decisive (Mouritzen and Nielsen, 1992). In other words, overburdened cities and a lack of local political capital need not lead to a social deterioration in living conditions if state institutions are compensatory. Particularly with regard to German cities, the concept of crises has been used repeatedly since the 1980s, in order to demand a stronger participation of state institutions at the federal and state level.

All approaches of austerity stress that an analysis of urban development must be carried out from the financial situation of a city's public budget. In particular, those early approaches, which focus on this basic idea of the concept as debt crises or over-indebtedness, try to find solutions that can be described as incremental, which are offering solutions within the predefined framework of the federal state architecture and its roll towards municipalities. The effects of the austerity principle are assessed with regard to the existing task fulfillment of municipalities. A more critical analysis places municipal financial problems in a context of a changed statehood, in which the municipalities are confronted with tasks which they had not yet been able to do so far. Two different causal complexes are introduced. On the one hand, a change in the demands on the state is considered to be the source of the various financial problems (Ellwein and Hesse, 1994). This analysis focuses on the efficiency of financial, social and economic policy instruments and how they possibly adjust the distribution of tasks between the federal government, the state and the municipality. On the other hand, there is also an overburdening of the citizens, who have to cope with increased expenditures by additional taxes. This view has been articulated since the late 1970s, promoting as a way-out the concept of a "lean state" (Häfele, 1979), which implies not only an instrumental but a conceptual redefinition of the relationship between the state and society.

Later neo-Marxist approaches described the conceptual content of austerity urbanism, as well. The financial crisis is seen here above all as a macro-social restructuring in the course of the emergence of neo-liberalism. Austerity is thereby seen as part of a crisis of global capitalism, a genuine expression of the capitalist and neoliberal functioning of society. For this approach, the concept of austerity is, in principle,

rather a vocabulary with which the changed power relations in capitalism are to be identified and the real problem is to be concealed. Austerity presumably justifies a departure from the existing anti-cyclical financial policy, according to which the state can counteract cyclical economic crises through more public investments. Austerity has led to the growing impoverishment of public budgets and private households, the excessive expropriation of over-indebted residential property owners, increasing social inequalities, housing shortages and the decline of public facilities such as schools, hospitals, libraries, swimming pools, public buildings or infrastructures. Privatizations and public-private partnerships are the new forms of organization that give private capital direct access to previously public property.

The concept of austerity is accompanied by normative ideas concerning the relationship between politics, citizens, the economy and the city. While the incremental views are concerned with a non-normative definition of the concept, in which further discussions about the understanding of the state are to be left out, the critical approaches point to the necessity of such a critical review as an "activating state" (Behrens, 2005) has been arriving according to which the state gives and requires more engagement by the civil society and the individual. For liberal criticism, this approach does not go far enough, and austerity is to be understood as a kind of self-purpose, which should therefore also have a constitutional status.

Current fiscal crisis

At the latest in the context of the global economic crisis of the late 2000s, the principle of austerity as a leading economic and financial policy approach was dominated by the institutions of the World Bank, the IMF and the European Commission. This in turn led to a neglect of socio-political tasks by the EU Member States and contributed to the exacerbation of existing social problems, especially in Southern Europe. Austerity policy has therefore been identified as a cause of crises. The concept of austerity is, therefore, identified by both proponents and opponents almost exclusively with regard to the actions of the institutions mentioned. The normative political dimension of the concept of austerity makes an analytical approach however more difficult. If the concept of austerity is kept uphold as an analytical concept that is not exhaustive as a neoliberal legitimation vocabulary, then it can be connected to the respective national debate about the over-indebtedness of the cities and can be placed into an empirical exploration in which research form starts from sketching the framework of the idea of austerity under the specific local conditions. Such a framing into for example the canon of German local policy research can profit from extensive preparatory work, and can address conceptual approaches such as "urban governance" and "neoliberal city" with regard to their explanatory scope. The study of the effects of austerity has so far not taken place in Germany (Schönig and Schipper, 2016), just as the international debate does not take account of the situation in Germany. In international studies, case studies from countries with a national debt problem (such as Fujita, 2013) predominate, for example in Southern Europe (Eckardt and Sánchez, 2014).

This discrepancy between German and international research leads to an antagonistic reception of the respective findings. For example, contributions to journals such as the "City" or "International Journal for Urban and Regional Research" show that the problem of urban debt is predominantly described as externally caused whereby external forces are regarded as stronger than the local ones: "The pessimism many urban scholars have expressed finds justification in our awareness that while victories can be won in local struggles, the larger societal expectations of continued austerity (…) limit such potential." (Tabb, 2014, p. 98). Such an emphasis on external forces raises the question of how they can be made visible as a power mechanism.

As Jamie Peck (2012) underlines, this is only indirectly recognizable as market rationality with its principle of competition is imposed on areas of life that have followed other social logics and principles such as solidarity. He agrees with Harvey's point of view that the financial crisis has been transformed into a state crisis and this again has been transformed into the current urban crisis.

It would however been inadequate to simply relate the fiscal crisis of the cities to the state architecture in general. The indebtedness of the concerned cities is also a consequence of a more profound political change and has to be seen as integral part of a political course that has gained momentum in the 1990ties and which has been replacing a different understanding of the political role of the city in general. Already in 1980, the major of Duisburg – a larger city in the Ruhr area – called for attention with his pamphlet "Save Our Cities". At that time, the political response consisted of a numerous programmatic approaches to address the increasing structural crisis of the old industrial cities losing jobs in the steel companies and coalmines. Confronted with long lasting unemployment and processes of economic and social decline, the paradigm of political response was until then that the state has to set up programs for an innovated urban economy (Maly, 2014). In the seventies, this has led to billions of Euros of state subsidy for the settlement of new industries like the most emblematic case of Opel in Bochum and the setup of universities. Already in the eighties, these programs seemed to be too limited in their impact and too expensive. Furthermore, there was a certain fatigue about the political framing of these economic policies. The overall turn to conservative parties with their focus on individual responsibility prepared the ground for a reduced federal welfare state resulting for example in the end of national social housing programs.

The nineties, however, have been a breakthrough for so-called neoliberal politics in many ways (Kemper, 2013). As national politics more and more rejected responsibility for the costs of social problems, the burdening of cities with the growing expectations of citizens for care and support continued slowly. Only in 2006, the federal fiscal system accepted the principle that "who orders, who pays" which means that the national legislation cannot enforce cities to contribute financially to the realization of new state programs. Important social achievements of the past, like the individual housing grants, however were not touched and thereby contribute to the misbalancing of the fiscal equilibria between the national state, the Länder and the cities.

In the context also with European prerogatives, the cities were regarded increasingly to reposition themselves as economic actors. The perspective on cities as being a company that has to produce a solvent budget was a guiding idea in the reform for local administration (Linhos, 2006). In effect, the economic opportunities for city development however rather shrunk than increased (Wohlfahrt, 2005). A lean administration has reduced the number of office workers and the fields of policy activities. Many economic activities with regard to water, electricity, gas, housing, and infrastructure supply were now seen to be better situated in the hands of private investors. While the outcome of these privatizations have been evaluated critically in fiscal aspects, the ability for local politics to steer processes in the city has been reduced significantly (Sack, 2013). This is why recent developments in German cities have tried to return to public ownership of basic local infrastructure (Moewes, 2014).

In the line of the shift to this renewed view on cities, the problem of the indebted cities was seen as a local only which derives from wrong political decisions and a lack of effectiveness. Consequently, the reform of the federal system did not give cities more rights and has not even allowed them a particular voice in those reforms. In sum, one can say that despite a long and intensive debate among experts and some

political attention, the necessary steps in the reformulation of the federal system obvious for many observers have not been undertaken (Köthenbürger, 2013). A main argument remains that cities can be competitive by their own means. Here, the most prominent example is the local economic tax rate (Hebesatz). Cities have competed with each other to offer the lowest tax basis and the result of this "race to the bottom" is that only big companies are often regularly paying directly to the local budget. Estimations point to the fact that this is true for less than one per cent of all economic activities in the cities and that local taxation policies have no effect on their economic performance (Kelders and Köthenburger, 2010). Reforms were moreover often rejected. The existing system of financial re-budgeting between the Länder (Länderfinanzausgleich) and within each Land seem to guarantee the stability of tax flows. As these tax compensations are negotiated every year, the planning of long term financial engagements becomes increasingly difficult. This resulted in an uncertainty regarding most needed infrastructure investments for the future and high interest rates for long-term credits. The political debates on the local level therefore concentrated on more effective debt management (Birkholz, 2008). For many cities, the use for short-term credits (Kassenkredite) - which were previously only meant to overcome technical delays of payment - has become the way to "muddle through" (Heinemann, 2009).

This strategy however became impossible during the recession of 2008. Many cities had to apply for being taken up by the trusteeship of the Länder. The consequences were that the concerned cities lost significant autonomy about their fiscal affairs while the crucial economic disadvantages were not addressed (Sidki, 2011). Paradoxically, the situation of the indebted cities has not changed but rather worsened while Germany has reached its national objectives of austerity and prosperity during a long lasting European crisis (Hardes, 2013). The inability to act in an autonomous way as it was meant in the German constitution is severely threatened (see the commentaries in Schmidt-Bleibtreu, Hofmann and Brockmeyer, 2014).

The German discourse on austerity

There is a whole area of overlap between the German discourse, the concepts of governance, neoliberalism and austerity in the research on municipal debts. The concept of austerity in the German context can be understood not only as a normative, but also as an analytical one that bears a critical potential. It could be developed so that it can offer a tool to consider concrete local conditions of political and social action, if it is not merely considered as an expression of global crises. It could also show impossibilities and possibilities for influencing state transformation whether a take-over of market logic in the social field can be observed and how local institutions and actors can keep their scope for action.

The municipal consolidation of local budgets would require a focus, looking on how the overarching principle of the "saving money enforcement" (Sparzwangs) against the over-debts of cities already was introduced at the beginning of the 2000s and thus clearly before the financial crisis of the assumed state crisis. This form of early German austerity politics under different terms has not been captured in the considerations of the crisis in Europe today and as such has not been internationally perceived in the research literature. The intensified municipal supervision, which avoids any political control and which was implemented by states like North Rhine-Westphalia with their "commissionaires of savings" (Sparkommissare), lacks the democratic transparency about decisions where cuts in the budgets should be undertaken (Holtkamp, 2006). This was even implemented in cases where a debt reduction was hardly conceivable because the structural budgetary miseries were not resolved. This state control was implemented with great consistency and it constructed politics as

a bipolar negotiating scheme between the city and the state. It is however precisely the lacking reflection on the effects of this form of local austerity that prevented the introduction of real administrative reforms. In other words, the administration has not taken over the austerity as reforming their organizational logic, as austerity was placed into the negotiation with the state. The municipal administration has thus proved to be resistant in a certain way, as they have resisted earlier reforms such as New Public Management, which were often cited as a proof of implementation for the austerity concept, but in realty were often only proclaimed as an administrative concept without further meaning.

Reconstructing the consolidation of over-indebted local budgets in German cities, as Holtkamp (2009) has done for Marl and Waltrop, it becomes clear that a number of structural problems have caused the debts. These include the "unfavorable social and economic structure, negative migration balances, high financial transfers to East Germany, and massive resistance to the increasingly oversized infrastructure"(cp). In the interplay of these factors, the "futility trap" emerges, which cannot be regarded as an exclusive consequence of austerity politics. The over-indebtedness of the Ruhr area is therefore not the result of the crisis of 2008 nor is it a logical conclusion of the structural change of the old industrial region. This does not deny the dependence of municipal finances on interest rate developments and the global economic situation. However, the fact that this drama has come about could have been dispensed with since 2003, when the positive development of the general municipal finances in Germany on the cities in the Ruhr area began.

Small consolidation successes have been spoiled in this way. Through the employments of local authorities and the "commissionaires of savings" an exaggerated expectation level has emerged which provokes problems of democratic legitimation. Due to the permanent non-compliance of overdated claims, it is no longer comprehensible for the electorate who could be blamed for too little savings. In contrast to the approaches of governance theories, which assume an increase in efficiency through more co-operation and transparency, it has been observed in the case of the "Sparkommissare" that these were relatively traditional and incremental. They reduced the involvement of the population and political objectives were not linked to savings targets, although the commissioners in question were often willing to avoid politically sensitive savings. In this way, earlier approaches to the administrative reform are rather reversed: "Local administration and policy become more hierarchical, less transparent and even more incremental" (Holtkamp 2011, p. 444). The interpretation of the external factors in the German discourse refers to the shaping of roles between the federal government, the Länder and municipalities. For the federal tax distribution in Germany, it must be stated that there has always been a higher expenditure requirement from municipalities than this could have been covered by financial allocations from the federal government and the Länder (Wieland, 2014, p. 830). In the financial policy integration of the three levels of government task fulfillment, there has never been a time when there was no underfinancing.

The constitutional right to welfare is addressed to the state as a whole, but which level of the state has to fulfill this obligation is not clearly defined by the constitution. This has led to the fact that government can increase social benefits, but the executing municipalities were not sufficiently equipped. Municipal self-administration is thereby undermined. The uniformity of living conditions, however, which is a basic principle of state action, is fundamentally dependent on the economic and financial power of the Länder which, according to Article 83 of the Constitutional Law, have to ensure the enforcement of welfare services. This generates the gap between federal grants and local expenditures. At the latest since German reunification, the effects of this responsibility allocation are clear. The economically weaker German

states – and thus also the cities and municipalities in it – have less money to ensure equal living conditions in the whole of Germany. With the introduction of the debt brake (Article 109, Paragraph 3 of the Constitutional Law), the discrepancy can no longer be offset by borrowing.

This circumstance has be seen in many austerity discourses as evidence for the implementation of neoliberal politics and it appears to confirm in the first place the assumption of a changed statehood. However, it also obscures the complex rules of national financial compensation, which contribute to the principles of federal equality. In particular, the need for higher spending, for example, for cities or countries with different population densities still has not been questioned (BVerfGE 72, 330). In addition to the state mechanisms of direct financial compensation, there are still more opportunities within the scope of the federal organization to indirectly support municipalities that have to finance extraordinary tasks such as coastal protection. Within the Länder, the differences in the key allocations of the Länder to the municipalities are differently regulated. As a principle, however, it is not called into question that the assignments should be appropriate to the local authorities in the face of the state's tasks deligated to the cities.

For Rheinland-Pfalz, therefore, the Constitutional Court has obliged the state to shape its system of national financial compensation in such a way that municipal autonomy and self-administration are adequately ensured (Hardes, 2012). Autonomy can only be built on a certain scope for action and thus cannot be replaced due a state crisis (Bravidor, 2016). This principle can be seen realized in the various welfare benefits of the municipalities in Germany. The obvious differences among cities with regard to the spending on social services are caused by a set of different factors. It can be assumed that, in principle, there is a link between social need and the necessary social benefits of the municipalities. The latter was clearly demonstrated by studies (Thommes, Junkernheinrich and Micosatt 2010). However, this correlation does not explain the local differences in comparison, especially with regard to the obvious north-south divide, which corresponds only partially with the existing economic regional disparities.

The reference to the financial compensation systems of Germany can be dismissed as irrelevant because, as a result, the financial situation of the municipalities and the Länder is not in line with the general expectations with regard to the public investments and welfare services, while at the same time the municipal debts are not diminishing. In fact, it can be observed that, after the introduction of the Hartz 4 laws, social expenditures for municipalities have grown considerably (Hardes, 203, p. 26ff) The expected benefit by the merger of social assistance and unemployment assurance is not demonstrable. On the whole, the increase in social welfare expenditure according to the social code, the costs of housing and heating (KdU), and expenditure on child and youth care are the structural reasons for the increase in municipal expenditure on social services. The sub-financing of the municipalities mainly concerns the so-called area of voluntary contributions, such as the construction of sports grounds, the preservation of cultural facilities or the promotion of local traditions. These voluntary spendings fall under the autonomy of the municipalities, which should also be made possible via financial allocations.

It is expected that the debt brake at the federal and provincial levels will increase the municipal enforcements of saving (Sparzwang). One may therefore doubt the effect of the existing system of national financial reconciliation, but it is not possible to prove a change of the state principle following a market rationality. Such a rationality assumption can be asserted for the municipalities with the introduction of the system of double accounting. This form of accounting can be understood as an economization of the municipal financial organization, which seems to be even

furthered by the introduction of various forms of debt management, debt optimization and the active management of financial risks.

Whether the new instruments of municipal financial management can actually be understood as the result of a changed view of the state in general – comparable to the introduction of public private partnerships – cannot be answered comprehensively because it is hardly known how they are actually influenced by conventional financial instruments in the municipalities. It appears that they do not seem to have any significant influence on the debt situation of the municipalities concerned (Sidki, 2011). As Kothenbürger (2013) shows in the example of the basic and trade tax, the discussion about the municipal financial system is characterized by the fact that there is a decade-long "reform discussion without reform". In effect, for more than 40 years, there has been no adjustment of the local tax base for economic and fiscal changes, resulting in horizontal and vertical equity problems. Since the author suspects that the municipalities are aware of this and do not use the land tax for the same reason, in order to solve municipal financial constraints: "It will therefore be not unlikely that municipal policy would want to bypass the resistance against tax reforms by going to the voters. They keep it not transparent or accept higher dependence from the state "(p. 92).

The implementation of the austerity principle at the municipal level has led to the fact that no new debts have been taken up in many cities despite increased social expenditure. This is assessed differently and partly seen as a cause of underfunding and missing investments, especially in large cities such as Berlin. The municipal investment lack is estimated at more than € 100 billion, with missing investments especially in childcare, schools, roads, infrastructure, sports facilities, housing and public administration (Hardes 2013, p. 33).

Many cities have not taken up new loans since the installation of the debt brake on the state level, although not necessarily a sustained economic well-being causes more revenue. As the Municipal Finance Report 2016 of the German Association of Cities stresses, cities and municipalities profit differently from the good economic situation and cities in structural change are still not sufficiently taken into account in the system of financial distribution. To this end, it must be stated that the financial disparities between the cities have become more acute. Nevertheless, the report also differentiates the role of the state, which has reacted effectively to the financial hardship of the community, without however suggesting an end to the problematic cash deposits.

This example shows that there has not been a transformation of the state according to an omnipresent logic of competition, but the balance between different levels of government have remained different principles. Financial resources remain negotiable. Indirectly institutionalized through the central position of the Länder, the municipalities - even if their own representation is not foreseen in the formation of political bargaining – are not just prone to the decisions of the federal state. As the example of the negotiation of the costs of the refugee integration demonstrates, cities also have weaker media to successfully articulate their interests.

Apart from the institutions of the corporate state, there are also mechanism of discursive influence. These levels of state-city relations are largely left out in the conception of austerity and are more likely to be taken up by governance theories, which also assume a changed state, but which tend to link them with extended possibilities of control and steering society. This would also include the recognition of participatory approaches, which should be abandoned in the concept of the radical anti-austerity perspective in favor of "rebellion" (Harvey, 2013), but which play a growing role in urban politics.

Local governance strategies

In the following, four cities in different metropolitan regions were analyzed with regard to their particular strategies to cope with a long lasting fiscal crisis. The chosen cities have a different economic profile and should not be regarded as primarily characterized by a single branch. They have in common that systematic unemployment with poverty and joblessness rate above the national and Länder average. All cities have nevertheless a working class tradition and host a high degree of citizens with a migratory background. The selection of the city refers to the per capita indebtedness where all case studies were distinctively prominent examples for a longer ongoing economic and crisis, which aggravated since the 2008 recession and did not lessened after incorporation into the Länder trusteeship. The four cities are not the top ranked cases of indebtedness, which would otherwise mean that only cities from the Ruhr area needed to be included into this comparison. Only city of Hagen stands here as an example of this area. The other cities were chosen as representing other regional economic and political contexts: The city was the first to be taken under direct control by the Land. Bremerhaven is embedded into the Bremen-Oldenburg metropolitan area; Offenbach shares a border with Frankfurt with which the city joins the Frankfurt Rhine-Main area; and Ludwigshafen is represented here as a city of the Rhine-Neckar metropolis.

Bremerhaven

As an outlying enclave of the city-state of Bremen, the city hosts one of the most important harbors of Germany. Most maritime car export is realized here. Containerization however has led to profound job loss. This affected the total harbor industry including 90 percent of the jobs in the shipyards. Earlier, the city lost its significance as a fishery port and in the 1990ties the withdrawal of the US-American troops has completed the economic decline of Bremerhaven. The city however has been reacting early on the first sights of these processes already in the 1970ties by starting to support new directions in urban development. Basically, the city invested into maritime research institutions, in the wind energy industries and tourism. This has however not brought fast benefits and urged the city to take up credits to the extreme level of 1,5 billion Euros. On the long run, it seemed however that the new industries have been established successful and in the year 2005 the rise of unemployment stopped. This motivated plans to take up new loans for large scale investments. 200 million Euros are going to be spend to build an offshore harbor (cp. Breitlauch, 2010). Much support is also given in various projects under the umbrella of the "harbor world" and the "Climate City Bremerhaven". This slogan is meant to give the city a new brand, which should overcome the negative image being socially disadvantaged. Most prominently, the building of an educational and entertainment center (Klimahaus) promoting green policies against climate change embodies this concept. The underlying idea is that Bremerhaven wants to attract inhabitants, investors and visitors who are interested in a place where science, history, attractive living conditions and housing are combined and in close reach. Responsible actors are underlining that the investments for the Klimahaus are paying off but it is doubtful whether the expected numbers of visitors are really achieved. However, the emblematic Klimahaus needs to be evaluated in the context of the reshaping of the old industrial harbor and the northern quarter. Statistics show that the balance between in- and out-migration is positive since 2011. Bremerhaven moreover has stabilized his commuter function in the region. A large part of the debts results therefore in the fact that the surrounding localities do not contribute to the social and cultural voluntary expenditures and investments from which they benefit from. Moreover, the interviewed politicians and local actors assumed in unison that being part of

the Land Bremen has rather negative effects for the city. One obvious reason is that Bremen owns territories in Bremerhaven that it does not develop as it gives preferences to areas in Bremen itself.

Hagen

Historically, the city of Hagen exists because of the establishment of steel industry in the 19th century. The city consists of five settlements which were administratively merged to become "Hagen" but which until today gives the city its rather dispersed morphology. With a debt of 1,3 billion Euro and an ongoing loss of inhabitants, the city of Hagen has become the most prominent example of shrinkage. Since the first crisis of the steel industry in the Ruhr area in 1973, Hagen continuously lost jobs and already 1976 the last steel company closed. The process of deindustrialization was initiated and continued with the closure of textile and food industries. In the following thirty years, different initiatives were undertaken to develop Hagen as a center for service and trade. Despite major achievements like the opening of the only public university for distance learning and the integration into the high-speed train network (ICE), the effects of the investments did not counterbalance the negative spiral of loss. Major challenges derive from the industrial landscape left over without use. In the nineties, the city concentrated on the reshaping of the inner city aiming at the creation of an attractive consumer atmosphere and supporting cultural institutions. The city center suffers from an urban structure that once has totally been dedicated to industrial transport and car orientation. The central train station and adjacent neighborhood remains a critical "entrance" for visitors, although Hagen is situated in a landscape with many natural and leisure time offers. Most interviewees emphasize the potential the city has but regret how little is gained from this. Hagen has been restricted in its fiscal autonomy since a decade and was obligated to participate in the trusteeship of the Land in 2011. Since then, the discussion about larger projects or perspectives for future development have been postponed. Earlier concepts for the creation of future institutions to foster professional training exist, but they have not been brought to life so far because of the fiscal restrictions. The general idea is that Hagen should use its image of being an industrial city and that it should identify itself as innovative in close relationship to industrial production. The settlement of companies which would support this self-description however has not taken place. The idea of keeping up an industrial basis in a common concept in the Ruhr metropolis. In other cities of the Ruhr (like Dortmund and Essen), the transformation to a high-tech-reindustrialisation has been successful to some extent. Also Hagen still hosts metal and construction industries which serves as an argument not uphold the traditional notion of being an industrial city. However, the city officials are also upholding a loose idea of becoming more attractive in a post-industrial manner. This has led to small-scale projects mainly in the field of urban planning. The decreasing space for new initiatives has produced a difficult political climate where elected politicians have given up their offices before the end of the term. It has been confirmed in the interviews with local stakeholders that there is little trust in politicians from the citizenry. There is an obvious lack of ideas what could be done under the circumstances of fiscal dependency from the Land. The imposed plans for cuts in the financial budget of Hagen has created an attitude of pragmatism for so long, that there is also no political alternative formulated by the opposition. Changes of party dominance in the local council had been discouraging. The local civil society are sharing this pragmatic attitude and are mostly concentrated on one-issue projects (ecology, education, social groups) without any programmatic perspective.

Ludwigshafen

As the bourgeoisie of Mannheim has rejected the building of chemical industries, the city of Ludwigshafen has been funded on the other side of the Rhine in the mid of the 19th century. Developing as a classical workers' city, with the very soon success of the Badische Anilin und Soda Fabrik (BASF), Ludwigshafen gained in all aspects: the number of inhabitants grew from 1,500 in the 1850ties to 135,000 before it was heavily damaged by Allied Forces. The impressive return of Ludwigshafen as "city of chemistry" attracted 16 other companies producing chemicals for the global market. Being considered as one of the most global competitive and economic strong cities of Germany, the local debt crisis is produced by a variety of reasons. Since the setup of the industries, the profits were partly transferred to Mannheim. This happened merely because of the mobility patterns of the better-off and the qualified working force. Ludwigshafen offered work for low skilled personal which mainly lived in the city and benefited from the social investments of BASF. The chemical industry is well known for paying relatively high salaries and seldom having conflicts with the unions. This is visual in many urban projects, which do not only serve the logic of industrial production but also offer to some extent an appropriate environment for workers. Engineers and qualified workers however preferred to live in the more attractive areas of Mannheim and thereby disinvesting in Ludwigshafen. This pattern of settlement was increasingly deepen the social divide when in the 1960ties car mobility allowed most workers to seek housing in suburban areas. Despite a remaining strong industrial production which serves for more than two third of the local economy, Ludwigshafen entered a down ward spiral in the 1980ties. With the neoliberal policy change in the 190ties, BASF was generally allowed to pay fewer taxes. In the "golden years" between 1960 and 1980, the city had invested heavily in large and expansive infrastructure like the building of a city hall, a new train station, and a cultural center (Pfalzbau). Maintenance and necessary renovations deriving from these investments arrived earlier than foreseen and at a time when the city – due to changes in the national legislation when workers no longer pay their taxes where they work but where they live – could no longer count on high local tax payments. The professionalization of the chemical industries furthermore destroyed a lot of job for less skilled workers, so that the unemployment is twice the regional average. In 2006, the BASF pushed the region to set up the Rhine-Neckar association, which later became the metropolitan region. Social activities of this global player were then put into the frame of metropolitan cooperation and less focused on Ludwigshafen. It seems evident that BASF seeks an attractive area to attract high skilled workers which apparently would be rather oriented to the metropolitan than local offers for housing, culture, and education. As this internationally operating is so dominant in the city, there is no public criticism or alternative discussed. Politics are seemingly to afraid to confront BASF with the consequences of the metropolitanisation of their engagement and instead join this change in regional orientation. The leading politicians have focused therefore on neo-liberal policy goals like even reducing the local tax rate (Hebesatz) which is assumed to save jobs in smaller companies. Shaping a more competitive environment is one of the key ideas of the local actors and thereby using urban infrastructure investment to make the city more charming. Therefore, social projects like the "Social City Program" in the disfavored neighborhood of Mundenheim have not been continued to save money for projects like a new shopping center. This policy is supported by the trusteeship agreement with the Land after the city needed to call for external support in 2011.

Offenbach

Situated to the north and west at the border to Frankfurt, Offenbach needs to be regarded as highly linked to the disliked "global city" next door. The economic development of Offenbach however enabled a long lasting autonomy. After the Second World War, the city regained a strong position in Germany as producer of leather, mechanical and electronics. A growing number of inhabitants made optimistic plans for large investments into the urban structure plausible. The inner city, large part of the traffic system – especially the implementation of car friendly roads like the "Berliner Straße" – and social housing motivated Offenbach to start a profound renovation of core parts of the city. Already at the starting point of this modernist urban program in the 1970ties, the economic transformation of Offenbach was starting. Large parts of the industrial sectors were having problems to compete on the world markets. Slowly, more and more companies closed and unemployment raised. In the eighties, the economic policy shifted to foster service sector industries. Again, the main instrument used was urban planning and investments into the built environment. The building of the "House of Economy" and the "City Towers" was supposed to offer space for companies in the tertiary sector. Despite some successes of this approach leading to investments of middle-sized companies, the overall loss of jobs could not be counterbalanced. The decline of the economy led however to a double effect: The city lost its ability for further investments into any kind of real estate related business and concentrated to strategic debt management (Grandke, 2000). The frustration on the little effects of investments into the built environment has spilt over and many housing areas could keep a low rent. While the decline of the Offenbach economy has led to a collapse of its tax income, the number of inhabitants in contrast grew. Most new arriving inhabitants work in the larger Rhine-Main region, but they have also little money to spend. In sum, Offenbach became more and more a poor city for poor people in the region. In a regional perspective, the social divide between Frankfurt especially and Offenbach grew constantly. Offenbach thereby developed in many neighborhoods a social profile with a high degree of poor people and one of two inhabitants have a migratory background. Since the prices for living and housing started to becoming sky rocking in Frankfurt, the middle and upper class of the region began to gentrify the riverside of Offenbach, which seems to enter a new phase of development where affordable housing for the poor becomes a political concern. In total, the city has more than one billion Euro debts and needed to seek protection by joining the trusteeship of Hessen. Politically, there is a small opposition and some civil society engagement for alternative ideas on how to develop future Offenbach. Most evident, the city has difficulties with its self-image (Giese, 2010) as shifting from industrial city to "poor city" and now to something else which seems most unclear. There is no vision on how to use the little space to maneuver left by the strict austerity politics.

Conclusion

The four presented case studies from middle-sized cities in Germany show a variety of aspects of the relationship between them and their prospering metropolitan area. In all represented cases, the invention of urban governance was motivated in a framework of a perceived importance of policies in favor of competitiveness, effectiveness and pragmatism. In this way, the introduction of urban governance is the product of a broader political discourse, which in parallel has redefined the role of the state, the relation between the different levels of the multilayered federalism. The core of this approach consists of the idea of austerity (Peck 2012). This implies that cities should be regarded as entities, which should be taken responsible for their position in the regional and global markets (Tabb, 2014). It therefore fosters

the autonomies of cities to position themselves in the interurban competition for investments, inhabitants, social and cultural capital. A whole set of political implications are motivated by this overarching understanding of the "neoliberal" city (cp. Hackworth, 2007). While it is necessary to see the interference of policies as a consequence of a reoriented state philosophy, the consequences of this paradigmatic shift towards an economic and fiscal self-sustaining of cities, it has to be carefully taken into consideration that the intended changes have not been implemented in a pure form. The existing political and institutional landscape of a federally and corporative country like Germany hindered a mere adaptation to imperatives of austerity. However, harsher conditions for credit services reduced local autonomy. In contradiction to the prevalent rhetoric about austerity, choice and space for alternative decisions in local politics has not increased. In this regard, the German cities are placed into the same political framework and suffer from diminishing sovereignty – despite the economic and fiscal success of national policies – than comparable international cases (Tonkiss, 2013; Donald et al., 2014). Many negative effects of these politics however are still counterbalanced, to an increasingly lesser extent, by a complex system of tax redistribution and the enlarged welfare state. As it became apparent, all included cases are following paths deriving the political and societal construction from the industrial revolution. The unequal share of resources and power remains the intrinsic factor, which hinders a more intensive connectedness of cities in one metropolitan region. Being part of these forms of governance does not increase win-win-situations but can even increase the loss of political autonomy of cities. This is the reason for cities like Hagen or Bremerhaven wanting to leave the metropolitan associations.

With regard to the theoretical discussions on austerity and urban crisis in Europe, this article provides an insight view on the case of Germany which develops a rather irritating argument for the prominent assumption of an all explaining narrative on the "neoliberal city". Contradictions between cities in German regions have become evident as a framing into the existing juridical and welfare state architecture are suggesting that the factors causing the indebtedness of German cities are more complex related to each other. The evidence of the cases presented here show that the existing notions on the austerity do not sufficiently explain the diversity of local policy responses and are underestimating the consistency of both the national state institutions and the local consistency of self-governance. It is moreover important to consider the fact that austerity has not been an ideology that has overridden certain values laid down in the German constitution and the logic of political competition. Austerity has merged into existing concepts on the state and has not replaced the idea of social equality and solidarity which are expressed in codified manners of relationship in politics and society. Further research on austerity and its impact on urban life needs to distinguish more sharply between the different sources which are leading to urban crisis where austerity might not be the only evil.

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A Century of Rural Planning in England: A Story of Contestation, Fragmentation and Integration

Introduction

There has, in recent times, been a clear shift in the principles underpinning the theory and practice of rural planning in England: from the narrow resource protection approach, in which rural and urban spaces were regarded as distinctly separate entities, towards an integrated spatial approach that recognises their interdependency. Acceptance that the countryside had become a much more complex and contested space, and home to a variety of competing policy agendas and constituency interests was fundamental to this shift, though implementation of ideas has sometimes lagged behind the theory. Until very recently, English rural planning policy and practice – which is distinct from the rest of the UK - remained steadfast to the principles set out in the first half of the 20th century: to protect the countryside from inappropriate development and preserve quality landscapes and agricultural land. There are some signs today however that the scope of rural planning is significantly broadening beyond its traditional 'preservationist' remit, and slowly recognising the differentiated and multifunctional nature of the contemporary countryside. This paper reviews the competing policy agendas and constituency interests that make the countryside before considering the role that local planning plays in mediating between these agendas and shaping rural places. The paper is structured to consider: the roots of rural planning; the system's early priorities; why the rural agenda, post 1947, was highly fragmented; and attempts made, post 1997, to move towards more integrated rural policy delivery; and the degree to which the 'reinvention' of a more holistic brand of local governance and planning since 2004 – with planning becoming a potential 'place shaper' in rural areas - chimes with the complex realities of modern rural areas. Lastly, the paper considers the strategic dilemmas of sectoral integration and territorial policy contiguity that have remerged in the wake of recent central government reorganization, a streamlining of the planning system and attempts to empower local communities in local decision making under a Localism agenda.

General public concern for the state of the countryside evolved into a distinctive planning response – into what is now often described as 'rural' or 'countryside' planning – during the first half of the 20th century (Gilg, 1996). In the previous century, industrialisation and the rapid growth of towns and cities had focused attention on urban problems such as bad housing, inadequate infrastructure and poor public health (Hall, 2002). But the planned responses to this growth, through the outward expansion of urban settlements including suburban development along major transport arteries, also threatened to spill onto the surrounding countryside, potentially

endangering food and timber production, and also undermining the rural tranquillity enjoyed by the upper classes and the aristocracy (Robinson, 1990). By the beginning of the 20th century, a movement emerged to campaign to protect the country's 'rural resource', and this aspiration was eventually taken forward in legislation in the 1930s. This was achieved through the creation of a system of urban containment to prevent sprawl and in the protection of the best agricultural land, thereby halting aspects of the original planning movement's desire for better housing with improved densities and wider roads in its tracks (Hall et al., 1973).

This desire to prevent urban sprawl and preserve farming land formed a new paradigm for town and country planning that developed further during the 1940s and 1950s, through green belt designation (Herington, 1990), policies to protect areas of high landscape value, and the designation of selected new settlements – the new towns – in areas beyond the green belt (Aldridge, 1979). Such prevailing attitudes towards the countryside continued as principles of the planning system well into the 1980s (Hodge, 1999).

During the latter part of the 20th century, a new consensus emerged: that the planning system's treatment of the countryside was fragmented and focused disjointedly on distinct 'policy regimes'. Planning for food production went its own way, as did planning for landscape and wildlife protection; economic planning amounted to little more than the protection of agricultural land; and planning for the rural built environment (for housing, services and transport) seemed to be of secondary concern, relegated behind the needs of farming and the rural landscape (Winter, 1996). These agendas (social, economic and environmental) were championed by separate government departments, their own national agencies, their own distinct lobby groups, and planning authorities had little capacity to think holistically about the future of rural space. Indeed, they had no means of influencing farming activity, little say over economic development and only limited means of advancing the needs of rural communities.

But the ambition for rural areas and for planning has now shifted. Over the past decade there has been growing acceptance that space is 'multifunctional', always serving economic, social and environmental needs (Mander et al., 2007). For example, tourism is a major economic driver in rural areas, but always reliant on the sustained quality of the rural environment, and ultimately a support mechanism for rural communities. Likewise, rural communities will only flourish where there is a viable economy, and it is people in the countryside who have championed the wellbeing of the environment for at least the last 100 years. In this context, it is now realised that someone or something needs to take responsibility for the coordination of actions that make rural space. Separate policy regimes, separate agendas and different priorities and values are a social and political inevitability in a fragmented governance arrangement, but it is now believed that local government can use the planning process as a means of 'place shaping' and stitching these agendas together at a regional, sub-regional and local scale (Lyons, 2007). It is also believed that the great weakness of planning in recent decades has been its tendency to 'go it alone' and its failure to recognise that its repertoire of powers (mainly over land use change) may be insufficient to shape places when places are 'made' or 'shaped' by the policies, plans and actions of many groups (Tewdwr-Jones, 2008). These groups – landowners, farmers, developers, housing associations, education departments, housing departments, health care trusts, communities, land trusts etc – require planners and other officials to shape outcomes in an integrated manner between these groups.

The means of doing so was created by the modernisation agenda within local government – associated with a reformed planning system – allowing the development of new community governance mechanisms (Tewdwr-Jones et al., 2006). Principally,

partners or stakeholders come together in 'strategic partnerships', decide on priorities, agree responsibilities and actions and then play a part (alongside the formal democratic local planning process) in delivering against a vision that is formulated through community strategies and other delivery vehicles. Planning has played a role in co-ordinating this process, and local planning intervention should, in theory at least, serve this joined-up, integrated agenda (DCLG/RTPI, 2007). This has been the optimistic view for spatial planning, rather than town and country planning, a process able to negotiate different agendas, help build consensus, and no longer stuck in the 'go it alone' mindset.

In this paper, the narrative outlined above is reconstructed more fully into the story of rural planning's transformation during the 20th century, from a mechanism designed to preserve the 'rural resource' into a process of facilitation actions that is intended to deliver greater economic vibrancy, social wellbeing and capacity, and environmental quality in the modern countryside.

The Question of Rural Planning in England

For the last 50 years, the popular image of the countryside – contented workers occupying thatched cottages or the vernacular equivalent – has diverged from the reality: a countryside where housing is often unaffordable to those on local wages, services are declining, jobs are increasingly scarce and a pastoral landscape comprising a patchwork quilt of smallholdings is giving way to a landscape of intensive farming serving the needs of powerful grocery chains rather than rural communities. Where did it all go wrong? This question, fairly or unfairly, is often levelled at planners. Why haven't services been maintained; why have rural economies declined; why have small schools closed; why has the countryside been swamped by 'townies' and whose bright idea was it to sell all those houses to rich second-home owners? A great number of the claims made about the state of the countryside are based on anecdotal evidence. However, evidence published in the annual reports of the recently abolished Commission for Rural Communities showed compelling evidence confirming that concerns over the price of rural housing, the decline of rural services, and rural wage levels were – and still are – generally well-founded (CRC, 2006). Likewise, Natural England has consistently reported that many landscapes and rural habitats are at risk not only from development but also from tourism pressure and from what it views as unsound farming practices (NE, 2006). For its part, the National Farmers Union – often in unison with the Countryside Alliance – gives priority in its own analysis of the state of the countryside to food security, the continuing need to invest in agricultural production and traditional links to rural communities, sometimes supporting the pro-hunting campaigns of the Countryside Alliance (NFU, 2003; CA, 2004).

Rural areas can be fairly described as a hotbed of dissatisfaction, disaffection and conflict (Cloke and Little, 1990). There are many competing views of what the countryside should be and many claims as to who has the right to live and work in rural areas. For some, it is clear that policy and planning should support a 'working countryside', permitting development of all kinds to serve both local populations and to bring more people into rural areas so that services can grow and expand. But this is an anathema to those who believe that rural areas are simply not the right context for development, that further housing is unnecessary and that, fundamentally, the countryside remains a resource for food production and quiet landscape enjoyment. There is a fragmentation of attitudes towards the countryside that mirrors the fragmentation of governance and policy process: different responsibilities that evolved in the 20th century for communities, for farming, for economic development, and for the landscape. In the next section, the first three elements set out at the end

of the introduction are considered, the aim being to provide essential context and background for this topic.

The Roots of Rural Planning

The risk of urban growth and associated urban problems spilling onto the country-side in the 19th century galvanised support around the need for 'urban containment': a brake on the outward spread of towns and cities (Hall et al, 1973). There were two rationales for such containment: first, agriculture needed protection so that the country could achieve greater food security (a German naval blockade during World War I had demonstrated the case for protecting domestic farming); second, the English countryside (in particular) was increasingly viewed as a 'retreat' from grimy industrialisation, and as an 'idyll' that stood in contrast to the 'dark satanic mills' (to quote William Blake) of the industrial revolution. Together these two rationales added up to one thing: that the countryside was a resource requiring protection. In this context, the word rural became strongly associated with idyllic pastoralism, and strongly disassociated with the word development which was the realm of the urban and, more particularly, was associated with the town planning movement. The influential planner Patrick Abercrombie wrote the book 'The Preservation of Rural England' (1926) and inspired the creation of the Council for the Preservation of Rural England, also becoming its first chairman. The philosophy of the CPRE has undoubtedly been shaped by Abercrombie's belief in an obligation to 'preserve and save' the countryside as a whole:

The need to protect rural space from urban encroachment became the critical mission of rural planning, and found expression in both the Town and Country Planning Act 1932 (the change in title from previous 'Town Planning' legislation notable here) and the 1935 Restriction of Ribbon Development Act. This view also triggered the process of establishing statutory green belts.

But more generally, the view that rural areas represented a 'productive' (agricultural) and 'landscape resource' was taken forward in debates on the future of planning, farming and landscape protection held during the period of World War Two. The war itself had compounded the effects of two decades of economic recession during the 1920s and 1930s. The reconstruction agenda was central to the creation of a stronger, more pervasive system of land-use planning, the case for which was established in a series of significant reports produced in the run-up to the 1944 Planning White Paper, and which paved the way for the The Town and Country Planning Act 1947, the cornerstone of the planning system, emerged from the need for post-war reconstruction.

The Barlow Report, published in 1940, was principally concerned with urban areas and problems associated with unbalanced regional development (HM Government, 1940). After the war, the idea of greater national control over strategic and local development – rooted in Barlow – became a core principle of intervention through the planning system. The Uthwatt Report, prepared in 1941, was concerned with the implications of nationalising development rights (and how landowners would be compensated) (HM Government, 1941).

The Scott Report, or the 'Report of the Committee on Land Utilisation in Rural Areas' (1942), focused primarily on agriculture. It argued strongly that farming land should be exempted from planning regulations and indeed that agricultural land, wherever possible, should be protected from urban encroachment (HM Government, 1942). Consequently, agriculture acquired special status and exemption in the post-war planning system. The Scott Report also recommended the creation of National Parks (as part of a 'national limitation of land areas') culminating in two separate reports – The Dower Report (on National Parks in England and Wales,

1945) and The Hobhouse Report (of the National Parks Committee, 1947) – paving the way for the creation of National Parks (HM Government, 1945, 1947).

It was the Scott Report (and the subsequent Dower and Hobhouse Reports) that carried forward inter-war attitudes towards rural areas. They resulted in a carving up of rural agendas, with Scott prompting the creation of an 'agricultural policy regime'; Dower and Hobhouse creating a 'landscape regime', Barlow strongly associated with 'regional economies regime', and Uthwatt/Barlow concerned with planning for the established 'built environment regime'. The principles of rural planning were established, alongside a division of responsibilities (a fragmentation of 'rural policy' delivery). Agriculture was legislated for in the Agriculture Act 1947, with its own ministry and support agencies; the rural landscape became the focus of the 1949 National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act; and rural settlements were subject to the provisions of the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act, but hemmed in by powerful agriculture and landscape lobbies. The landscape protection element of the planning process was further strengthened through Abercrombie's London Plan of 1944, which created a green belt around London, and nationally through the policy on green belt designation of 1955. No single act brought together the shared interests of the countryside and no single body co-ordinated the delivery of what-we-may-term 'rural policy'. In fact, the concept of rural policy was entirely absent: the rural became a disjointed mix of agricultural, landscape and settlement planning policies, with emphasis firmly given to the preservation of the rural resource, as Abercrombie and the CPRE in the interwar years hoped it would be.

These rural regimes continued largely intact for the following 40 years. In the last 25 years, challenges to the post-war regime consensus have emerged more prominently. There have been calls to lift the burden of planning on private sector development interests, particularly in relation to housebuilding in the urban fringe and the countryside. The argument that a slow and bureaucratic process has been stifling entrepreneurial enterprise has gained political support especially when house prices have remained high and there has been a perceived shortage of housing to meet demand in the south of England (see Barker, 2004). But this perspective is not new: an anti-planning, pro-market philosophy began to build momentum during the period of Conservative government in the 1980s (Thornley, 1991). In 1983, two separate draft circulars – 'land for housing' and 'Green Belts' – both questioned the wisdom of rigid adherence to green belt policy when long-term development needs might be threatened (Elson, 1986: 235). They implied the need to review development plan policies towards green belt protection but were met with strong opposition that eventually resulted in their withdrawal and replacement with alternative Circulars the largely stressed the status quo in 1984. Attempts by the government to allow further new housing developments in the countryside in the latter 1980s were also fiercely opposed, ironically enough by factions of the then Government-supporting public, leading to a policy u-turn for the Conservative Party and to a commitment towards what was termed at the time local choice to determine planning issues (Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones, 1997). Friction between market and planning perspectives are of course commonplace in rural discourse, but this episode suggested that the post-war policy towards rural areas had become so embedded within the public conscience that alternative approaches would be difficult to implement politically.

It is perhaps inevitable that political priorities, policy frameworks and agency responsibilities come to reflect the interests and agendas that shape a particular area of broad public concern. This certainly happened in relation to rural policy. Farming interests gravitated towards their own ministry (the Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Fisheries by the 1990s) and their representative body, the National Farmers Union (NFU); landscape and conservation interests eventually became the concern

of the Department of the Environment (DoE) and an Environment Agency (again, by the 1990s) and rural settlement planning, although also the responsibility of the DoE (with inputs from the Department for Transport), became a largely separate concern. This hiving off of the rural built environment is perhaps the critical element of this fragmentation. A general policy presumption against development in the open countryside from 1947 onwards, and the free rein given to farming combined with the creation of protected landscapes (National Parks, Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty, Sites of Special Scientific Interest and so on) meant that rural communities often became islands, cut off from the surrounding landscape. These communities were contained within settlement boundaries beyond which they could not spread and beyond which their incumbent planning authorities had little or no control. Irrespective of the state of the farming economy, authorities had little say on agricultural matters. And national landscape designations were simply not within their jurisdiction. But during the second half of the 20th century, the farming economy transformed: it weakened, becoming more subsidy dependent; farming practices changed in response, becoming more intensive and radically altering the landscape; and the sector modernised and mechanised, meaning that it required less local labour. So as well as transforming the rural environment, the changing nature of the farming economy had huge impacts on rural society: jobs became scarcer or seasonal and wage levels declined. In fact, changes in the landscape and the economy beyond rural communities had a profound impact, reconfiguring these communities. But planning could do little to steer change or respond to the challenges confronting people in the countryside. Growing recognition of this fact through the 1990s prompted a fresh look at rural policy and how it might be better co-ordinated.

Towards Integrated Rural Policy Delivery

The previous sections have brought us to the 1990s. The institutions of rural governance, it seemed, were presiding over a rural disaster. Rural areas were not, on the whole, becoming poorer because counter-urbanisation from the 1960s onward had brought a steady stream of more affluent people into the countryside together with retiring households and second home buyers. But the residual rural population, those who relied on a working countryside, were enduring an increasing level of economic deprivation, compounded by the loss of rural services and a shortfall in housing supply caused, in part, by rigid planning constraint. How might this situation be rectified and how might rural policy be delivered in a more co-ordinated manner? This question was answered at two levels: first, at the level of broad policy design and delivery (i.e. nationally) and secondly, at the level of local governance and implementation, in part, through the planning system.

In 2000, the Labour Government's first Rural White Paper – 'Our Countryside – The Future: A Fair Deal for Rural England' (DETR and MAFF, 2000) – was published. This was the first time in over 50 years that the broader aspects of countryside policy had been reviewed in a coordinated manner, and significantly, the paper emerged from a partnership between departments with oversight of settlement planning, farming and landscape protection. Two key outcomes of the White Paper were the creation of DEFRA (Department for the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs) in 2002 and the setting up of a Review Commission (under the chairmanship of Lord Haskins) to consider how DEFRA might better deliver future rural policy. Lord Haskins was asked to formulate a strategy for:

- Simplifying or rationalising existing delivery mechanisms and establishing clear roles and responsibilities and effective co-ordination;
- Achieving efficiency savings and maximising value for money;
- Providing better, more streamlined services with a more unified, transparent

and convenient interface with end-customers; and,

- Identifying arrangements that [could] help to deliver DEFRA's rural policy and Public Service Agreement targets cost-effectively (Haskins, 2003:7).

The Review prompted DEFRA to initiate a Modernising Rural Delivery (MRD) programme and to look at the agency arrangements (rooted in the wartime deliberations described earlier) for delivering rural policy. Critically, government departments are supported by non-departmental public bodies (NDPB) that play a significant role in the delivery of national policy but are not formally part of the structure of government. In the 1990s, the policy development and delivery work of DoE and MAFF had been supported by the Environment Agency, English Nature, the Countryside Commission (and then the Countryside Agency) and the Rural Development Service. The culmination of the MRD was the creation of two new agencies in 2006: Natural England and the Commission for Rural Communities (CRC).

Natural England subsumed the functions of English Nature, the 'landscape' remit of the Countryside Agency, and the functions of the Rural Development Service. The CRC took on the 'community' and 'services' functions of the Countryside Agency, minus its rural development function which went to the regional development agencies. Some of the advocates of a more co-ordinated approach to rural policy delivery questioned the integrity of this reorganisation: on the face of it, Natural England can claim a more holistic overview of landscape issues (though it needs to work with the Environment Agency on issues such as climate change and flood risk), but settlement policy was arguably more isolated from wider rural concerns having lost its rural development focus within the confines of the CRC (though the commission is a strong advocate of diversity and change within the rural economy). Moreover, the rural planning function and rural governance remained outside the remit of government's 'rural ministry' (i.e. DEFRA), which remain the sole concern of the DCLG (Department of Communities and Local Government), which is the heir to the DoE's planning functions.

The argument employed by Lord Haskins and the architects of the MRD was that these new agency arrangements had reduced the net total of support bodies and contain a wider array of expertise within more powerful and effective agencies: overlaps have been reduced and these NDPB had what they needed to support their parent department. It is also the case that these are not delivery bodies (though they may channel funding to some community and environmental initiatives) and it is at the level of delivery that integration was essential.

Rural Place Shaping and Spatial Planning

Sir Michael Lyons used the phrase 'place shaping' in 2007 to describe the broadening role of local authorities in delivering against local aspirations and policy agendas (Lyons, 2007). A key criticism of the planning system in recent years has been its claimed inability to 'shape' places, mainly because the forces and processes of change are frequently beyond the control of conventional planning intervention (Healey, 2007). What does this mean in practice? The planning system, as instituted in 1947, has been concerned with plan-making and development control: the business of drawing up land-use plans and controlling development (i.e. material changes in land-use) in accordance with a plan. But some things that 'shape a place' – influence the vibrancy of its economy; generate social mix; or sustain environmental quality – cannot be steered directly by this form of planning. Land-use planning can create or deny opportunities, but in order to directly shape outcomes, other individuals and groups have to be engaged (often on a voluntary basis) and their programmes and investments brought in line with a vision shared by a range of partners. This is as much a symptom of the decline of direct state service provision and control and

the fragmentation of governance as it is about the form of planning. Although the phrase integrated rural planning implies a desire for some form of control and coordination in the spirit of pre-1979 state mechanisms, the intention was not presented as the goal of an integrated framework for land use control (delivering a better land use mix within a locality), but as the practice of planners 'getting out more' to shape rural communities and their environs.

The Local Government Act 2000 was particularly significant to notions of place shaping, even before the Lyons Inquiry, since it handed local authorities a responsibility for ensuring 'well-being' (a broad concept that can mean many things) and led to the creation of 'local strategic partnerships' (LSP) intended to promote and co-ordinate local stakeholder, community and business involvement in local decision-making (Morphet, 2007). The LSP became the forum through which 'community strategies' or latterly the 'sustainable community strategies' (SCS - after the Sustainable Communities Act 2007) were prepared, and the SCSs in turn formed an essential element of the Local Development Framework (LDF) – the statutory planning documents produced by local planning authorities across England and Wales. These strategies aimed to show how well-being will be promoted (and what the promotion of well-being means in the local context: stronger economies, healthier communities etc); they were conceived as an expression of the aspirations and goals of LSP members (rather than local government per se) and set out the social, economic, environmental issues that local government should be addressing through a range of policy tools including, but not restricted to, land-use policies.

The LSP produced an integrated guiding vision and priorities for the future development of an area. Delivery of the plan was secured by way of a local area agreement (LAA) – in effect a memorandum of understanding between key actors and agencies – or a multi-area agreement (MAA) where the LSP had to function across jurisdictional boundaries. LSPs provided a forum for rural 'power players' such as Natural England, the Environment Agency, Local Authorities and Regional Development Agencies to work collaboratively on issues of mutual concern. This horizontal integration between actors, agencies and organisations operating within rural areas is recognised as a being critical to the success of delivering sustainable development in rural areas (and throughout the territory as a whole), in addition to dealing with the complex problems relating to social change and economic restructuring in rural areas (Owen et al., 2007).

Further legislative reforms under the 1997-2010 labour administration also sought to strengthen the vertical alignment of planning and strategic decision-making in rural areas. The 2000 Rural White Paper for England introduced the parish plans initiative as a means of catalysing community involvement in local planning and service delivery. The Rural White Paper acknowledged that 'sustainable' rural development was not achievable through centralised state intervention and that 'communities could play a much bigger part in their own affairs and shaping their future development' (DETR and MAFF, 2000: 145). Parish plans were viewed as a means of encouraging communities to actively engage in matters of direct local concern (Owen, 2002: 455) and official guidance encouraged a broad scope, in order to give people the opportunity to voice their concerns and influence policy agendas (DETR and MAFF, 2000: 162). Parish plans were championed as a direct community link with the formal planning process insofar as they would enable rural communities to have greater influence over planning decisions and policies in their areas by influencing higher tier strategies such as Sustainable Community Strategies and Local Development Frameworks (Owen, 2002: 449).

Restructuring and Localisation

Although extensive, the reforms made under the 1997 – 2010 Labour administration have not proven to be durable, partly because particular elements were subsequently deemed to be 'undemocratic' and because it was regarded as overly bureaucratic and complex by opposition parties. Since 2010 therefore, a restructuring of the planning system, which began as part of the incoming Coalition Government's 'Big Society' agenda, has attempted to create a downward shift in decision-making and to re-orientate the system away from reliance on agenda set by the centre and on the basis of targets formulated by NDPBs, cascaded in a top-down manner through the regions to local planning authorities. Rather, the emphasis has been on strengthening a local planning tier deemed to be better able to engage with local communities, through provisions for Neighbourhood Planning (Gallent & Robinson, 2013). The reforms that have been instigated since 2010 and embodied in a 2011 Localism Act, have incorporated four main elements (Haughton *et al* (2013). The first has been the removal of centrally produced 'dogma' in the form of detailed planning guidance and the production of targets, and its replacement by a looser National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) allowing planners working with communities greater freedom to set their own agenda. The second element has been the removal of an 'undemocratic' regional tier of planning that played a critical bridging role between central policies and targets (such as for housing) through Regional Strategies that provided firm direction for implementation at the local level. Closely associated with both elements has been a broader attempt to streamline government through the closure of democratically 'unaccountable' bodies in a 'bonfire of the QUANGOs' (the alternative acronym for NDPBs – Quasi non-governmental organisations). The autonomous Commission for Rural Communities was formally closed in March, 2013 with core responsibilities brought back into DEFRA once again by way of a newly established Rural Communities Policy Unit (RCPU) within the ministry. The third element consists of the 'soft' structures of strategic governance in the form of Local Enterprise Partnerships and recently formed Local Transport Bodies that perform several of the strategic coordination functions previously undertaken by the regional tier. Lastly, a neighbourhood planning tier has provided the opportunity for local communities to directly shape the places in which they live, through long term neighbourhood development plans, focussed development orders and a set of community rights for specific proposals, with a majority vote in a local referenda the key democratic device. In summary therefore, the reforms have introduced:

> a new form of governmentality in the making, one which excoriates the target culture and democratic deficits of the New Labour approach, and instead envisages a stronger role for local actors to create locally distinctive planning arrangements that in theory are less tied by national policy directives (Haughton *et al,* 2013:229).

At the outset, it was widely felt that neighbourhood planning could be more readily workable in rural communities, partly because of an ancient parish council structure that remains largely intact, and also because of the 'communitarianism' characteristic of village life that can create the conditions for engagement (Gallent, 2013). In other words, the principle of localism had deep roots to tap into. Perhaps unsurprisingly therefore, rural parishes have been in the vanguard - their urban counterparts having faced the elementary hurdle of defining the boundaries of their neighbourhoods. Although the provisions of the Localism Act have created opportunities for local communities to engage directly in place shaping, the powers available to neighbourhood fora should not be overstated. For example, a neighbourhood development

plan is precisely for the purpose of development – it cannot supersede or block the requirements of an adopted higher order plan and, to the initial disappointment of some, cannot therefore be used as a means for facing-off development proposals. The abolition of the CRC has had only a limited effect so far. The agency was created as a means to enhance the 'rural voice' in central government and invoke a better understanding between rural communities and politicians in the aftermath of the Countryside Alliance marches in London of 2002. A ban on fox hunting in the early years of Tony Blair's Labour government proved to be a 'lightning rod' for rural protestors against what they saw – with some justification – as a government formed largely from urban constituencies that was unsympathetic and uninterested in their values, traditions and needs. The CRC was one measure to shrink that particular gap. In the present day, the Conservative and Liberal Democrat of the Coalition Government draw heavily from rural constituencies, and are better able to maintain the dialogue between the countryside and the centre, but this current balance would alter significantly again in the event of administration change.

Multi-sectoral coordination remains a significant challenge for rural regions. The abolition of the multi-sectoral CRC - and the formation of the RCPU within DEFRA can be considered to be symbolic of attempts to shift planning away from central government control and shift powers downward. In the absence of a coordinating agency for rural regions within central government, together with the diverse competencies of the former regional bodies, it has fallen to planning authorities to coordinate planning policy across the range of sectors. In a bid to reduce red tape and streamline the local mechanics of the planning system, the LSPs have had their remits severely diminished – being no longer required to produce their SCS, whilst a vague 'Duty to Cooperate' has replaced the LAAs and MAAs – requiring councils to 'engage constructively' on strategic planning issues but not actually requiring authorities to agree to action (HMG, 2011). Indeed, the entire issue of strategic territorial governance in England remains unresolved, but the question has once again been reignited by September 2014's referendum on Scottish independence and the promise of further devolved powers to Scotland by the three main unionist political parties on the eve of the vote (Economist, 19th September 2014). The northern English regions in particular were quick to seize on the promises made by Westminster to the Scottish electorate to underline the imbalances that would be furthered by further devolution. The idea of regional assemblies has once again been resurrected, but would the idea gain traction today, given the failure of similar proposals for English Regional assemblies under the Blair administration a decade earlier? To an extent, the coalition government has already prepared the ground devolution to the English regions through funds set up for urban and sub-regional economic development initiatives and provisions for a system of directly elected executive city mayors. Several cities have succeeded in carving greater political and financial autonomy – notably Manchester with its dynamic economy and political leadership, and Liverpool and Bristol with their newly elected executive mayoral administrations. However, despite the functional economic territories mapped out by the LEPs, and the public-private boards appointed to oversee them, urban administrations across the UK remain administratively divorced from their rural hinterlands, and in some instances at loggerheads in pursuing incompatible agenda. The discontinuities between urban and rural are readily observable in development planning, infrastructure and public transport provision, which have a tendency to diminish steeply at the urban boundary (Sloman *et al*, 2003). The relationship between urban and rural remains a vexing and defining issue, maintaining the distinctive environmental and social qualities and physical separateness that became a core concern of planning in the early half of the twentieth century and retains its currency in national identity to the present day,

whilst recognizing and supporting the functional economic and social connections of today and tomorrow.

Conclusions

This paper has connected debates on the changing nature of planning in England to concerns over the state and future of rural areas: their communities, economies and landscapes. The planning system available to local authorities comprises a set of tools with which to exert influence over private interests with a view to achieving wider public objectives. Permission to build new housing, for example, is given under the proviso that landowners and speculators will contribute towards community infrastructure, sometimes providing low-cost housing for local needs. Since 1947, planning has been seen predominantly as an instrument for controlling the use of land in such a way that will steer economic growth, protect sensitive environments and, latterly, assist communities. But a land-use remit does not always provide local government with the means to influence changes that have been exempted from planning control (as in the case of farming, increasingly dominated by Common Agricultural Policy agendas), or those that are incremental and beyond planning intervention (such as housing consumption pressures). These changes drive social change, reshape attitudes towards the countryside and ultimately determine who controls local planning and how it is used, in the pursuit of a developmental or environmental agenda (Murdoch & Abrams, 2000). The architects of the post-war planning system never envisaged planning becoming an *indirect* means of influencing change: rather, they aspired to the creation of a 'comprehensive' system that would directly lead rather than follow, and shape the natural and built environment through its initial visioning and subsequent delivery. But the truth, at least by the early 2000s, was that planning had fallen short of this aspiration, partly because the high aspirations were never achieved, but also because the comprehensive framework was as much dependent on a coordinated governmental state response. As soon as the key mechanisms were in place, the vested interests and various constituencies that comprise the rural agenda sought to pull the process towards their goals; this affected not only the overall vision but also compromised any attempt to develop an integrated rural policy approach. Different government departments and agencies have grappled with different aspects of the rural agenda, leading to a situation in the 1990s and 2000s that the only inevitable option for government was to stress the need for integration. In 2004, government brought forward legislation – the Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act – that it hoped would correct planning's retrenchment into a land-use focus, and result in its restoration as a change-leader rather than follower. But they key problems with the rural agenda remain – a fragmented governance landscape, overlapping and contradictory policy processes, separation from functional issues relating to both the urban and rural, an inability to control aspects of the rural agenda since they are set outside government control (such as within the EU), disagreement on what the countryside is there to serve, and a lack of knowledge concerned with wider notions of rural biodiversity and climate change threat.

Nowhere has the limited remit and results of the 1947 style statutory planning process been more apparent than in the countryside, where local authorities were handed curtailed powers to govern land-use change through the planning system and where the focus of rural planning, on the protection of rural resources has made it difficult for the system to achieve broader economic and social objectives. For this reason, effective rural planning has always been viewed as more than merely the correct operation of the statutory system. Bishop and Phillips (2004: 4) argued, for example – before the arrival of the 2004 Act – that planning in the countryside

extends beyond the boundaries of 'town and country planning' (a combination of local authority plan-making and development control) to embrace the initiatives that are taken forward by other actors – including central government departments or agencies, and by different local partners – and which aim to shape the countryside through policy, project and programme intervention. But this extension leads to the inevitable question of who co-ordinates this potentially complex array of interventions. In the first decade of this century, 'spatial planning' came to encapsulate the idea that planning *is* the statutory system *plus* other actions and interventions – public, private or community-led – which make or shape places. In other words planning was to go 'beyond traditional land use planning to bring together and integrate policies for the development and use of land with other policies and programmes which influence the nature of places and how they function' (ODPM, 2004).

The ethos of an integrative approach to planning persists, in spite of a recent overhaul of the planning system and the downward reorientation of power to local authorities, neighbourhoods and rural parishes. The recent restructuring of a planning system that rarely achieves a steady state has emphasized the important and enduring strategic issues over policy integration of spatial and sectoral boundaries. In particular, two key questions emerge:

1. whether policy and agency integration – resting on the abilities and desires of actors to work together holistically in a disjointed governance framework - will be able to deliver long term on strategic rural concerns or whether more radical responses are required to deal with a sustainable form of rural land use; and
2. whether it is time rural issues were not treated as a separate polity, but rather were considered in an integrated way with urban issues through a functional territorial process based on land resources and critical capacities.

As we face the next 100 years with the challenge of climate change, and the likelihood of food shortages, water depletion and energy concerns, our attitudes towards the countryside will have to change further. Some of the enduring policy regimes, the fragmented and integrated processes, and the way the rural is treated as a distinct governmental silo separate to urban issues, will not be appropriate or remain fit for purpose against the backdrop of emerging environmental and social crises. Since 1909 we may well have moved from a period of highly distinctive policy regimes to a process of spatial integration, but perhaps this is more of an interim arrangement.

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Marius Grønning

What is the Fjord City?

At first glance the Fjord City plan[1] appears as a collection of international stereo-types, pre-constituted recipes, and reductive models. Through a closer look, however, what is called into our attention is how the Fjord City, as it materializes into a physical reality, represents a complex combination of regulations, active policies, standards, direct and indirect strategies, incentives, and projects; a form of government specific to the cultural context.

Under industrial capitalism Norway was characterized by the social pact between the parts in the labour market, with institutional arrangements specific to a form of left wing corporatism[2]. These arrangements spread to various sectors and comprehensiveley structured the political system[3]. Out of this social democratic alliance between the economic elite and the labour movement came also the traditional paradigms of urban planning. Planning was based on a coordination of all societal sectors: economy, health, welfare, housing, land use planning and so forth. To this model corresponded a set of government tools, such as expropriation in the frame of an active municipal land policy, credit regulations, state subsidy schemes, and license regulations[4]. The Fjord City concept reflects the paradigms which took over for this model.

The Fjord City was conceived as an alternative use of areas dominated by port functions, proposing a redevelopment of the entire urban waterfront. This required the construction of a synoptic and shared vision. Today this maintains its ethical legitimacy drawing on the utilitarian rhetorics of innovation and urban competitiveness, sustainable urban development, and social cohesion. The process, however, took place under a historical transition from the old form of government to a new. This makes it complex and pervaded with ambiguities. To view the vision simply as a reflection of deliberate decision making is far too reductive: the Fjord City is not a unitary construction; it is a series of operations and intentionalities. One should also question the belief that the city evolves along some form of efficient historical process, independently of the historical path. The redevelopment of Oslo's waterfront is characterized by the institutional conflicts of a postindustrial modernization process. It reflects macro and micro processes – tensions between the actors, rivalries and alliances, changing institutional frames, and cultural aspects – of a form

1 Oslo kommune PBE & Fjordbykontoret 2008, *Fjordbyplanen: prinsipper for utvikling av helheten i Fjordbyen og for delområder; planprogram for Filipstad, Vippetangen og Alnas utløp*, Oslo, Oslo kommune Plan- og bygningsetaten.
2 Nordby, T 1994.
3 Heisler, M O & Kvavik, R B 1974.
4 Grønning, M 2010.

of government in transformation. This paper proposes a reading of the Fjord City, founded on an analysis of the waterfront as a terrain of political entente.

The following is a historical review of the processes leading up to today, going through three phases of shifting conditions. A first phase is identified as the liberal turn in Norwegian politics in the 1980s. A second is identified as a period of economic recession, and new growth, where national authorities' cope with the new economic and political reality of cities. A last phase corresponds to a new equilibrium between the political elite and the actors of the market allowed by new policies and governement tools. The relationship between evolving practices and the physical construction of the city is exemplified through a series of operations, each characterized by the phase in which they where initiated.

The political polarities of the 1980s

The beginning of the 1980s marks the end of a long period of political consensus and stability. Strong political polarities had grown out of the preceding decade. When a right wing coalition took over for the Labour Party in the autumn of 1981, the levees were open for very fast and radical changes. Inspired by Thatcher's monetarism, the new Willoch Government proposed legal reforms involving extensive market liberalization. This established entirely new power relations and new processes of transformation in the city. A new real estate economy emerges in Norway and invades old functional sector areas; with the decline of heavy industry, properties related to production were transferred to the real estate market. The liberal turn had wider consequences; it was the beginning of a wave of institutional reforms. For instance, the introduction of municipal parliamentarism in 1986[5] dissolved the traditional corporatist arrangements and formalized more open relations between pressure groups, technical expertise, and political decision makers. This was a prerequisite for pluralization and new forms of interest representation. It was in this political climate that the waterfront issue was put on the agenda.

In the frame of post war social reformist policies, the historical consolidated city represented a realm of private property, and was therefore not given particular attention. It was subject to a strong regime of market regulations, and with the exception of a few delimited renovation areas it remained a static historical structure. Outside of the consolidated city there was a new society to be built. However, after three decades of urban expansion, the attention was reoriented towards the inner city.

In the late '60s a report on the conditions in the satellite towns, the Ammerudrapporten, launched a severe criticism of late functionalism[6]. This represented a cultural movement corresponding to middle class preferences and a return to inner city urban values. Another return to the inner city was driven by the administrative system itself: decades of neglect of the urban core led to a new social reformist engagement in modernizing worn down residential areas. The municipal Agency for Housing initiated an urban renewal programme, the Byfornyelsen[7], which was implemented through traditional corporatist arrangements, based on collaboration between the municipality and housing cooperative unions. These two merging sequences oriented public attention towards the historical consolidated city and led to new policies for traditional urban space. When the Willoch Government finally introduced the new law on ownership sections in March 1983[8], the way was paved for real estate development in the urban core. Inner city residential areas suddenly

5   Lund, B H 1999.
6   Sæterdal, A & Hansen, T 1969, *Ammerud 1: planleggingen av en ny bydel*, rapport, bind nr. 58, Oslo, Norges byggforskningsinstitutt.
7   Røsjø, E 1997, "Byfornyelse på 1980-tallet: fra leiegårdsforslumming til fornya borettslag", in *Tobias: tidsskrift for oslohistorie* no. 3/1997 (Byarkivet).
8   Referred to in the 1997 revised version: Lov 1997-05-23 nr 31, *Lov om eierseksjoner* (eierseksjonsloven).

became investment objects for regular house owners. The attitude towards the waterfront must be seen in light of these renewed interests. For its mere size and land use, it represented the largest single potential for development.

An idea competition

The idea competition "The Fjord and the City – Oslo in the Year 2000" in 1982 represented an entirely new way of approaching urban development in Norway. Oslo was going to become a "happier city"[9]. The competition invited for proposals and reflection on how the city could meet the fjord, operationalizing an approach which was incompatible with the city's institutional structure and which anticipated future practices.

The initiative was officially taken by Selskabet for Oslo Byes Vel, an assosiation representing the interest of Oslo's citizens[10], but behind it was a new constellation of actors. The emerging real estate sector was not part of the traditional system of organized interests. The law project of the Willoch Government granted formal liberties but the waterfront was still dominated by the established relationships between industrial companies or public sector authorities, technical bureaucracy, and municipal government committees. In order to make a new development possible, one needed to break down the iron triangles of an obsolete system. The idea competition was thus more than a call for ideas; it defined a field of interests where new forms of interaction could take place, where networks could organize and policies take shape. Developers, architects, planners, political representatives, and pressure groups could openly exchange opinions and produce new discourses outside of traditional policy forums. Influence on the decision making processes moved from the municipal corporative arrangements to more informal pressure, to lobbying, to the electoral system and the media.

The idea competition also exemplifies a modification of professional culture: architects, traditionally with ties to the Labour Party, as part of a technocratic elite, now found themselves in a new position between politics, the market, and architecture. Values and beliefs that had been forming over some time were conveyed through the idea competition as a new synoptic approach to the city, a rhetorical frame where expert statements about transformation joined public opinion.

From Baltimore to Oslo

Part of the idea competition about the fjord and the city was also the Nyland Vest shipyard area, later to be known as Aker Brygge. This brownfield redevelopment project represents the birth of a new kind of operation on space related to land and property development under free market conditions. Here, traditional institutional arrangements were practically neutralized[11]. Until then, municipal bureaucracy had actively taken part in urban development processes. It were now reduced to a mere bystander, without resources to take part in the operation. The master plan for Aker Brygge was approved by the City Council three weeks after the completion of the key office building (Terminalbygget)[12].

The law on ownership sections provided a new potential for real estate development, already feeding on an ongoing gentrification of the inner city. On one hand, an academic left wing movement, with background in the struggles against demolition and urban redevelopment of old working class neighbourhoods, aimed to ad-

9   NAL 1983, "Byen og Fjorden – Oslo år 2000", in *Norske arkitektkonkurranser* No. 252, Oslo, Norske Arkitekters Landsforbund.
10 Selskabet for Oslo Byes vel 1983, "Byen og Fjorden – Oslo år 2000", in *St. Hallvard: byhistorie, miljø, debatt* 1-2/1983.
11 Interview with Kjell Wester 24.11.2009 (real estate developer involved in Aker Brygge).
12 Interview with Sven Meinich 10.11.2009 (former director of the Town Planning Office).

dress and adopt particular moral values to the consolidated historical city, with its presumed organic relationship between community and physical space. On the other, young urban professionals, the yuppies of the 1980s, could now buy apartments and started resettling the historical urban core. At the same time the new liberties which were granted through the abolishment of license policies made it easier to establish businesses at central locations. The reactions to bureaucratic rationalism, the romanticization of historical city structures, and the new possibility to speculate in property in central areas represented a change in the idea of what kind of architectural environment provided good living and business conditions.

Tunnel projects and public space

Waterfront redevelopment also confronted a problem of a quite different nature. Throughout urban history, traffic going to and through the city was compatible with the urban tissue. Congestion was not a big problem, and it was possible to live and work in the vicinity of arterial roads. With the diffusion of the private car as a means of transport, arterial roads and the urban tissue came into conflict with each other. For various reasons this became a problem quite late in Oslo. Since the 1950s Oslo was expanding very fast. The construction of satellite towns was based on public transport service. However, when license regulation on car ownership was revoked in 1960, the number of car holders exploded. So did also the traffic in central parts of the city, both due to commuters from an increasingly expanded periphery, and to a topography forcing traffic to pass through the inner city. Towards the end of the 1970s the old arterial roads were saturated; the entries to the inner city and the centre itself were severely strained by cars. By the mid 1980s Oslo was characterized as "Norway's biggest juncture"[13].

In the early 1980s, the Roads Administration's attitude towards high capacity tunnels had changed. New construction technology made the realization of tunnels more economically viable. Something had to be done about the traffic situation in the centre: a comprehensive solution was proposed leading traffic under the ground[14]. The protagonist of this episode was the Norwegian Public Roads Administration, with its administrative extension into the city through its Oslo office. The Festning-stunnelen (opened in 1990) was a key project, and the biggest single measure, which immensely improved the navigability for pass-through traffic and the environment in the city centre[15]. It also made the western waterfront more attractive by overcoming its "isolation" from the urban core.

The development of tunnels in the inner city dependend on the Oslo Package 1, a political agreement on plans and financing solutions for the development of roads in the Oslo region. The decisional process exemplifies new practices of both roads development and urban development. The budget package was an innovation at various levels. It represented a new way of financing roads development through the construction of an urban toll ring around the city, which allowed the state to share the costs with the users[16]. This was meant to finance various improvements of the roads infrastructure, including a series of costly tunnel segments through the city centre. The package also represented a new attitude towards the spaces liberated from former main arteries, now downgraded to inner city streets and public space.

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13 Bjørgan, T 1996, "Tunnelenes betydning for miljøet: Oslo tunnelen, Ekebergtunnelen og Bjørvikatunnelen" (manuscript), lecture held at the *Via Nordica* conference in Bergen.

14 Whitepapers, Ministry of Transport and Communications: St.meld. nr. 58 (1984-1985), *Om Norsk vegplan 1986-1989;* St.meld. nr. 46 (1985-1986), *Om hovedvegene i Oslo-området*.

15 Interview with Trond Bjørgan 23.11.2009 (former director of the Oslo Roads Office).

16 Sørlie, I 2000, *Bomringen i Oslo: bakgrunn, beslutningsprosess, implementering*, Oslo, Byrådsavdeling for miljø og samferdsel.

The return of the state in the 1990s

Growing revenues from the oil economy and the new liberties of the 1980s had led to an economic boom. However, market liberalization also introduced a new phenomenon: financial bubbles. The burst of the first bubble represents a rupture, with the Black Monday event in October 1987, when stock markets around the world crashed, starting a chain reaction of bankruptcies. The crisis left the Norwegian real estate market without financial capacity, and developers lost the upper hand in urban development issues. After a series of debt restructuring and counter crisis measures, enacted by a reinvigorated Labour Government, the economic curve again turned upwards around 1992. Through these measures the state started to reinterpret its role as an owner, as a developer, and as a strategic planner. The state also enters the scene of urban redevelopment as an important actor in the city; now with new roles and motives of government.

The 1990s were characterized by two parallel processes: on one hand the fragmentation of the institutional and organizational arrangements of public administration; on the other, the reactivation of planning as a constituent idea of government. The 1980s had liberalized the market and introduced municipal parliamentarism, putting an end to corporatist forms of intermediation. Inspired by the philosophy of New Public Management the reform process a step further, splitting up public companies into specialized and autonomous units, and privatizing the provision of services. At the same time, as municipal governments were now widely driven by market interests, national authorities saw a need to come up with new instruments for governing the transformation of the cities. The decade is characterized by the emergence of new political issues, new institutional frames, and new policies. Spatial operations in the waterfront situation exemplify the formation of new urban policies and their corresponding sets of tools.

In the inner city areas, the issue of the environment was initially related to the increasingly acute conflict between car traffic and the urban tissue, with the problems of congestion and pollution that this generated. With the new issue of sustainable development, the environment was reframed and became a new policy through which national authorities could intervene in local urban contexts. Furthermore, when the economy was once again improving towards the mid '90s, the old controversy about access to land in the waterfront areas was revitalized, now with a more radical claim: redevelopment of surfaces which were partly occupied by still operative and vital infrastructural installations – port, railways, and roads. Finally, postindustrial economic theories led to a new symbiosis between cultural services and business life[17], with cross sectorial strategies which constituted an institutional frame for which the "Bilbao effect" rhetoric behind the new opera house came very naturally.

Environment Cities

Paradoxically, hard times in the market may represent good times for public actors. In the political climate of financial crisis, as the government allocated counter crisis budgets, it was easier for sector authorities to propose key projects and get access to

17 Examples of reports and policy documents which reflect this constellation: Halvorsen, K 1996, *Hva kan vi lære av Montpellier?: en komparativ studie av det næringspolitiske arbeidet i Montpellier og Oslo-regionen (NIBR-rapport)*, Oslo, Norsk institutt for by- og regionsforskning; St.meld. nr. 31 (2002-2003), *Storbymeldingen: om utviklingen av storbypolitikk* (whitepaper), Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development; Statsbygg 2005, *Veileder: kulturplanlegging i norske byer og tettsteder*, Oslo, Kryss; St.meld. nr. 31 (2006-2007), *Åpen, trygg og skapende hovedstad* (whitepaper), Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development; Ministry of Trade and Industry / Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development / Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs 2007, *Kultur og næring: handlingsplan*, Oslo, Ministry of Trade and Industry; St.meld. nr. 7 (2008-2009), *Et nyskapende bærekraftig Norge* (whitepaper), Ministry of Trade and Industry.

public funding. The Public Roads Administration had already engaged in its massive road and tunnel development programme. Not only did this canalize capital into the construction business, it also became the financial basis for operations in the inner city.

Gro Harlem Brundtland had been the chairman of the World Commission on Environment and Development. She was head of the Labour Government in Norway most of the time between 1986 and 1996. The Brundtland Report[18], which was released in 1987, was followed up the year after with a government whitepaper (issued by the Parliament) on how the precepts of sustainability were to be practiced in Norway[19]. The environment now emerged as a "hard" government sector, bringing the bureaucracy of the "welfare state" into a new era. Governing sustainable urban development required a new policy design[20]. In this scope, the Ministry of the Environment proposed a new key project in 1993: "The Environment City" (Miljøbyen). This was based on the recognition of cities as a motor in the national economy, at the same time as they had to be given the main responsibility for the emission of greenhouse gases. In Oslo, the test ground was the medieval part of the city (Miljøbyen Gamle Oslo). The policy design process took place in a three step procedure: an initial conceptual phase, constructing a "vision"; a longer implementation phase; and a conclusive phase where the experiences from various cities were summed up in policy documents such as government whitepapers, national directives, and manuals about good housing, biological diversity and so forth[21].

The Environment City programme exemplifies the restructuring of institutional frames through the political and economic mechanisms at work in the early 1990s. Practices of planning took place in an institutional environment which had become more pluralistic, more open and based on loose networks of public and private actors. In these frames, and in the political climate of the financial crisis, public directorates joined into distributional coalitions in order to improve their funding, and started to develop common rhetorical strategies around issues for which the state provided earmarked budgets. This led to a new alliance between actors affiliated with the Ministry of the Environment and the Ministry of Transport and Communications, and eventually the merging of different policy frames.

Hence, the Environment City was an occasion to combine old welfare practices with new policies, where the issues of development and the environment were recast into a new culturally shared system of beliefs. The sustainability issue required new policy tools, such as the new National Guidelines for Coordinated Land Use and Transport Planning[22]. This was meant as an instrument for control across functional sector divisions (transport, land use) and administrative delimitations (municipalities, counties), encouraging densification around nodes in the infrastructure, as a means to contain dispersion. Now, the traditional concern with pollution, with carless dwelling environments, based on a political preoccupation with protection, welfare, childhood and so forth, merges into a new concern with sustainability where land use and transport are seen in relation to one another, in a way which produces entirely new transformation patterns according to a polycentric model of compact city cores. Tunnels become an environment issue, just as much as an improvement

18 World Commission on Environment and Development / Harlem Brundtland, G 1987, *Our Common Future*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
19 St.meld. nr. 46 (1988-1989), *Om miljø og utvikling* (whitepaper), Ministry of the Environment.
20 Whitepapers, Ministry of the Environment: St.meld. nr. 31 (1992-1993), *Regional planlegging og arealpolitikk*; St.meld nr. 58 (1996-1997), *Om miljøvernpolitikk for en bærekraftig utvikling*; St.meld. nr. 8 (1999-2000), *Regjeringens miljøvernpolitikk og rikets miljøtilstand*.
21 Miljøbyen / Sæterdal, A 2000, *Utvikling av miljøbyer: erfaringer og anbefalinger fra Miljøbyprogrammet, hovedrapport*, Oslo, Ministry of the Environment.
22 Rundskriv T-5/93, *Areal og transportplanlegging: rikspolitiske retningslinjer for samordnet areal- og transportplanlegging*, Oslo, Ministry of the Environment.

of the traffic flow. The Public Roads Administration itself adopts environment rhetorics, with metaphors like "the city is suffocating", and starts to argue for its own responsibility for the "reparation" of left over areas when by-pass roads and tunnels are realized. In addition, dense urban areas represent specific policy situations. The medieval part of Oslo is a territory with concrete physical traces in the ground which engage the rhetorics of cultural heritage. Historical traces were subject to a construction of identity, in the scope of attracting investments and redeveloping the area. The encounter of institutions with places restructure the notion of public interest according to a mix of policy frames, involving welfare, dwelling, transport, the environment, cultural heritage, and land use.

"Harbour city" or "fjord city"?

After a period of recession, the Environment City renewed the interest in the waterfront. The situation was now reframed on the grounds of the social dimensions of the worn down neighbourhoods in eastern Oslo, in combination with a new national policy of sustainable urban development. The experience with by-pass solutions and the displacement of main arteries, which gave off surfaces to urban development, strengthened the idea that central areas could be used for new purposes. The attention was now expanding to the whole central waterfront, generating new tensions between the actors in the area. The controversy was politically handled in a way which isolated the Port Authorities, rhetorically turning the waterfront issue into an opposition of two contrasting scenarios: Oslo as a harbour city versus Oslo as a fjord city – what did the citizens want? Feasibility studies and environmental impact assessments pointed in one direction: removing infrastructure, regaining the contact with the waterfront, and redeveloping open surfaces with cultural attractions was for the benefit of the city[23]. This was a struggle that the Port Authorities were bound to lose, because of weaker influence in a fragmented institutional structure, but also because the Environment City project had left Oslo with conflict lines that were different from before.

Political polarities can now be read along two territorial cleavages: On one hand the old division between the transport sector and real estate actors from the "The City and the Fjord" idea competition. Here real estate interests, traditionally represented by the right wing in municipal politics, challenged the port authorities which were traditionally linked to the state administration and the Labour Party. The cleavage now follows the north-south frontier between the urban core and the seaside. On the other hand the old east-west social class division in Oslo is now restructured. Western Oslo is traditionally upper middle class and typically right wing, while eastern Oslo is traditionally working class and predominantly left wing. The various episodes along the waterfront show how actors and political factions change positions in the different stages of the process, and the Fjord City - Harbour City controversy was the process' most critical point. A stalemate was avoided through the Labour Party's politicizing another issue: the location of the new national opera house. Through its location in the eastern waterfront consensus was established around the Fjord City alternative.

A new opera house in the eastern waterfront

The construction of a new opera house was a decision which went through two rounds in the Norwegian Parliament[24]. It was first a cultural policy issue, and it was

23 Oslo kommune PBE 1997, *Fjordby eller Havneby: Utredning om Oslos havne- og sjøside*, Oslo, Oslo kommune Plan- og bygningsetaten; Statsbygg & Oslo kommune PBE 1998, *Byutvikling i Bjørvika - Bispevika: En analyse av potensialet for verdiskaping*, Oslo, Oslo kommune Plan- og bygningsetaten.
24 St.prp. nr. 37 (1997-1998), *Om nytt operahus*, Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs; Innst. S. nr. 213 (1998-1999), *Innstilling fra familie-, kultur- og administrasjonskomitéen om nytt operahus (II)*.

decided for its location in the western waterfront, where land was available. However, when a feasibility study concluded that its location was essentially an urban policy matter, it was again taken up for discussion. Reports on living conditions had shown that people in western Oslo had longer life expectancies than people in the east. To correct geographic imbalance was an urban policy issue, and the answer was to stimulate urban redevelopment. The east-west imbalance was an important symbol of social differences in Norway. The Labour Party made a point out of the unfulfilled task of welfare, and mobilized, on this ground, for the location of a new opera house in Bjørvika[25].

The project secretariat of the Old Oslo Environment City was early engaged in the discussion about the location of the new opera house, driven by the opinion that this kind of public commitment should be actively used as an incentive for investments and urban redevelopment[26]. One of its main intentions was to provide an open space between the waterfront and the city behind, to give the eastern neighbourhoods a new access to the water. In order to reach that goal a series of heavy installations had to be removed: port installations needed to be relocated also from the eastern waterfront[27]; the railroad needed to reduce and delimit its extension, as it no longer actively used all the surface; the motorway had to be removed, representing a major obstacle for urban development, something the Public Roads Administration was already working on. The liberated areas should be redeveloped, leaving certain sectors unbuilt, providing visual connections between the inner city and the fjord landscape.

Redevelopment required infrastructural measures that no private investor could afford. This represented an obstacle that the City Government had faced for a long time: by formal procedures, with new practices of public private partnership, development in Bjørvika was an almost impossible economic task. An actor was needed who was strong enough to pull the development. One could only count on the state, both as an economic actor, and because one had to deal with the transport sector authorities. With the location of the opera house, the state suddenly became the protagonist in the redevelopment of the waterfront[28].

The restoration of planning and the construction of the city after 2000

In June 1999, when it was decided to locate the new opera house in Bjørvika, political polarities were finally appeased. After a period of comprehensive institutional change the field of planning reached a new state of organizational and institutional stability. The waterfront issue is recast, now corresponding to the urban community's new set of shared values.

The latest decade is characterized by the implementation of strategies which had formed in the previous ones. But it is also a spinning wheel of new ideas, not only for the Bjørvika area; the decade sees the birth of the Oslo Architecture Triennale, as well as a proliferation of competitions and feasibility studies, many organized around the Fjord City area. In order to understand this cultural ferment one must take into account what was handed over by the nineties: Fast economic growth had led Norway to an unprecedented prosperity, and optimism remained strong throughout most of the period. At the same time, events like the Winter Olympics

25 Interview with Dag Tvilde 25.08.2009 (urban planner, involved as a consultant when the location issue of the Opera house was discussed).

26 Interview with Erik Urheim 18.11.2009 (project fellow at the Environment City office in Oslo).

27 The city government made a decision already in 1988 that areas in Bjørvika should be designated for urban development.

28 Innst. S. nr. 234 (2001-2002), *Innstilling fra familie-, kultur- og administrasjonskomitéen om nytt operahus i Bjørvika*; St.meld. nr. 28 (2001-2002), *Utvikling av Bjørvika* (whitepaper), Ministry of Labour and Administration.

at Lillehammer or the Oslo Peace Agreement improved Norway's international presence, generating a new national self awareness. This partly legitimized a symbolic policy, reflected in the positioning of new architectonic icons in the waterfront. Planning practice is now characterized by the general pluralization process that has taken place in Norwegian society. The disintegration of the old institutional arrangements has made public organs and agencies more autonomous. Various companies, organizations, and public actors form new networks, and act according to institutional frames where modernized public policies, now matured, merge with real estate interests. The development in Bjøvika exemplifies these features, through three distinct categories of spatial operations: typical planning operations like the design of a master plan, land and property development, and the monumentalization of the waterfront through the symbolic positioning of new powers in the city.

The Bjørvika master plan

The initial step towards a master plan for Bjørvika was the parallel projects commissioned by the Agency for Building and Planning Services[29]. Four teams were selected, three international and one domestic. The proposed projects were structural, formal and strategic principles for the development of the area, along different compositional approaches. In all proposals, urban development was viewed as an architectonic problem. The subsequent changes that were made, when the various compositional principles were converted into an efficient master plan, signalled a certain discrepancy between the way architects were still thinking at the time and the kind of instrument the plan was meant to be.

The re-elaboration of the plan was an occasion for the Agency for Planning and Building Services to reclaim its position and reinterpret its role as a technical bureaucracy through a new planning practice which was based on the precepts of new governance. Practically, this meant the recuperation of claims, visions and urban figures from episodes previous to the conceptual work of the parallel commissions. The plan was also complemented by a set of coordinating tools: development contracts clarifying responsibilities (avtaleverket), sequences (rekkefølgebestemmelser) and functions. The organization of land provision has led to the formation of ownership and development consorti according to the ownership structure. The plan is also enforced with supplementary tools of formal control: public spaces, such as the "commons" (allmenninger) or the seaside promenade, each have their specific programme, and an array of pamphlets which covers various thematic aspects in order to assure a comprehensive urban design, indicating norms and standards for architecture, public spaces, urban furniture, public art, and so forth[30].

Land and property development

Despite the master plan's detailed apparatus of control, subsequent operations of land and property development demonstrate certain limits to the plan as a design tool. The emerging built up form differ from the original design of the plan, depending on the context it occurs in. The city seems to be conforming to a set of underlying programmes: economic, cultural and symbolic policies, in combination with location and densification strategies. The construction of space correspond to modalities which are better understood from the point of view of political decisions

29 Bratset, A E, Line, O, Sandlien, S & de Vibe, E S 2000, *Byutvikling i Bjørvika - Bispevika: evaluering av fire paralleloppdrag og anbefalinger for videre planarbeidet*, Oslo kommune PBE / Statens vegvesen Oslo / NSB BA Eiendom / Statsbygg.

30 Oslo kommune 15.06.2004, *Reguleringsbestemmelser for Bjørvika - Bispevika - Lohavn*, Oslo, Oslo kommune; Feldberg, K & Børte, B 2004, *Bærekraft i Bjørvika: Kulturoppfølgingsprogram*, Oslo, Eiendoms- og byfornyelsesetaten, Havnevesenet, Plan- og bygningsetaten, Statens Vegvesen region øst, Statsbygg and ROM eiendomsutvikling/Oslo S Utvikling; Oslo kommune PBE 2007, *Bjørvika: den nye byen i byen*, Oslo, Oslo kommune Plan- og bygningsetaten.

than from urban design.

One example is the development around the Oslo central station. A policy of sustainable urban development improves the possibility of densification on both sides of the railway. As a national transport hub, location here provides a high degree of public exposure. This makes it attractive for businesses to settle, and the area is turning into Oslo's new central business district. A development concept here required larger margins of negotiations about utilization, according to the needs of each individual investor. This was the background for the Barcode concept, which, as soon as it was proposed, led to a formal revision of the master plan[31]. The area is today developing with a high rise structure, and with a blend of architecture and corporate identity based on the stilèmes and symbolic material documented in the architectural reviews since the late 1990s an onwards.

At the shore line a different transformation is taking place. The Sørenga pier is converted into a dwelling area characterized by exclusive housing, with an articulation of public, semi-public and private spaces, smartened up with landscaping and a vaguely organic architecture. In relation to the issue of housing development in the area, there has been a discussion about introducing an element of mixité sociale through a policy of social and cultural diversity with house rent regulation on 5-10% of the units. This does not seem to be followed though, leaving the issues of property value and housing tenure entirely to the market. The success of the new opera house and the attention around the Fjord City development have generated high expectations, and the first sales in 2009 were overwhelmingly successful[32].

Symbolic positioning

A third kind of operation is exemplified by the city's construction of symbolic capital through the development of cultural institutions. This started with the opera house project, but took a new turn in 2008 when it was suddenly decided to locate two other major cultural buildings in Bjørvika, both adjacent to the opera building. One is the merging of the Stenersen art collection with the Munch Museum; the other is the new Deichmann main library building[33].

The Fjord City programme feeds on initiatives – or dies without them. The perspectives of the global financial crisis thus represented a considerable worry for land owners and municipal politicians. One may speculate whether the sudden move, locating two new monumental projects in the waterfront, was a state measure to rescue the process. Behind the initiative is a network composed by the Minister of Culture, the City Deputy of Urban Development, the museum directors, the municipal Cultural Agency, and the land owner (the port authorities' real estate company, HAV Eiendom AS). This combination of actors made it possible to bypass formal decision making procedures.

The episode also exemplifies today's instrumentality of architect competitions. Behind this reshuffling of the city's cultural institutions lies an ambition of symbolic positioning in the waterfront. The competition was a commission for strategy and design concepts at the same time, in such a way that the construction of an image cannot be distinguished from the construction of a development strategy. Inviting a selection of the worlds most famous architects, and suddenly presenting the urban community with a winner, before agreement around central issues had been settled, like funding or how the land ownership was to be transferred to the developer, a major decision appears as a fait accompli. A spectacular architectonic icon becomes

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31 Oslo kommune 30.10.2006, *Endrede reguleringsbestemmelser for S-4099 reguleringsplan for Bjørvika - Bispevika - Lohavn*, Oslo, Oslo kommune.
32 Interview with Eivind Hartmann 20.11.2009 (former project leader for Bjørvika, the Agency for Planning and Building Services).
33 NA24 Arkiv 28.05.2008, "Munch får nytt bosted", <www.na24.no>; <www.haveiendom.no>.

a strong political card which makes it possible for actors to change the premises for development, whether or not this is conform to the the plan's comprehensive design. Today these political games are not finished; there are ongoing struggles and disputes about the cultural institutions of the city, about their locations, priorities and dispositions.

The Fjord City experience

Historical exploration of Oslo's waterfront shows how changes in the form of government, relations between actors, institutionale frames, and a long term cultural inertia can explain the construction of the Fjord City concept. The interactions and evolving relations between physical space and the institutional sphere invite for reflection at various levels.

Firstly, one can observe the construction of a will to decide the major orientations of the evolution of the city. The rivalry between institutions represents a central aspect of how this is articulated. On the terrain of redevelopment one can observe national corporative powers and neo-liberal municipal elites make decisions according to modalities of compromise. However, the fragmentation of public sectors and their reconsolidation into networks have generated conflict lines and alliances also between national government institutions. Secondly, the Fjord City concept invites for a reflection on frames. Today's planning rhetoric on negotiation and *new governance* overshadow the dynamism of the process. Policy analysis, with an account of emerging actors and institutionalization processes, draws our attention towards the interrelation between institutional frames, the formation of persuasive urban rhetorics, and the evolution of regulations. Thirdly, the Fjord City displays the heavy influence of internationalisms in the construction of contemporary cities. The emerging question, however, is not the mere circulation of international ideas and practices, but how they blend into local culture and pass through the *longue durée* of the context. The Fjord City thus represents more than the blunt statements of a plan, or the seductive images of a visionary programme; it proposes essential experiences for an understanding of the social and physical transformation of the contemporary city.

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Urban-Rural Partnerships as a Tool of Territorial Cohesion. A Conceptual Approach derived from INTERREG IV C URMA "Urban-Rural Partnerships in Metropolitan Areas"

Introduction – why do we need urban-rural partnerships?

As a result of globalization, metropolitan areas are forced to constantly strengthen their functions and their position in the international competition for investments, quali ed workers, facilities and or services improving the quality of life. Since the 1990s many of Western European cities have made attempts to intensify cooperation with their surrounding peri-urban and rural hinterlands in order to combat inner-metropolitan disparities, and at the same time, strengthen endogenous potentials for a more balanced regional development. This trend has been intensified by the European Spatial Development Perspective (EDSP), which places a focus on polycentricity and new partnerships between the city and the countryside. In this context, the ESDP (CEC 1999, 21) states: "Cities have increasingly diverse functional inter-dependencies with their surrounding countryside. These interdependencies require voluntary cooperation across administrative boundaries between local authorities, to strengthen the region as a whole in competitive terms". Furthermore, the European Union's Territorial Agenda 2020 acknowledges the leading role of metropolitan areas as drivers of the development of their wider surroundings. Here, the metropolitan areas can act as assets for the development of all of European territory, but under the condition that other regions benefit from their dynamism and are mutually interconnected (CEC 2011, 4–7). However, the role of metropolitan areas as engines of growth (BBSR 2006, 708) is also limited, due to their structural problems, increasing socio-spatial segregation, social polarization and inner-metropolitan peripheralization (Danielzyk 2012, 31). Therefore, development perspectives can emerge from economically vibrant rural and urban areas.

Another aspect is that many contemporary challenges such as suburbanisation, impact of climate change, changes in energy policy and environmental pollution are very complex and do not stop at administrative, regional and national boundaries. They can only be tackled when the actors concerned overcome existing barriers by thinking and acting holistically. Therefore, the above mentioned challenges can also be potentials providing new opportunities for urban and rural actors to work together, allowing for urban-rural partnerships to be developed. In addition, urban-rural partnerships contribute to the reduction of regional disparities by the identification and more efficient use of potentials which urban and rural areas equally exhibit, as well as competences and skills various of regional and local stakeholders. All regions – economically strong as well as weaker ones – can contribute to growth and benefit from it. By working together a new dimension of spatial solidarity can be initiated. Whereas relationships (Bengs, Zonneveld 2003; Zonneveld, Stead 2007; Copus

2013), interdependencies (Ca yn, Dahlström 2005) and interrelations (Repp et al. 2012) between urban and rural areas are common due to commuter ows, food production or leisure activities, there is a need to define, develop and test additional fields of urban-rural partnerships (CEC 1999; Kawka 2008, 2013; Artmann et al. 2012) in order to widen the territorial dimension of cooperation.

Due to the fact that rural-urban partnerships are rather "a spongy idea" (Kawka 2013, 1) and a generally agreed upon definition is not yet in sight, the aim of this chapter is to explore the concept of urban-rural partnerships and provide a set of guidelines developed within the INTERREG IV C project "URMA" in order to encourage the creation of urban-rural partnerships in a wider European context, but also to initiate the scientific discussion on the purpose and character of urban-rural partnerships in Poland. The following chapter is divided into five sections. Following the introduction, the approach of urban-rural partnerships is described, after which selected European policy documents will be presented in the second section. The third section deals with the background and objectives of the "URMA" project, accompanied by a set of possible guiding principles behind urban-rural partnerships. In the fourth section, lessons learned on how the "URMA-Approach" can be implemented in practice. The conclusion will be provided in the final section.

Urban-rural partnerships as a tool of the EU-cohesion policy framework

At the EU-level the first document to address the need for urban-rural partnerships was the European Spatial Development Perspective, ESDP (1999). It stressed the importance of polycentric spatial development and a new partnership between urban and rural areas. The emergence of a relatively decentralized urban structure would enable the potential of rural areas to be developed and so also reduce regional disparities. Moreover, it would involve overcoming the outdated dualism between city and countryside. According to the ESDP, city and countryside should be treated as a functional, spatial entity with diverse relationships and interdependencies, since they form a region and are mutually responsible for its further development.

The Territorial Agenda (CEC 2007) and the Territorial Agenda 2020 (CEC 2011) build upon the aim of the ESDP and stress the importance of the development of a balanced and polycentric urban system and new urban-rural partnerships. Referring to the 5th Report on Economic, Social and Territorial Cohesion, TA 2020 identifies Cohesion Policy as a "key framework through which the EU can address territorial development challenges and help unleash territorial potential at local, regional, national and transnational levels" (para. 6). The TA 2020 draws a framework for urban-rural cooperation by recognizing that regional interdependencies are increasingly important; therefore continued networking, cooperation and integration between various regions of the EU at all relevant territorial levels are needed (para. 9). Further, TA 2020 stresses the point that "territories with common potentials or challenges can collaborate in finding common solutions and utilize their potential by sharing experience" (para. 12). In the concrete context of urban-rural cooperation, TA 2020 acknowledges diverse links existing between urban and rural territories; this includes peri-urban and peripheral rural regions. Therefore, integrated governance and planning should be based on a broad partnership in order to recognize urban-rural interdependence. This can be achieved by locally developed place-based strategies. Following the polycentric and balanced territorial development, small and medium-sized towns should play a crucial role in rural areas. At the same time, metropolitan regions should recognize their role as the entities responsible for the development of their wider surroundings. Finally, TA 2020 highlights the importance of improving the accessibility of urban centers from rural territories (para.

29), ensuring access to services and job opportunities.

The 6th Cohesion Report does not mention the concept of urban-rural partnerships. Only with regard to Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) it refers to the rural development pillar, as "the policy which includes economic, social and environmental dimensions based on a territorial approach and can help to maintain a sustainable balance between urban and rural areas" (CEC 2014, 189). It remains vague how this should lead to the establishment of urban-rural partnerships. Still, the document refers to new instruments such as Integrated Territorial Investments (ITI), Community Led Local Development (CLLD) and multi-fund programs combining finance from the European Social Fund, European Regional Development Fund and Cohesion Fund in order to tackle particular territorial development challenges (CEC 2014, 236).

What can be learned about urban-rural partnerships from reading the policy documents described above? First, EDSP, TA 2007 and TA 2020 recognise the city and countryside as one functional spatial entity due to mutual interdependence reflecting diverse relations. Second, the documents stress the importance of polycentric spatial/urban development and the need for new urban-rural partnerships. Third, partnerships should be set up in order to develop place-based strategies with the aim to collaborate, find common solutions and share experience. Making use of endogenous potential plays an important role here. Whereas the early documents had introduced the concept of urban-rural partnerships and had justified it, the 6th Report refers directly to implementation tools such as ITI or CLLD. In summary, questions on the definition, principles and guidelines needed to establish urban-rural partnerships in practice remain open and remain to be addressed.

"URMA" project – towards a new understanding of urban-rural partnerships
Background and objectives

The need to gain more knowledge about urban-rural partnerships and to provide a platform for knowledge exchange on urban-rural partnerships within "URMA" has emerged from various directions. First, the "URMA" project concept was inspired from the demonstration project "Supra-Regional Partnership Northern Germany/ Hamburg Metropolitan Region" developed within the framework of the German Federal Government's program "Demonstration Projects of Spatial Planning" (2008-2010). In this project innovative means of addressing regional disparities and new governance structures were developed for large scale urban-rural partnerships. Second, based on a Dutch example, "Amsterdam – A Responsible Capital", and the Hamburg project, METREX ("Network of Metropolitan Regions and Areas") set up an expert group called "URMA – Urban-rural relationships in metropolitan areas of influence" with the aim to explore an integrated approach to cooperation between different actors in developing and implementing joint urban-rural initiatives. At different METREX-meetings in 2011 the project objectives, potential fields of urban-rural cooperation as well as funding options were discussed (METREX 2014). Finally, in March 2012, the "URMA" project kick-off conference took place in Hamburg. Furthermore, the "URMA" project benefited from the expertise provided within the framework of the Advisory Council for Spatial Development at the Federal Ministry of Transport, Building and Urban Development on recommendations "Large-Scale Partnerships: Opportunities for Innovation and Cohesion at a New Spatial Level".

The overall aim of the "URMA" project was to support the exchange of experience with regard to the emergence and implementation of urban-rural partnerships in selected European metropolitan areas and their wider hinterlands. In particular, the improvement of effectiveness of regional and local policies towards a cross-sectoral

and multi-level urban-rural governance approach lay at the core of the project. In this context, urban-rural partnerships could serve as a tool to strengthen the potential for the generation and transfer of innovative solutions in various thematic fields of spatial development. Within three years of duration, nine participating partners from Bulgaria, Germany, Italy, Holland and Poland (Fig. 1) have developed ideas on how urban-rural partnerships could be established and implemented in the long-term. In particular, the partners followed three objectives:

– what is necessary to establish and stimulate more intensive urban-rural partnerships,

– in which sectors could urban and rural actors benefit from closer cooperation,

– how could urban-rural cooperation contribute to new forms of shared spatial responsibility, solidarity and territorial cohesion.

As an interregional cooperation project, "URMA" supported the exchange of experience between representatives of regional administrations, research institutions, business and NGOs. Therefore, in the course of the project, a number of conferences, study visits and thematic workshops took place. In addition, a number of outputs were produced: concise glossary, inventory of planning approaches to urban-rural cooperation, pilot implementation reports, field monitoring reports, good practices, as well as recommendations for policy makers. However, one of the crucial documents produced in the course of the project was the URMA-approach, a document providing a common understanding on urban-rural cooperation and the rationale behind it, which will be presented in the next section.
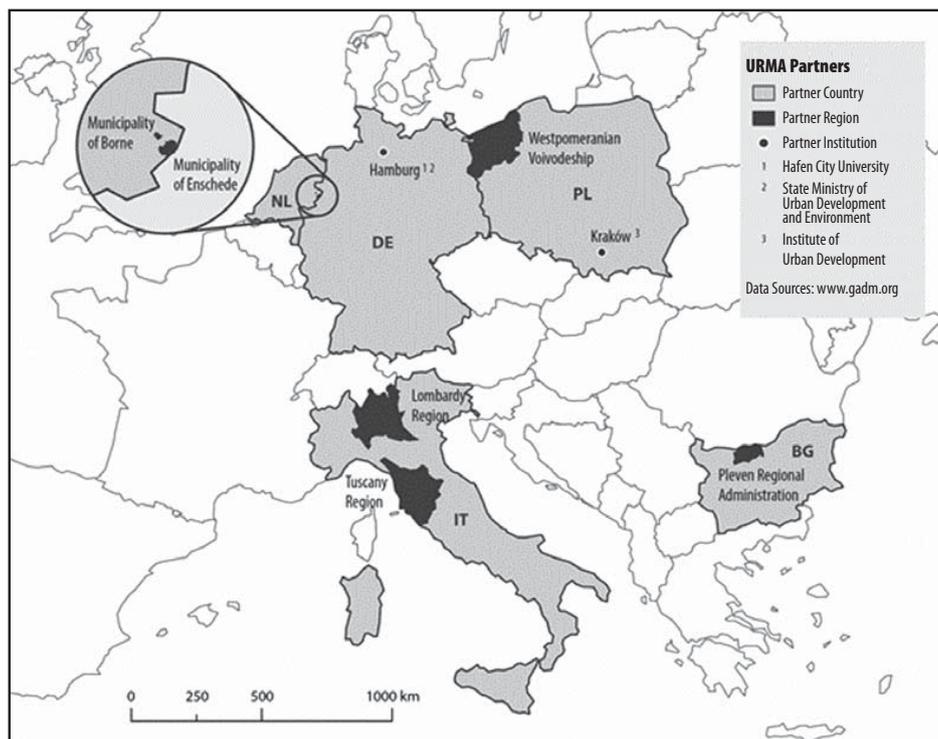

Fig. 1 | Regions and institutions participating in the INTERREG IVC URMA.
Source: M. Jacuniak-Suda, T. Schwämmle 2014.

"URMA-Approach" – definition and principles of urban-rural cooperation

Due to different levels of understanding and interpretation of urban-rural partnerships among the partners in the initial phase of the project, the need for a joint definition of the term has emerged. Therefore, a conceptual document, "URMA-Approach", was developed in which the definition of urban-rural partnerships was laid down. According to this document, urban-rural cooperation is understood as project-oriented cooperation initiatives of various actors in metropolitan areas and their more distant rural hinterlands with the aim to establish stable but flexible cooperation structures (URMA 2011, 2013a, 2013c; BMVI Hamburg 2011, 7–8, 12–14; Kawka 2008, 63; BMVBS 2012, 11). The precondition for the emergence of urban-rural cooperation is a mutually perceived need for more efficient cooperation among the involved stakeholders.

Further, urban-rural partnerships can be characterized by a number of aspects which need to be considered by policymakers when working on respective strategies or instruments supporting the establishment of urban-rural partnerships.

First, there is a need to look at the spatial dimension of urban-rural partnerships. Urban- rural partnerships can be created within the formal boundaries of a territorial entity (administrative regions, association of municipalities, designated metropolitan areas), but can also extend further than the urban core area of influence, beyond classic city-suburban cooperation. In other words, they can stretch over a larger geographic distance than the neighboring or surrounding areas. Therefore, a number of spatial systems can emerge. For example, in URMA's partner regions at least three spatial scales can be distinguished:

1) Large scale partnerships: supra-regional cooperation of a metropolitan region with its wider hinterland.

2) Metropolitan regional partnerships: cooperation within a metropolitan region between a large city and its surrounding peri-urban and rural areas. This also includes polycentric structures.

3) Partnerships between small and medium-sized towns: in networks with their rural hinterland.

Depending on the topic and need for cooperation such as waste management, public regional transportation networks or flood protection, urban-rural partnerships can be applied at various spatial scales. In addition, with regard to urban-rural cooperation in the field of entrepreneurship, translocal urban-rural cooperation can develop irrespective of physical proximity and based on virtual interactions. In practice this means that, for example, a rural enterprise specializing in food production may have business links to customers (restaurants, hotels, catering) located at a larger distance or abroad and not necessarily in the immediate vicinity (Copus 2013, 12–13).

The second principle is establishing partnerships on a level playing field. This means that urban-rural cooperation should be based on equal footing, respect and recognition of mutual interdependence between urban and rural actors. The cooperation will fail in the long term if it is dominated by hierarchical structures, stereotypes and demand attitudes. This can be seen in the case of cities which press for uncontrolled urbanization in neighboring rural areas irrespective of restrictions given in spatial plans/land-use plans (Zimnicka, Czernik 2007, 20 ff.).

Further, urban-rural partnerships are reliant on a culture of dialogue. The formation of urban-rural partnerships is based on a voluntary basis and requires an ongoing process of respectful negotiations, capacity building (know-how) and trust building. Urban and rural actors need to gradually establish a culture of dialogue, searching for long-term solutions for (wider) regional benefit, rather than only for short-term and small-scale benefits. This is often problematic in relations between core-city and adjacent countryside, where often hostile competition prevails (Fürst 2003, 447)

regarding the location of industrial areas or dealing with traffic congestion, for example. On the one hand, rural areas profit from urbanization, but on the other hand, cities must take part in solving problems which arise from it.

Another aspect is the issue of the sharing of benefits, resources and costs. Urban-rural partnerships should be formed on the basis of mutual benefits as well as mutual resources and cost sharing. Thus, cooperation should bring both, urban and rural actors, win-win solutions. Balanced negotiations of interests and the ability to share resources, responsibilities and commitments will enhance cohesion between the core urban area and rural regions but will also ensure the effective allocation of funding. This also reflects the concept of spatial solidarity which can be applied when thinking of the work/functional division between rural and urban actors. As an example, one territorial entity cannot host a university, technology park and cultural center all by itself; they need to be spread out all over different locations to ensure equal job opportunities, etc. (URMA 2013b, 2). By recognizing the core competences and specific endogenous potentials of an area concerned, local stakeholders can contribute to a reduction in competition.

As for all governance structures, urban-rural partnerships should be developed through the involvement of a wide range of actors representing various sectors and levels of governance: public administration and representatives of local/regional governments, NGOs, business and research. As all the actors have specific know-how, social networks and funds available, they can be viewed as part of an endogenous potential of a region (Blatter, Knieling 2009, 253). As a result, the triple or quadruple helix approach enhances the effectiveness and innovation of projects. The latter in the context of "URMA" is understood as knowledge transfer based on the creation and dissemination of "novelty", new knowledge, or the introduction of existing knowledge in a new way (Cooke 2001, 33; Lamboy 2005, 1142). Innovative solutions can be found more rapidly if actors from different elds and sectors work together.

Finally, urban-rural cooperation reflects variable geometry. This principle implies that the array of actors/regions and geographic area involved in urban-rural partnerships may vary according to the thematic orientation of cooperation. Therefore, urban-rural partnerships are most of all driven by concrete actions and tangible projects stretching across administrative units and less by regional planning. Originally, the concept was introduced in the context of European integration, specifically around debates on di erentiated integration, which attempt to reconcile heterogeneity within the EU (Stubb 1996, 283). In this context, variable geometry is defined as "the mode of differentiated integration which admits to unattainable differences within the integrative structure by allowing permanent or irreversible separation between a hard core and less developed integrative units". Further, variable geometry recognizes permanent differences among both the core and the periphery, thus creating various conglomerations of integrative units (Stubb 1996, 285-287).

"URMA-Approach" in practice – lessons learned from partner activities

As previously mentioned, an important outcome of the "URMA" project is providing a platform for the exchange of ideas and experiences between all involved partner regions, their respective stakeholders and external experts and institutions. The emphasis on collaborative processes and the exchange of ideas not only lead to more robust and thorough contributions to the topic of urban rural partnerships but also to concrete lessons learned. The learning processes facilitated by "URMA" took place on four different levels: learning within the project among all partners, bilateral learning between two partners facing similar challenges, learning within partner regions, and learning outside the project with external experts and institutions.

The transfer of best practices was particularly relevant to the project as the numerous study trips supported direct exchange and discussion of experiences between the partner regions. For example, while participating in a study visit to the Twente region, urban and rural stakeholders in the voivodeship of Małopolska (the Lesser Poland region) were inspired by the Green Knowledge Portal in the Twente region and the regional food initiatives in Lombardy and Tuscany. This resulted in the development of a new cooperative that will connect consumers in the metropolitan area of Kraków with producers in the rural Gorlice district. Learning between partners also yielded general exchange of knowledge; an example is the sharing of experiences on the analysis and development of tools to combat urban sprawl that was established between the voivodeship of Zachodniopomorskie (the West Pomerania region) and Lombardy.

Learning among the partner regions constitutes the core of URMA's general contribution to the understanding of and requirement for building better urban-rural partnerships and their role in territorial cohesion. Starting with the basics, urban-rural partnerships can only be successfully initiated when there is a real need and benefit for all parties involved. Experiences cannot be simply transferred from one region to another. It is necessary to understand the various planning and political cultures as well as the different socio-demographic and economic situations and dynamics on regional and national levels to adequately create and support urban-rural partnerships. Regional circumstances must also be considered due to differences in the types of urbanization and spatial development between European countries. The partners also expressed a shared view on multi-level governance. Many urban-rural partnerships not only exist on one government level, but across several government levels (municipal, regional, national, international). In such cases, it is crucial to support the creation of an organizational framework for multi-level governance. This organizational tool can facilitate better information exchange between regional and local planning levels (especially between public offcials, civil servants, village mayors, etc.) in order to improve information flow.

Multi-level governance
Local bodies of government and administration are responsible for the implementation of regional planning and development. In this respect, they represent an adequate level for facilitating and coordinating the implementation of urban-rural partnerships. Especially in urban-rural partnerships that involve several government levels, they can act as a junction between stakeholders by enabling an information exchange, circulation of regional know-how and monitoring of projects. Further, there are a number of institutions at the (supra-) regional level that have experience in regional cooperation and can act as a driving force to enable urban-rural partnerships: metropolitan associations, city networks, public transportation associations, regional agencies for economic development, research institutes/universities, etc.

Multi-sector cooperation
Many urban-rural partnerships face problems that cross sector boundaries, most prominently between the departments responsible for agriculture and spatial development, but also between other thematic fields. In order to find solutions to urban-rural challenges and to make use of the common potentials of urban-rural partnerships, it is necessary to create cross-links between the entities that are responsible for different thematic areas. Urban-rural partnerships can be helpful in overcoming the traditional boundaries between authorities which are responsible for sector policies.

Functional areas

As the "URMA" regions and other examples demonstrate, functional interrelations between urban and rural areas cross administrative, regional and national boundaries. Therefore, national governments should recognize that spatial planning and thus urban-rural cooperation needs to reflect functional relations. If an institutionalization of the urban-rural cooperation is called for, new spatial entities can be developed according to the different types of partnerships, ranging from small-scaled functional areas, to metropolitan regions to large-scale meta-regions.

Stakeholder involvement

Depending on the type and topic of urban-rural partnerships, a balanced participation of different stakeholders (e.g. public government, knowledge institutes, enterprises and civil society) needs to be achieved. The triple/quadruple helix model can be used to identify new and relevant topics and to create innovation through urban-rural partnerships; as shown in the example of the Green Knowledge Portal in the Twente region.

The examples examined during "URMA" have shown that a key success factor for the implementation of urban-rural cooperation is to convince local political leaders (mayors, councillors), entrepreneurs and NGOs to become actively involved in urban-rural partnerships, so they can subsequently take over projects and act as their driving force. For this reason, it is necessary to identify local leaders who can take charge of the management of urban-rural projects. The Jutland cooperation project shows how mayors of small and medium-sized towns in Schleswig-Holstein and Denmark became involved from an early stage on.

Furthermore, the examples indicated the necessity of involving partners from the private sector to stimulate a better integrated economic development between urban and rural areas. One example of how is by the implementation of partnerships in the development of clusters, including urban as well as rural enterprises and further stakeholders.

Citizen participation

Many citizens experience urban-rural interactions in their daily lives. They physically cross administrative borders while commuting and consuming goods and services that span urban and rural areas. Therefore, it is the citizens of urban and rural areas who should be regarded as experts at identifying the opportunities and challenges of urban-rural partnerships. Public participation should be enabled by new methods, like the Charrette method in Tuscany, and involve different groups, such as the young people and students in the Twente region, in order to develop, implement and locally embed urban-rural partnerships.

Events as platform

Large events that used to be locally restricted to one city are now often conducted on a regional level, spanning several towns or areas. Furthermore, they tend to cover a broader range of topics, addressing the general development of a city or region, such as the topic "sustainable regions". Events such as EXPO 2015 in Milan and the International Garden Exhibition Hamburg 2013 provide an excellent opportunity for exchanges of information and ideas between the various stakeholders. They also enable urban and rural actors to come together and initiate cooperation projects.

EU and national programs and instruments

Experience from previous and current EU and national programs are useful as a source of knowledge to establish urban-rural partnerships (e.g. INTERREG A for

the establishment of cross-border relations, LEADER as a model for inter-munici-pal cooperation and the "German Spatial Demonstration Project MORO" for large-scale partnerships). The concepts of urban-rural partnerships should find support in future programmes.

New funding instruments such as CLLD or ITI are being introduced in some member states. Initial examples from Poland and Bulgaria suggest these may help to improve urban-rural cooperation. However, it is still necessary to better communicate the potential advantages of ITI and CLLD as well as monitor and critically assess the implementation of these new instruments.

A further objective of the "URMA" project was to identify sectors in which urban and rural actors could benefit from closer cooperation. The following listing gives an overview on topics of urban-rural cooperation that have been identified during conferences and study visits as well as through a survey conducted among the "URMA" partners.

Infrastructure – the rural areas of metropolitan regions often suffer from poor accessibility to the metropolitan core, and good infrastructure is a precondition for many urban-rural projects. Therefore, introducing better modes of community transportation, park and ride sites, synchronized bus and rail connections, better timing of metropolitan/regional railways and wider broadband internet coverage can make a big difference.

Regional food and product cycles – the creation or recreation of regional food cycles is a topic that concerns all "URMA" regions. It became evident that regional food connects urban and rural areas and that the demand for this is growing. Partnerships are necessary to develop universal tools that promote regional production chains and to match supply and demand (examples of tools are regional funds for micro-credits, consulting services, cooperatives, markets for local food producers).

Spatial planning and territorial development – all URMA partners emphasize the necessity of spatial planning instruments and policies that better integrate urban and rural planning and development. West Pomerania and Lombardy are, for example, developing guidelines for the future reduction of urban sprawl that will be integrated into spatial development plans.

Economic development – Cluster cooperation that includes urban and rural areas can achieve a better use of resources and support spill-over effects from urban to rural areas and vice versa. Cluster cooperation significantly improves the involvement of small and medium-sized enterprises in regional clusters.

Renewable energies – Regional renewable energy cycles and networks are regarded as an important topic for urban-rural cooperation by most URMA partners. Rural areas can contribute to the energy supply of urban areas. Regional energy production by community wind parks or biomass production advances the local economy.

Local and regional public services facing demographic and societal changes – A shrinking and aging population, especially in many rural regions, demands a better integration of public services, particularly in the fields of health care and education. This applies especially to rural areas in Pleven and the Lesser Poland Region.

Tourism – The combination of tourism assets in both urban and rural areas is regarded as an opportunity to become more attractive as a destination for vacation and for local recreation. All URMA partners are working on better integration of tourist attractions, for example by linking cultural offers with agro-tourism.

Outlook – how to achieve mutual benefit?

Among all the features characterizing urban-rural partnership in the context of "URMA", the principle of mutual benefit plays a critical role as a conditional principle and prerequisite for establishing urban-rural partnerships. In the course of the "URMA" project partner regions have provided examples showing that urban-rural partnerships create mutual benefit for both urban and rural regions. Still, the question of mutual benefit remains contested. For example Copus (2013, 20) sees a danger that urban-rural cooperation may become an "end" in itself, rather than a means of achieving cohesion policy objectives. Further, he calls for "real and appropriate benefits for rural Europe" (Copus 2013, 27). Also the German approach of supra-regional partnerships of responsibility, promoting urban-rural partnerships on a large geographic scale, is not free of criticism (Megerle 2008, 7-8; Scheck 2012, 28-29; BMVBS 2012, 14). For example, the involved actors report a high conflict potential due to various motivations and expectations as well as vague durability of governance structures. Therefore, a better understanding and networking between actors on a personal level is a good starting point for urban-rural partnerships to be established (Köller 2011, 15). Another example consists of collaborative agreements signed in January 2014 between Amsterdam and the fastest shrinking parts of Holland, namely the cities of Delfzijl, Sluis, and Heerlen, within the scope of the "Amsterdam – A Responsible Capital" initiative which are regarded by some researchers as a "forced and far-fetched attempt to care about an imagined larger hinterland" in order to strengthen its city-regional economy by claiming national policy support (Bontje 2014).

In view of this, the mutual benefit in urban-rural partnerships needs to be balanced as a result of negotiations of interests and the ability to share resources, responsibilities and commitments. In particular, four thematic fields turned up in the course of the "URMA" project as top priorities which could be addressed by urban-rural partnerships to achieve a better use of resources and support spill-over effects from urban to rural areas and vice versa and therefore a mutual benefit (URMA 2014):

– improvement of accessibility and infrastructural links (including broadband Internet connection, public transport) between the metropolitan core and its (wider) rural areas (Pleven, West Pomerania, Kraków),

– development and restoration of regional food production and delivery chains in metropolitan areas and beyond (Twente, Lombardy, Tuscany, Kraków),

– stimulation of economic activities in both urban and rural areas through cluster cooperation in manifold themes (Hamburg-Jutland Corridor),

– development of scientific cooperation (Pleven-Sofia, northern Germany-Denmark).

It is also necessary to understand the various planning and political cultures in URMA regions as well as the different socio-demographic and economic situations and dynamics on the regional and national level to adequately create and support urban-rural partnerships in metropolitan areas and beyond them.

Summing up, there is no one universal and "right" model of urban-rural partnerships. The EU provides various information exchange platforms (METREX, EUROCITIES) and financial instruments supporting the creation of urban-rural partnerships such as ITI or CLLD, but the responsibility to establish urban-rural partnerships lies in the hands of regional and local stakeholders which need to find appropriate thematic fields, cooperation rules, organizational and decision-making structures to make urban-rural partnerships happen. Therefore, the "URMA-Approach" can only guide these activities and act as a source of inspiration. Clearly, the approach of urban-rural partnerships cannot replace national regulations related to wider spatial planning, but it can complement and coordinate various sectoral poli-

cies. Under real life conditions such as changing national or regional policy frame-works, financial and organizational constraints, staff rotation, to name only a few, it is unlikely for all features of the "URMA-Approach" to be implemented at the same time. However, they should be understood as guiding principles for all those stakeholders who believe that urban-rural partnerships can add value to the existing initiatives.

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Carles Llop

Ciudades, territorios metropolitanos y regiones urbanas eficientes[*].

Estrategias y propuestas de proyecto para la regeneración dela Ciudad Mosaico Territorial después de la explosión de la ciudad. La Región Metropolitana de Barcelona como laboratorio

Este artículo es un resumen del resultado del proyecto de investigación nacional "Ciudades, Territorios Metropolitanos y regiones urbanas eficientes. Estrategias y propuestas de proyecto para la regeneración de la Ciudad Mosaico Territorial después de la explosión del ciudad", financiado por el Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad de España y la Unión Europea.

El marco temporal de la investigación lo situamos, pues, en el período 1977-2012 en cuanto al registro de las transformaciones territoriales; y entre 1985 y 2015 por el registro de actuaciones y propuestas metropolitanas, de las que se priorizan para ser estudiadas las comprendidas entre 2007 y 2012.

Así, se trata de un contexto de la Región Metropolitana de Barcelona (RMB) caracterizado por la crisis y la post-burbuja inmobiliaria, donde el período anterior de explosión urbana que ha caracterizado la ciudad post-industrial ha generado una serie de transformaciones urbanísticas y territoriales que son las que definen el estado actual de la región. El objeto de la investigación es, por tanto, doble. Por un lado se trata de asumir estas transformaciones como los principales retos a afrontar; y por tanto, reflexionar y proponer nuevos modelos de desarrollo más sostenibles, tanto a nivel ambiental, como social y económico, que permitan una mayor equidad territorial, y que este desarrollo se produzca en equilibrio con las estructuras naturales de apoyo y las dinámicas que las caracterizan.

Desde una lectura pluridisciplinar, con este proyecto queremos aportar una aproximación a la Región Metropolitana de Barcelona en términos de eficiencia territorial desde el punto de vista del proyecto metropolitano como instrumento que permite contribuir a la transformación eficiente del conjunto de la región, haciendo un diagnóstico de su estado actual en términos de las situaciones territoriales destacadas como los principales retos sobre los que hacer frente desde la práctica urbanística.

Los resultados de esta investigación no se presentan como una conclusión cerrada, sino que pretenden abrir el debate sobre cómo podemos afrontar las nuevas realidades territoriales en términos de eficiencia proponiendo aquellos ejemplos, que de alguna manera, destacamos por su contribución proyectual en los términos mencionados anteriormente. En la investigación, por tanto, hemos querido aportar un con-

junto de apuntes sobre qué entendemos por eficiencia territorial. Pero también proponemos los retos, aquellas situaciones territoriales que significan un reto de futuro para la mejora de la eficiencia territorial del conjunto de la región metropolitana.

En las imágenes que presentamos en el artículo, podemos ver a modo de ejemplos de algunas de las situaciones territoriales que podemos encontrar en la Región Metropolitana de Barcelona. Aunque la ciudad de Barcelona ha crecido de forma compacta condicionada por los sistemas geográficos (ríos y cordilleras) que la enmarcan, el crecimiento disperso, la urbanización y edificación intensiva del suelo, la descentralización de determinadas actividades y la aparición de nuevas polaridades alrededor de ciertas infraestructuras han provocado que durante las últimas décadas la Región Metropolitana de Barcelona se haya desarrollado en extensión, sin considerar suficientemente los elementos que constituyen la matriz biofísica de apoyo. En consecuencia, encontramos situaciones de ríos que debido a la infraestructuración del territorio han pasado de elementos naturales estructuradores canales segregados del resto de espacios abiertos y de la matriz ecológica. El río Llobregat es un claro ejemplo de esta situación, así como muchas de las rieras secundarias que constituyen la red de drenaje y que no se han integrado como parte de la morfología urbana de muchas de las ciudades de la región. Es decir, a menudo encontramos casos que ejemplifican el tratamiento que ha recibido la matriz ecológica en relación al desarrollo urbano. En el caso del río Llobregat, lo vemos de nuevo en la transformación de su desembocadura, de la que se ha modi cado el trazado natural para que el puerto logístico de Barcelona se pudiera ampliar.

La infraestructuración del territorio con grandes vías (autopistas y autovías), construidas en los años 70 y 80 bajo una lógica de desarrollo económico, ligada al vehículo a motor y pensadas desde la escala regional, han provocado a menudo una importante roturación territorial y urbana, con consecuencias ligadas a la desconexión de barrios y tejidos urbanos ya la fragmentación de los espacios abiertos territoriales. Estas infraestructuras que no se han proyectado de forma integrada con el resto del territorio provocan un fuerte impacto tanto a nivel ambiental como paisajístico.

Este proceso de crecimiento ha comportado también una movilidad creciente y un incremento de los desplazamientos en automóvil, disminuyendo la eficiencia de los sistemas colectivos de transporte.

El transporte colectivo ferroviario es una alternativa más sostenible el sistema de transporte rodado. Sin embargo, en la región metropolitana encontramos varios ejemplos de cómo la red ferroviaria no se ha integrado en el interior de las ciudades "haciendo ciudad".

Las infraestructuras acaban suponiendo una barrera para los peatones de la ciudad; barreras inaccesibles que a menudo se han solucionado con operaciones parche y que ahora hay que repensar en clave de facilitar la habitabilidad y la vida de las personas en las grandes ciudades metropolitanas.

La falta de accesibilidad es la principal característica de determinados crecimientos, sean residenciales, industriales o de uso terciario que se han desarrollado de forma segregada o aislada a lo largo del territorio. En la Región Metropolitana de Barcelona encontramos diferentes ejemplos de barrios residenciales, urbanizaciones dispersas o incluso casos como el del Fórum de Barcelona que a partir de la especialización de sus tejidos, terminan generando situaciones de baja intensidad de utilización o hasta de falta de uso. Este hecho a menudo tiene consecuencias en relación a la dificultad en el mantenimiento de las infraestructuras y los servicios asociados, facilitando así su futura degradación que naliza con problemáticas a menudo ligadas a la segregación social.

En el primer volumen, la publicación recoge por un lado la aproximación teórica al concepto de eficiencia territorial desde una perspectiva pluridisciplinar, indagando

sobre el concepto, tomando ideas y referencias del urbanismo pero también de la ecología, las ciencias ambientales, entre otros. Esta aproximación nos ha permitido establecer una diagnosis para interpretar como se han transformado nuestros territorios, pero también, de qué manera desde el proyecto — urbano, urbanístico y/o territorial —, podemos contribuir en la e ciencia de funcionamiento de la Región Metropolitana de Barcelona. El segundo y tercer volumen explican la Región Metropolitana de Barcelona como objeto de estudio desde la diagnosis basada en las situaciones territoriales detectadas y las transformaciones urbanísticas que en ellas se han producido; así como las lógicas proyectuales que proponemos como estrategias que permiten mejorar la eficiencia territorial en términos basados en la calidad de vida de las personas y la capacidad social de inversiones económicas de alta rentabilidad social.

Es notorio que las re exiones, basadas en el caso de la RMB, pueden ser extrapolables a otras muchas regiones metropolitanas de todo el mundo y sus ciudades. Y por último, y tal como se ha mencionado anteriormente, las conclusiones, abiertas, pretenden abrir un canal de discusión sobre esta temática contemporánea y necesaria para la transformación de nuestro territorio desde una punto de vista sostenibilista ambientalmente y socialmente pero, sobre todo, metabólicamente eficiente.

Objetivos

Los principales objetivos de la investigación desarrollada han sido:

a. Desarrollar el marco teórico y de análisis sobre el concepto y abasto de la eficiencia territorial y contribuir con nuestra aportación al conocimiento general sobre esta temática. De forma específica, utilizarlo como medida de las transformaciones urbanísticas y territoriales a partir de las que determinar las lógicas proyectuales propuestas.

b. Detectar y determinar cuáles son las situaciones territoriales que encontramos en el territorio de la Región Metropolitana de Barcelona y que mejor de nen las transformaciones morfológicas y fenomenológicas.

c. Diagnosticar la Región Metropolitana de Barcelona en relación a las morfologías de las situaciones territoriales representativas de los cambios y transformaciones, su identificación, representación y estudio de los fenómenos que las produjeron, así como de los problemas urbanístico-ambientales mediante el desarrollo del Atlas de las transformaciones urbanas y territoriales de la Región metropolitana de Barcelona en el período 1977-2012.

d. Determinar cuáles han sido las medidas estratégicas y los proyectos concretos que han permitido regenerar y mejorar la Región Metropolitana de Barcelona en función de las situaciones territoriales detectadas a partir del estudio de proyectos metropolitanos destacados como referentes por su aportación en términos de eficiencia territorial.

e. Establecer los criterios para una evaluación transversal y sistémica de los proyectos metropolitanos en términos de eficiencia todo componiendo en forma de guía metodológica de análisis.

f. Avanzar en los sistemas de visualización de datos para una gestión más eficiente de la ciudad y el territorio.

Establecer las bases para un primer visualizador online abierto y consultable por el público, que se concibe como la integración de cinco visores específicos de la RMB sobre la morfología y morfogénesis, el tejido social, los proyectos metropolitanos, la bio productividad, el metabolismo y las energías.

Metodología

En cuanto a la metodología, este proyecto de investigación se ha desarrollado a partir de tres procesos complementarios.

a. Por último, las situaciones territoriales y las transformaciones urbanísticas se han determinado a partir de la elaboración del último período del Atlas de las Transformaciones a partir de la base cartográfica de "Usos y formas de la edificación, 1977 -2000 "por el equipo de investigación de la Cátedra de Urbanística ETSAV., actualizando la información en el periodo 2008 - 2012.

b. Para la conformación de la guía para el análisis de los proyectos en términos de eficiencia se ha recurrido a los principales sistemas evaluadores de referencia (LEED, Bream, los indicadores desarrollados por la Agencia de Ecología Urbana de Barcelona entre otros) para determinar cuáles son los principales conceptos (índice, indicadores, parámetros o descriptores) que nos pueden aportar información sobre los proyectos en relación a la eficiencia territorial (en los términos que se plantean desde el proyecto).

c. Para determinar las lógicas proyectuales y los referentes de proyectos, se ha desarrollado una base de datos SIG de los proyectos metropolitanos desarrollados durante el período de 1985 hasta 2014.

La eficiencia territorial: enfoque para la investigación
Concepto y valores utilizables en la investigación

Entenderemos la eficiencia territorial como la expresión medible y comparable del cumplimiento de niveles aceptados de sostenibilidad ambiental y factibilidad económico-social que dan respuesta adecuada a las solicitaciones de habitabilidad, actividad y movilidad de los habitantes de un territorio determinado, de un hábitat urbano o de un ecosistema urbano-territorial más amplio. En este sentido y con este objetivo, la eficiencia territorial tiene relación directa, y se puede asociar conceptualmente al nivel de intensidad, diversidad y complejidad del espacio territorial analizado.

En particular, y en el caso de la metrópolis de Barcelona, consideraremos esta expresión cualificada y cualitativa en: Barrios, Ámbitos de proyecto urbano o territorial (que sean zonificables e identificables como una unidad territorial asociada a su gobernabilidad y mesurable en términos de evaluación), distritos, ciudades, o términos municipales y/o agregaciones de los mismos por unidades territoriales administrativas identificables (Región metropolitana, Área metropolitana, Comarca,...).

La eficiencia territorial ha estado normalmente asimilada al concepto de cohesión territorial, es decir al aprovechamiento máximo — cohesión social — por parte de sus habitantes de las aptitudes y las vocaciones de un territorio (recursos: capital natural y capital social) para aumentar la competitividad para el desarrollo, manteniendo los equilibrios ambientales, y la eficiencia económica. Pero en el caso que nos ocupa, centraremos la cohesión territorial en la respuesta proyectual que los actores sociales encuentran a los problemas y necesidades urbanas, centrándonos en su dimensión espacial física, funcional, metabólica y de las redes que la constituyen, así como los componentes de calidad paisajística que la identifican.

No partimos de "labels" predeterminados que jen estándares de eficiencia, sino más bien de lógicas proyectuales en base a situaciones territoriales ejemplares, que podemos presentar como muy eficientes sea por su contribución a la mejora de las condiciones de vida urbana, la mejora de las calidades ambientales para la vida, las facilidades que han supuesto su realización desde el punto de vista de la habitabilidad, nuevas actividades, mejora sustancial de la movilidad, etc.

Los componentes y los datos respectivos que estructuran los valores de la eficiencia territorial que vamos a utilizar son: a) el grado de aceptación de calidad y apreciabilidad por parte de la ciudadanía (dato descriptivo no cuantificable en términos

numéricos), y b) la integración de Indicadores de sostenibilidad (sobre la base de datos cuanti cables y descriptores de calidad) e Indicadores de factibilidad económico-social (sobre la base de datos cuanti cables y descriptores de calidad). Es decir, descripciones y medidas contrastables de cumplimiento de unos determinados valores (cualitativos i/o cuantitativos). Así, para el detalle de los valores de eficiencia, tendremos en cuenta: descriptores, datos, indicadores, o índices según el nivel de información contenido y de la homologación, o no, con otros sistemas de evaluación de la eficiencia.

Además se trata de incorporar en los análisis y evaluaciones de situaciones territoriales, factores que caracterizan de la especificidad funcional y la complementariedad estructural, la capacidad de organización y referencia urbana, la red de flujos, y las sinergias de urbanidad (servicios, dotaciones, equipamientos, etc.) de la misma, en relación a otros ámbitos de la ciudad t el territorio estudiado.

La eficiencia territorial desde una perspectiva transversal

Las definiciones impuestas anteriormente, así como la proposición teórica sobre el concepto de eficiencia territorial se complementan a partir de la síntesis de las aportaciones y reflexiones derivadas del seminario "Eficiencia territorial en la RMB", celebrado del 18 y 19 de junio de 2014 en la ETSAV de la Universidad Politécnica de Cataluña.

Se parte de la definición, según la RAE, que Eficiencia es la capacidad de disponer de algo o de alguien para conseguir un efecto determinado. Este efecto puede ser económico, ambiental, etc. por tanto, hay que ver desde qué perspectiva miramos la eficiencia. En efecto, la principal hipótesis que proponemos, pues, es que la eficiencia es específica en el tiempo y cambiando en función de la problemática urbana y territorial de cada momento.

¿En relación a la morfología, hay formas territoriales o urbanas más eficientes? ¿Es un discurso atemporal o podemos decir que son más eficientes unas que otras? ¿Serían más e cientes las que ponen en valor las características del territorio como soporte de las actividades económicas?

¿Podemos distinguir un análisis de la matriz biofísica o debemos hablar más de la matriz ambiental, entendida como la matriz biofísica transformada por el hombre? ¿No debería ser el proyecto de la matriz ambiental el que permite poner en valor la eficiencia desde el punto de vista de la morfología? ¿No deberíamos trabajar en la estructura de la forma y, por tanto, intentar resolver esta morfología de la manera más eficiente en función de las demandas del tiempo histórico en cuestión? Por lo tanto, se denota la necesidad, y podemos afirmar, que es necesario más y una mayor intensidad del urbanismo y de la acción urbanística.

Los diferentes elementos morfológicos han comportado una expresión en el espacio y, por tanto, la eficiencia se debe relativizar según el problema urbano en cuestión y en función del momento histórico.

Por tanto, desde la perspectiva morfológica se podría formular la siguiente hipótesis (Font, 2014): la eficiencia urbana y territorial, en los términos que hablamos, es un concepto relativo a un lugar, a un momento concreto, un observador, etc. cambiando a lo largo del tiempo en función del problema urbano dominante.

¿Eficiente para quién?

En base a ello se plantean dos caminos a partir de los cuales se puede alcanzar la idea de sostenibilidad y, por tanto, la eficiencia territorial se puede plantear desde dos posibles enfoques (Muñiz, 2014):

- Modelo de ciudad autosuficiente basado en: islas de sostenibilidad en regiones urbanas autosuficientes.
- Modelo de ciudad compacta: que reduzca: los consumos con impacto global,

especialmente las emisiones de CO2.

Por tanto, podemos decir que la eficiencia urbana está estrechamente ligada a la eficiencia energética (Muñiz, 2014).

Es necesario tener claro qué recursos consumimos y cuáles son las prestaciones que recibimos a cambio. En el caso concreto de un barrio (a firmación aún por de nir y demostrar), éste sería eficiente si redujera paulatinamente la energía (el consumo de recursos) al mismo tiempo que aumentase el valor de la organización urbana (las prestaciones de servicios). Sin embargo, una cuestión clave es la viabilidad frente a la sostenibilidad: la sostenibilidad (a largo plazo) vs. la viabilidad (coyuntural). Es decir, la eficiencia del proceso vs. la eficiencia del producto (Peremiquel, 2014).

En este sentido, tal y como con la vivienda hemos sido capaces de de nir unos estándares irrenunciables, bajo con el concepto de "mínima" ciudad deberíamos conseguir lo mismo. Si hablamos de prestaciones, hay que tener en cuenta el punto de vista del usuario, es decir, constatar si la habitabilidad responde a sus expectativas. Así, las tres ideas principales sobre este aspecto en relación a los espacios construidos son (Peremiquel, 2014):

- Que sea una ciudad sana donde se pueda vivir y facilite: Seguridad y protección, Salubridad e higiene.
- Que sea una ciudad fácil, que se pueda usar: Accesibilidad y comodidad, Flexibilidad y diversidad, Confortable.
- Que sea una ciudad apropiable, que como usuario me la pueda apropiar: Privacidad y comodidad, Socialización, Identidad, carácter y apariencia.

Por tanto, a un futuro hay que formular modelos alternativos que implementen medios y sistemas naturales de control ambiental basados en el diseño más que en la tecnología (Peremiquel, 2014):

- Pensar y operar en la ciudad desde un proceso más que un producto; La localización adecuada del crecimiento, en forma y tamaño; Un modelo de producción diferible en el tiempo y adaptado a las circunstancias; La ciudad previsible a medio y largo plazo. Producción de ciudad "just in time"; Formas exibles y adaptables (genéricas e intemporales) y durables; Definición de ciudad mínima y básica; Infraestructura mínima, jerárquica y especializada; Búsqueda del menor coste de implantación, de mantenimiento y de gestión; Accesible, agregable y próxima, con radios de 15 minutos a pie; Por ámbitos que permitan la autosuficiencia y la independencia, como área ambiental, unidad vecinal o barrio; Privacidad y comunidad, apropiación e identificación; La buena medida como principio básico de la eficiencia.

En este sentido, la eficiencia se podría definir como la obtención del mayor beneficio a partir del menor gasto de recursos. Y, específicamente, la eficiencia territorial se podría entender como (Santconvsky, 2014):

- La capacidad de los agentes sociales de aprovechar al máximo su capital territorial (tecnológico, de conocimientos, bienes y servicios, capital humano, etc.).
- La necesidad de cooperación con otros territorios para un uso racional de activos comunes y compartibles.
- La búsqueda de mecanismos para maximizar el rendimiento de los activos territoriales: de las economías internas de aglomeración en las economías externas de localización, de urbanización y de redes; de las prestaciones y de paso progresivo de la ciudad monocéntrica a la red de ciudades.

Cuando hablamos de eficiencia, una cuestión clave es que estamos relacionando medios con objetivos y, por tanto, estamos favoreciendo una buena integración entre eficiencia y equidad. No se puede ser eficiente a costa de la equidad! (Santconvsky, 2014).

A pesar de eso, a menudo nos encontramos delante una serie de di cultades para

llegar a la eficiencia territorial. Tal como nos recuerda Santcovsky, estas di cultades están directamente relacionadas con:

- El crecimiento de las desigualdades sociales y territoriales.
- La complejidad de los territorios.
- Los múltiples sistemas con lógicas de planificación diferentes.
- Las expectativas de diversas eficacias, que a menudo son contrarias y/o contrapuestas.
- Las di cultades para la creación de valor a corto y medio plazo.
- Falta de visiones holísticas.
- Los modelos y responsabilidades asimétricas de actores, sectores, agentes.
- La sectorización de las distintas problemáticas.
- La divergencia de intereses entre los "stakeholders".
- Las limitaciones de la gobernanza actual.
- La multiplicidad de legislaciones y normativas y de impactos acerca del gobierno multinivel al territorio.
- La evolución del concepto de "liderazgo" en términos de planificación.
- La necesidad de mayor transparencia y "accountability".

Regiones urbanas eficientes. La Región metropolitana de Barcelona

El objeto de estudio del proyecto de investigación es la Región Metropolitana de Barcelona (RMB), que está formada por 164 municipios de las comarcas del Barcelonès, Vallès Oriental, Vallès Occidental, Baix Llobregat, Alt Penedès, Garraf y el Maresme. Sin embargo, es claro que desde el punto de vista del urbanismo contemporáneo, no podemos considerar como región simplemente el ámbito de nido desde el punto de vista jurídico y administrativo entendido como esta agrupación de municipios, sino que hay que considerar las múltiples geometrías variables que la RMB conforma simultáneamente.

Por ejemplo, a nivel de suministro de recursos, la energía eléctrica que se consume en la RMB se produce en los embalses de los Pirineos; el suministro de agua se garantiza, sobre todo en el área metropolitana (que es la zona donde se concentra la mayor parte de la población de la RMB), a los ríos Ter y Llobregat, habiéndose considerado incluso la posibilidad de hacer un trasvase del río francés Rhône para garantizar el suministro en épocas de sequía; los movimientos poblacionales temporales que se producen en la costa o el Pirineo durante los períodos vacacionales o de fin de semana; las transacciones económicas y los canales de importaciones y exportaciones a nivel internacional; el corredor mediterráneo que en relación a la economía global situará el puerto de Barcelona y, en consecuencia, los diferentes polos de actividad económica de la misma, en conexión con los flujos comerciales internacionales; los flujos medioambientales y las dinámicas de funcionamiento de la matriz territorial de la misma región, que abarcan no sólo los ámbitos de nidos por la geomorfología sino áreas variables en función del periodo estacional.

Entre otras muchas consideraciones, estos ejemplos nos dan a entender que la región, efectivamente, no es un ámbito de nido sólo desde el punto de vista administrativo, sino que esta gestión debe considerar todas estas geometrías variables para poder hacer frente a los retos de futuro en cuanto a la eficiencia ya la sostenibilidad ecológica, económica y social de la misma región.

La ciudad y el territorio desde una lectura basada en el metabolismo social

No hay duda de que el crecimiento demográfico y los procesos de explosión de la ciudad están poniendo en crisis el modelo de desarrollo y la concreción de cómo debe ser el artefacto urbano desde cuestiones como la identidad y el paisaje, la gestión del su metabolismo, la relación que establece con el resto del territorio, la habi-

tabilidad y la calidad de vida, los flujos de actividad económica y de movilidad, entre otros. Conciencia del desbordamiento sobre todo en cuanto al consumo de recursos que se ha producido durante las décadas más recientes, nos está llevando a reconducir los procesos urbanos desde una voluntad más ética, desde un consideración y lectura de la realidad de manera más integrada y compleja que nos permite abordar la transformación de la ciudad y el territorio de una forma diferente en relación a como se ha hecho hasta ahora.

Más que clasificar estos procesos urbanos, hay que admitirlos y entender fenomenológicamente, es decir, hay que entender el porqué de las cosas y, al mismo tiempo, admitir las diferentes multi-situaciones que se producen en el territorio a fin de comprender las diferentes manifestaciones de las realidades urbanas. Por realidades urbanas entendemos las realidades físicas construidas (el espacio) pero también las relaciones sociales y entre grupos, por tanto, una visión amplia de la habitabilidad.

En la época pre-industrial no había distinción entre lo que era campo y lo que era ciudad, es decir, se entendía por igual el espacio de dentro y fuera de la muralla ya que el primero era lo que permitía sustentar la huella ecológica de aquella sociedad tradicional. Podemos afirmar pues que se producía una simbiosis entre ciudad y naturaleza, entre ciudad y campo, ya que estamos hablando de sociedades orgánicas, es decir, sociedades que alcanzaban los recursos básicamente a partir de la gestión de la biosfera o, dicho de otra manera, gracias a una gestión amplia de la matriz biofísica, entendida desde la diferencia de potencial y, por tanto, de la capacidad de trabajo que se produce entre los diferentes procesos que se generan en relación a los diferentes elementos de la matriz biofísica, que son el sustrato, el suelo, el clima, la ora y la fauna (Cuchí, 2014).

Los sistemas tradicionales son los que han conformado durante siglos la arquitectura del paisaje, y han sido construidos desde la colectividad y para la comunidad. En definitiva, son sistemas que desde el inicio han buscado la eficiencia y el equilibrio de recursos para alcanzar el equilibrio socio ambiental. Es decir, estos sistemas tradicionales, que formaban parte del campo y de la ciudad de forma transversal, se basaban en un metabolismo social en equilibrio con el medio (Cuchí, 2014).

El metabolismo social es el que establece las relaciones entre el espacio social y el medio físico. Estas relaciones básicamente son de dos tipos:

- De apropiación de una serie de recursos de este medio físico por parte de la sociedad;
- De retorno en forma de residuos al medio de estos materiales y recursos utilizados por la sociedad.

Así pues, tal y como Cuchí (2014) explica en esta revisión sobre las relaciones metabólicas entre ciudad y territorio, en la época tradicional había una dependencia del medio biosférico que hacía que una condición indispensable para el sostenimiento de la sociedad, fuera el mantenimiento de la capacidad productiva del medio biosférico del que se extraían los recursos. El metabolismo social, pues, no podía destruir la base productiva, porque si no, implicaba la desaparición de la sociedad.

Por otra parte, las transformaciones del medio que generan estas sociedades tradicionales, aún hoy en los países en vías de desarrollo, son muy importantes ya que son la expresión y la identidad de su paisaje.

Si miramos la ciudad y el territorio como proceso de construcción, este último está mucho más construido que la ciudad, es decir, la matriz biofísica está siendo alterada por generar y disminuida para obtener el máximo de recursos para satisfacer las necesidades de la misma sociedad.

Cuando se produce la revolución industrial, todo esto cambia y transforma radicalmente el metabolismo de las sociedades humanas. Es un cambio porque ya no se accedía sólo a los recursos biosféricos sino a los recursos litosféricos. Por lo tanto,

con ello se permite la transformación de un mundo de base orgánica en un mundo de base mineral. Y en consecuencia, esto permite el crecimiento continuado de la producción, algo imposible cuando se debe utilizar una base orgánica y biológica, ya que uno se ve coartado por la capacidad productiva de recursos de esta biosfera. Y eso es lo que ha terminado de niendo el progreso de nuestra sociedad y el aumento continuado de la capacidad de satisfacción de necesidades.

A partir de este progreso, que es vivir cada vez más y mejor por más gente, ha cambiado el metabolismo social, es decir, la relación que establecemos como sociedad con el medio, aceptando este modelo productivo industrial. Pero en consecuencia, este cambio comporta una problemática asociada: mientras las sociedades orgánicas debían devolver los residuos de forma adecuada al medio para mantener la capacidad productiva, en las sociedades industriales no hay que devolver los residuos en las minas para obtener nuevos recursos, al contrario. Por tanto, el metabolismo circular de las sociedades orgánicas, ahora es un metabolismo lineal, y todo lo que se extrae de la litosfera acaba pasando en forma de residuos en el medio.

Por tanto, en el momento actual, y más que nunca, nos encontramos con que tenemos un metabolismo social que es degradador de la capacidad productiva del medio, tanto por la parte de extracción como de la de retorno en forma de residuos.

Por lo tanto, estamos degradando sus capacidades para el futuro ya la vez estamos afectando a sistemas globales que permiten nuestra supervivencia en la tierra. No sólo estamos poniendo en riesgo la perdurabilidad del medio, sino también la convivencia social.

Por tanto, ante esta realidad compleja que significa la consideración y comprensión de los procesos, dinámicas y flujos que se producen en el territorio, podemos interpretarlo desde diferentes puntos de vista de manera que podamos llegar a converger hacia lectura lo más integrada posible para que esta transformación del metabolismo social sea posible. Por ello, hay que considerar diferentes aproximaciones para ver hasta qué punto pueden ser complementarias.

Según la propuesta de Garrabou. la forma del territorio es analizable desde los efectos de la acción metabólica y se puede interpretar como forma de captura de energía potencial en forma de trabajo (Marull, 2014). Por otra parte, también podemos considerar la ciudad como una infraestructura de este metabolismo social que, si bien, es muy obvio en la sociedad tradicional, pero en el contexto actual ahora no lo es tanto. Por ejemplo, en la ciudad italiana de Siena existe una plaza que funciona como un gran recogedor de agua, tal como ocurre con las calles. Esta agua termina concentrada en un punto y se conduce hasta el campo. El agua que se encuentra con la materia orgánica y los residuos en los pozos de cada casa, se devuelve al campo para reconstruir el ciclo de materia orgánica. Por tanto, la ciudad forma (o es) infraestructura de este metabolismo social (Cuchí, 2014).

En el contexto actual, la ciudad industrial sigue siendo reflejo del metabolismo social, pero más específicamente, de la transformación que ha sufrido. Así, reclama un nuevo tipo de infraestructuras más especializadas y que permitan gestionar este nuevo metabolismo. De todos modos, a menudo, el urbanismo no se ha preocupado de integrar estas nuevas infraestructuras dentro del diseño de la ciudad, haciéndolas visibles como parte del espacio público. Contrariamente, las ha desplazado hacia la periferia o las ha enterrado.

Hay, pues, que cambiar la manera que tenemos de hacer urbanismo. Ya no se trata de crecer de forma extensa pasando por sobre las particularidades de cada territorio (al estilo de los grandes ensanches) sino que hay que adaptar las intervenciones a las capacidades de cada lugar. Por lo tanto, hay que intervenir en la ciudad considerándola como un instrumento de cambio del metabolismo social actuando sobre las infraestructuras y transformándolas.

El territorio como ecosistema. Una lectura desde la complejidad

En su revisión sobre la idea de entender el territorio como un ecosistema, Marull (2014) nos presenta diferentes referentes que nos permiten comprender esta proposición en detalle.

Una de las primeras aproximaciones sistémicas es de Schrödinger, que se sorprendía de la capacidad de los seres vivos de no respetar las leyes de la termodinámica. Él explicaba esta capacidad de aumentar la eficiencia de estos sistemas mediante la utilización de flujos metabólicos, lo que les permitía aumentar la complejidad interna a cambio de importar entropía en el entorno. Margalef decía que los ecosistemas "pactan una hipoteca" a cambio de pagar con la entropía y, incluso, con intereses.

Otro referente es Morowitz, que con su principio, nos afirma que basta que haya un flujo de energía en un espacio para que se cree una estructura organizada aunque sea efímera en el tiempo. Esta estructura se mantiene gracias a núcleos internos que unos entran como inputs en los demás. De forma que este incremento en la complejidad de los núcleos internos haría que el sistema fuera más eficiente en el tratamiento de estos procesos energéticos.

Pero, al aumentar la complejidad de estos sistemas, llega un punto en el que es más importante invertir con información organizada dentro del sistema que con exportar energía de fuera. De forma que la complejidad, que es la materia prima, acaba convirtiéndose en información organizada del sistema, aumentando, a su vez, la eficiencia y disminuyendo la entropía interna a cambio de aumentar la entropía externa.

Por tanto, podemos traspasar este modelo de organismo a otros sistemas como por ejemplo el territorio, de forma, que la complejidad del territorio se convierte en un proceso inevitable en el momento en que hay energía que fluye (disipación de energía).

Ulanowicz, en cambio, decía que un territorio es eficiente y sostenible cuando este incremento de complejidad viene acompañado de una disminución de la entropía interna.

El territorio desde una lectura basada en la infraestructura de los espacios abiertos en red

Los espacios abiertos son elementos determinantes para la transformación del metabolismo social. Naturaleza y ciudad aparentemente son ámbitos disociados, pero hay que entender que "la ciudad es una evolución cuántica de la naturaleza", tal y como lo explica Ramon Folch, deberíamos transformar esta disociación con voluntad de simbiosis y con una traducción de compatibilidad y de sinergias.

Naturaleza viene de "natur", nacer, es decir, darse cuenta del inicio de un proceso; Ciudad, de "kei", es instalarse, implantarse. Es por eso que hay que tener en cuenta el sentido y significado de cada una de estas realidades y, en consecuencia, hay que avanzar hacia una mayor adaptación mutua y coevolución.

Progresivamente durante las últimas décadas se ha eliminado la capacidad productiva del territorio para convertirlo en un soporte de actividades, traduciéndose en un abandono de los espacios agrícolas productivos que ha derivado en una transición forestal que, a su vez, ha provocado importantes cambios en la estructura funcional del paisaje. El caso de la RMB ejemplifica esta situación. En el gráfico de la página siguiente vemos que cuanto más nos alejamos de la ciudad, más aumentan los niveles de productividad de las ciudades. En el caso de la RMB, como se trata de una estructura policéntrica, vemos cómo aparecen diferentes picos de productividad.

Los paisajes rurales tradicionales son clave en el mantenimiento de la calidad ecológica de los suelos no construidos de la RMB, en consecuencia, la complejidad organizada del territorio, que es necesaria para mantener los procesos ecológicos y la biodiversidad, no puede ser garantizada si el mosaico agroforestal no se toma

en consideración tanto en la red de espacios protegidos como en la red de ciudades (Marull, 2014).

Durante mucho tiempo nos hemos basado en la protección de los espacios abiertos (los espacios abiertos protegidos y los espacios abiertos de protección especial), aunque debemos reconocer que durante los últimos años se ha producido un salto de calidad respecto al que hacíamos hace unos años, cuando nos limitábamos a determinar el Suelo No Urbanizable (SNU) como suelo agrícola, suelo forestal, y suelo protegido ecológico paisajístico. Esta es una visión claramente antrópica y productivista, es decir, parte de los suelos de producción directa (agrícolas), los de producción no tanto directa en cuanto al consumo (forestales), y los que no son productivos, que serían los protegidos (Mayor, 2014). De esta manera es como se ha trabajado durante muchos años. Hoy en día pero ya tenemos mucha más capacidad de conocimiento sobre los hábitats y sus valores ecológicos:

- La diversidad de hábitats;
- La complejidad y estructura vertical;
- Los estadios sucesionales;
- Los niveles de perturbación.

Por tanto, a pesar de los esfuerzos de los últimos años, hay que seguir avanzando en una concepción de los espacios abiertos más compleja, en base la idea del SNU en los valores ecológicos de los hábitats de los diferentes ecosistemas y en el valor estratégico que puedan tener, en función de si pueden ser corredores ecológicos, separadores urbanos, o zonas de borde urbanas, entre otros (Mayor, 2014).

La metrópolis y la conectividad ecológica, una cuestión de flujos

La conectividad ecológica es un elemento clave desde el que podemos transformar el territorio para llegar a una mayor sostenibilidad ambiental e incrementar la adaptación mutua entre los sistemas urbanos con la naturaleza. Leer el territorio. Enric Batlle afirma que "los espacios abiertos, entendidos como red ambiental, deberían ser la columna vertebral del territorio metropolitano. Las calles, las plazas y los parques de nuestras ciudades se pueden renaturalizar y conectar con los espacios agrícolas y naturales que aún conservamos. Una nueva red de espacios libres que deberá disponer de todas las conectividades. (...) Un conjunto de infraestructuras verdes organizadas como matriz ecológica metropolitana y desarrollada en todas las escalas. Un sistema de espacios conectados y de paisajes productivos muy equipados y que definan los límites estratégicos ".

Asimismo, la productividad del territorio es esencial y, por supuesto, los espacios abiertos juegan un papel clave. Por tanto, desde el punto de vista de la conectividad ecológica metropolitana en el caso que nos ocupa la RMB, Batlle propone cuatro consideraciones que permiten la relación entre espacios abiertos y tejidos urbanos:

- La conectividad ecológica metropolitana, es decir, los flujos ecológicos, debe convivir en el mismo espacio con la conectividad social, es decir, los flujos sociales;
- La actuación sobre los bordes como el proyecto más estratégico que podemos llevar a cabo y que permitirá que la malla funcione y que los flujos (ecológicos, urbanos y metropolitanos) fluyan;
- Hacer posible los conectores ecológicos potenciales es, básicamente, un problema urbano que hay que resolver (también) desde la ciudad;
- La conectividad ecológica metropolitana debe desarrollarse en todas las escalas.

El territorio desde el HAM (habitabilidad, actividad y movilidad) como estructura urbana y territorial

Para proyectar cambios en la forma y la estructura de la ciudad necesitamos entender el sentido de orden que cada realidad urbana presenta. La configuración de la ciudad contemporánea es realmente compleja, difícil de sistematizar, y por tanto, de explicar de forma sintética. Los territorios contemporáneos tienen múltiples órdenes y, si

cabe, muchos desórdenes; formales, estructurales, funcionales, simbólicos.

El sentido de orden tiene que ver con las diferentes funciones que el espacio urbano nos ha de facilitar y los órdenes que cada uno de nosotros espera encontrar para satisfacer en su vida cotidiana: habitación, servicios, orientación y movilidad, interacción e intercambios, etc.

El sentido de habitabilidad — de quien habita una determinada realidad — es fundamental para entender cómo funciona: cómo son sus calles, sus plazas, es decir, aquellas piezas mínimas del lenguaje urbano que son fundamentales para abordar la comprensión de cualquier tipo de ciudad: sea una ciudad de patrón americano, sea una ciudad de patrón norte europeo o sea una casba musulmana, etc.

Entender la ciudad significa comprender cuales son las lógicas que hacen que, de algún modo, el hecho urbano y las funciones y servicios que proporciona, sean posibles.

"Proyectar" significa lanzar posibles imágenes de referencia que nos permitan "gestionar transformaciones" y proporcionar órdenes comprensibles para el uso de la ciudadanía. En estos momentos de absoluta crisis de la ciudad digamos simbiótica con su territorio; de la ciudad equilibrada en términos energéticos, ambientales, o en el sentido más amplio ecológico, nos tenemos que enfrentar con una situación nueva. Esta frase es de Claude Raffestin y ha sido extraída de un libro magnífico de paisaje que os recomiendo: "Della nostalgia del territorio al desiderio di paesaggio". Su libro nos remite de la nostalgia del territorio perdido al deseo de nuevas territorialidades.

Es decir, a intentar abrirse y entender cómo son, por qué son, quién lo ha hecho, qué incide en la realidad que vivimos y, por tanto, no comparar patrones —"qué bella ciudad, qué interesante territorio y que mal está donde estoy trabajando"—, sino, al revés, intentar entender las buenas lógicas, los buenos principios de cualquier realidad territorial.

¿Qué diferencia hay entre una planta de Nolli de Roma y la aproximación que en su momento realizó Rem Koolhaas en su intervención en Lille? Ninguna. Son piezas que, desde el punto de vista de agregación, combinan espacios, facilitan usos y funciones, crean símbolos, organizan ámbitos de referencia, etc. Es decir hacen de la ciudad, un conjunto de "cosas urbanas" parafraseando a Manuel de Solà-Morales, que entendía que la ciudad no podía ser pensada sin la morfología y las piezas que conforman situaciones que generan lugares y provocan vidas urbanas.

En esta investigación hemos introducido un sistema analítico para entender la diversidad de situaciones territoriales que presenta la realidad metropolitana. Este sistema propone la observación de la ciudad, en tanto que realidad espacial y material, y en tanto que ecosistema funcional, a partir de tres visualizaciones conceptuales que responden a un acrónimo HAM, que significa habitabilidad, actividad, movilidad.

En efecto, no hay una buena ciudad — en realidad podemos decir también barrio o cualquier ámbito urbano — sin una buena integración de estos tres componentes: habitabilidad, y no estoy hablando de modelos residenciales; de actividad, producción, cultura, intercambio, generación de ideas, etc.; y movilidad no entendida solo como transporte, sino como el conjunto de acciones para el desplazamiento que realizamos constantemente entre una y otra situación en nuestro vivir, en el tránsito donde encontramos personas, hacemos plaza, organizamos manifestaciones, establecemos conflictos, donde de algún modo crecemos como Homo vivens en la civitas en la ciudad que facilita.

La condición de HAM integra la habitabilidad, la actividad y la movilidad, necesaria para vivir sosteniblemente y factible desde el punto de vista eficiente y saludable, en un espacio a escala humana — territorio de vida de las personas de un barrio, de una ciudad a escala humana, un espacio de territorialidad a escala de la persona —.

Territorialidades absolutamente diversas que no siempre se corresponden a la ciudad continua; y que muestran una heterogeneidad de alcances físicos con formas urbanas variadas — polígonos de vivienda masiva junto a extensiones de urbanizaciones de baja densidad, entrecruzados por infraestructuras y mezcla de usos metropolitanos —.

Sobre la habitabilidad

La sostenibilidad ambiental se basa claramente en la reducción del consumo de recursos y energías necesarias para las nuevas producciones de viviendas; en el reuso de los patrimonios existentes antes de la generación de nuevos stocks, y el reciclaje permanente de materiales y de recursos antes de producir no puede ir nunca a favor de la sostenibilidad porque supone siempre la reducción de patrimonio ambiental.

Sin embargo, si consideramos los factores de calidad cultural que incorpora cualquier acción constructiva: la infraestructuración del territorio, la construcción de arquitecturas; la producción de viviendas hay que entenderla, también, como una generación de nuevos recursos (artificiales pero necesarios) para la vida humana. Es desde esta perspectiva, ecocentrada en el hombre, donde toma sentido abordar el fascinante reto de contribuir a la habitabilidad de las personas. La producción de viviendas, para dar respuesta al derecho básico (pero no alcanzado) a la vivienda de cualquier ciudadano, de su familia y de su comunidad, es sistemáticamente pervertida cuando solo se aborda como un tema cuantitativo.

La vivienda como un producto de consumo, mercantilizado y reducido a la expresión de un espacio entre paredes, se convierte en un objeto banalizado y alienador de la sociedad de consumo. En esta, la vida cotidiana y sus necesidades pierden su valor axiológico, determinante del sentido y de la forma del hogar, para dar lugar a un constructo vulgarizado que toma incluso otros nombres, curiosamente expresión de una casa mutilada (el "piso" en el argot popular, el "techo" de las soluciones habitacionales de los países en desarrollo por citar algunos bastante evidentes).

Las palabras diabólicas y sesgadamente significativas que se usan para denominar una vivienda ("cuarto", "piso", "techo"…) identifican claramente cómo, y hasta qué niveles, se ha pervertido su sentido, pero, sobre todo, en qué terminan muchas de las más insalubres y mal llamadas viviendas.

Las "viviendas sostenibles del habitar", son otra cosa. Al pensar, producir y usarlas, no solo se busca no generar residuos ni derrochar capital natural, sino que se busca el valor añadido con el aumento del capital cultural que significa crear viviendas eficientes, funcionales, confortables y bonitas, tanto a partir de la calidad de las tipologías, como de las formas de diversificación en su agregación y configuración de las manzanas vecinales. Las razones de la arquitectura parten desde el primer cobijo. La historia del mundo como de historias tiene, en la historia del habitar, seguramente, el más maravilloso y controvertido campo de investigación.

Desde los albores de la humanidad, desde el cobijo primario y primigenio hasta las formas más desarrolladas de casas inteligentes, el hábitat es el meollo de la cultura antropocéntrica desde donde ubicarse en el mundo, desde el entorno más íntimo y doméstico, y desde donde construir la relación y comprensión de la ciudad; y convertirse en ciudadanos. La marginalidad social, causa y efecto de la incapacidad de vivir dignamente, provoca la crisis habitacional, y el espacio resultante se convierte en un lugar donde pernoctar, un refugio "tugurizado", insalubre, una infravivienda en el mejor de los casos.

Solo hay que revisar los informes nacionales e internacionales que destripan el estado de la vivienda en el mundo para darse cuenta de la permanente situación de citaria, de la inequidad en las ofertas habitacionales, y de la extrema vulgaridad con que la gran mayoría de producciones privadas abordan el tema de la vivienda.

Una vivienda digna lo es en tanto que forma parte de una arquitectura digna in-

tegral que abarca desde la casa hasta el barrio, la ciudad y un territorio digno. La arquitectura del habitar comienza pues en el primer entorno de cada persona — el íntimo — y se extiende al entramado de espacios compartidos constituidos por el espacio público y el espacio colectivo. Las arquitecturas de estos espacios infinitos condicionan y determinan las relaciones del individuo con cada una, y entre ellas. El grado de ensamblaje entre los individuos y las arquitecturas acaban determinando la calidad del habitar, hasta el punto de que, psicológicamente, el entorno será causa y efecto a la vez de las admiraciones más profundas y los rechazos más destructivos.

Solo una arquitectura de calidad puede producir un buen hábitat. Recogido en muchas constituciones, el derecho a la vivienda digna es casi un derecho universal. Sin embargo el problema del acceso a la vivienda es un reto planetario que afecta a millones de personas y marca las desigualdades sociales más determinantes de la pobreza social.

El problema de la vivienda se formulará siempre desde la gestión de la habitabilidad y, en consecuencia, debe plantear el tema desde una óptica integral que va desde las tipologías de la vivienda y los patrones residenciales de los conjuntos habitacionales, hasta la ciudad como gran comunidad de vecinos y confederación de barrios. Una concepción donde cada vivienda es la pieza básica que, por iteración fractal u organizada, produce barrios articulados entre sí en la conformación de una gran conjunción de piezas: la ciudad, compleja, variada y multiforme.

La sostenibilidad ambiental entendida, pues, como un equivalente a la equidad social, exige una regularidad del proceso productivo y de gestión de la vivienda, "haciendo prevalecer el derecho a la vivienda y la función social de la propiedad, el negocio inmobiliario y el carácter de dinamizador de la economía que tiene el sector de la construcción, mediante la intervención por parte de los gobiernos".

Frente a las medidas exclusivamente asistencialistas y de remedio hay, pues, una decidida política de equidad social que, como recuerdan y reclaman los movimientos sociales activos en una nueva manera de entender el proyecto de la vivienda, permita "Invertir radicalmente el proceso de pérdida de poder adquisitivo, erradicar la marginación y la pobreza, incentivar el trabajo y la economía social solidaria". Intervenir en el mercado es uno de los retos fundamentales para cambiar las lógicas de producción basadas en el consumo, por unas renovadas lógicas basadas en el servicio.

Situaciones territoriales y lógicas proyectuales

La forma de la ciudad tradicional — más o menos compacta, pero comprensible, medible y acotable, ha mutado y evoluciona, cada vez más, en un modelo desbordado por la progresiva constitución de una ciudad infinita, dispersa y dilatada sobre el territorio, menos delimitable, heterogénea y multiforme. Una nueva realidad de ciudad que algunos autores ya calificaron de gran mixed coloidal, ciudad de grumos, o variedad de formas construidas sobre un territorio fracturado por infraestructuras, salpicado por edificación y fragmentado en sus continuidades geográficas.

Podemos convenir que la contemporaneidad de la Región metropolitana de Barcelona también está marcada por las explosiones: demográfica, urbana, migratoria, de movilidad, económica y, definitivamente, una explosión social que rompe los paradigmas de equilibrio territorial clásicos. Es interesante observar cómo contraponemos los territorios entre los límites de los umbrales determinados para la máxima ocupación urbana, la metrópolis, y la ausencia total de antropización, el desierto. Esta extrema dualidad deviene sin embargo equívoca, dada la progresiva pérdida de aislamiento definitivo en los territorios desérticos, que se produce paralelamente a los crecientes aislamientos que el hombre sufre en la atopia de algunos sitios metropolitanos. La naturaleza se convierte cada vez más urbanizada y la ciudad reencuentra nuevas formas de abandono selvático.

Las explosiones urbanas provocan una fragmentación incontrolada del espacio físico, que se convierte en un espejo roto, un espacio agrietado, un mosaico quebradizo, donde los fragmentos mantienen todavía el sentido del todo descompuesto. Esta fragmentación ofrece un paisaje roto y una desolación a quien pretende entender la integridad del territorio, porque ya no existen ni la secuencia ni el vínculo entre las piezas.

Este es el paisaje de la periferia ordinaria, ahora transformada en una multitud de periferias incongruentes y banales, contaminadas y ruidosas, trituradas por la vialidad y mal comunicadas.

La ciudad metropolitana presenta procesos muy diversos en formas urbanas plurales, y por lo tanto tenemos que admitir las nuevas formas de urbanidad aunque las nuevas formas de ciudad nos parezcan paradójicamente inadmisibles. Hay que distinguir entre "ciudad" y "urbe" tal como proponía Henri Lefebvre, de lo contrario no somos capaces de entender y menos de identificar la realidad de la ciudad real contemporánea. Por eso, no tiene sentido hacer el panegírico de la ciudad dejada al orden caótico de la flexibilidad de la no-norma o de la desregulación normativa, como tampoco el elogio de la periferia como nuevo tipo de espacio moderno.

Lo que hace falta es ser conscientes de los fenómenos que caracterizan la metrópoli, y que se traducen en nuevas morfo tipologías espaciales, para comprender los desafíos de su posible transformación:

- Extensión de las formas existentes de ciudad sobre el territorio con la consecuente disipación de funciones;
- Dispersión residencial sobre ámbitos territoriales cada vez más alejados de los centros;
- Polarización de funciones centrales sobre los nudos de accesibilidad metropolitana;
- Grandes transformaciones internas de la ciudad consolidada;
- Pérdida de centralidades tradicionales y generación de nuevas y variadas centralidades;
- Aumento de los perímetros periurbanos;
- Congestión de las infraestructuras de movilidad;
- Problemas de uso y deterioro de determinados suelos urbanizados pero no ocupados.

De los ejemplos de planes y proyectos históricos podemos extraer un conjunto de lecciones aprendidas que nos dan pautas urbanístico-ambientales posibles para hacer una ciudad más sostenible. Queremos resaltar las siguientes:

- poner límite a la ciudad como una forma de intensificar el uso urbano en espacios menos dilatados para favorecer los sistemas abiertos del territorio, la ósmosis y disolución de fronteras, mediante la proyección de espacios de permeabilidad e intercambio;
- considerar el proyecto de los ecotonos urbanos como espacio privilegiado del proyecto de la ciudad nueva: una ciudad mosaico territorial;
- establecer la reutilización de los espacios infrautilizados, el trabajo de recalificación de los bordes y la regeneración y articulación de los espacios vacíos de la ciudad en contacto con el territorio libre de formas de urbanización;
- rehacer la intensidad urbana desde una táctica policéntrica (mucho más en muchos más espacios urbanos);
- superar la condición de barrera e integrar las infraestructuras para articular las piezas del mosaico mediante una gestión eficiente de la movilidad y un proyecto cada vez más preciso de las mallas viarias.

El futuro de la ciudad, y su subsistencia como modelo válido para la gestión sostenible del planeta, está en la ciudad_mosaico_ territorial; esto es una ciudad vinculada

con el territorio, formando parte de sus ciclos biológicos y vitales, y un territorio que penetra en la ciudad, con una decidida convivencia espacial y en términos de dinámicas de intercambios y simbiosis sistémica.

Por eso hay que esforzarnos conceptualmente para de nir nuevos patrones urbanos y operativamente para hacer factible y verificar la regeneración urbana en base a la reconstrucción material de los mismos.

La ciudad_mosaico_territorial es el modelo conceptual que proponemos para concebir la gestión de la ciudad contemporánea. El modelo implica una estructura morfológica y ambiental a la vez, pensada en clave de adaptación mutua ecológica y que favorece la coevolución de los ecosistemas urbanos y naturales en interacción. Es un mosaico articulado de piezas urbanas y de teselas de la matriz biofísica del territorio, que pretende estar equilibrado ambientalmente. Lo componen los siguientes elementos:

- La matriz biofísica y el territorio apoyo ambiental, geografía y medio receptor previo a la ciudad;
- Los empleos, antropizaciones y patrones del asentamiento poblacional, desde las primeras ocupaciones hasta las formas evolucionadas del territorio, formas y estructuras urbanas consolidadas y los sectores urbanos de compleción de la ocupación urbana del proceso urbanizador;
- Las teselas interurbanas de gran calidad sobre los perímetros y los intersticios metropolitanos, como nuevos espacios de penetración del territorio en la ciudad;
- Los atractores urbanos y/o territoriales equipados en el contacto entre los grandes vacíos territoriales y las teselas urbanas, dispersiones y fragmentaciones territoriales;
- Nodos y enclaves urbanos, áreas centrales;
- Aureolas urbanas, archipiélagos urbanos;
- Ecotonos urbanos: los límites, los bordes, las franjas de transición, los campos urbanos (de fuerzas);
- Los sistemas de espacios abiertos del territorio en sus múltiples facetas (el territorio rural, los espacios uviales, los bosques...) es decir los vacíos urbanos territoriales compuestos por el conjunto de espacios de la matriz biofísica del territorio, lleno de ríos y de todos sus componentes, de escorrentías de agua y la red hidrográ ca más capilar, de campos de cultivo y de huertos y de los espacios forestales.

Para un proyecto renovado de la región metropolitana, entendemos que es necesaria una visión más abierta de la realidad jurídica administrativa. Es decir, una visión que explore sobre los tipos de lugares, ambientes, y tipos específicos de espacios que podemos identificar y nombrar como situaciones territoriales que, además, podemos concebir como lugares proyectuales.

Detallamos gráficamente, a continuación, las principales lógicas proyectuales consideradas.

La investigación, que se ha desarrollado durante un periodo de tres años, se ha fundamentado en el estudio de la Región Metropolitana de Barcelona desde el punto de vista de la e ciencia territorial entendida desde las principales situaciones territoriales contemporáneas que en- contramos y las lógicas proyectuales que dan respuesta. Es decir, desde una lectura pluridisciplinaria, con este proyecto hemos querido una aproximación este territorio en términos de e ciencia territorial desde el punto de vista del proyecto metropolitano como instrumento capaz de contribuir a la transformación e ciente del conjunto de la región, haciendo un diagnóstico de su estado actual en base a las situaciones territoriales destacadas como los principales retos sobre los que hacer frente desde la práctica urbanística.

Los resultados de esta investigación no se presentan como una conclusión cerrada, sino que pretenden abrir el debate sobre cómo pode- mos afrontar las nuevas realidades territoriales vez que se proponen ciertos retos, es decir, aquellas situaciones territoriales que signi can un reto de futuro para la transformación del conjunto de la región metropolitana en términos principalmente de sostenibilidad ambiental, social y económica.

De la experiencia ha resultado una publicación cuyo link para una versión digital del libro, se puede encontrar en la web: http://www.ciutat- mosaicterritorial.com/recerca/ciutats-territoris-regions-urbanes-e cients/resultats-publicacions; o en la publicación: Llop, C (dir) (2015). Cities, metropolitan territories and ef cient urban regions. Strategies and project proposals for the regeneration of "The territorial mosaicked city" after the explosion of the city. The Metropolitan Region of Barcelona as a laboratory. Barcelona, Lleida. Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya. Milenio Publicaciones. DL L 333-2016; ISBN: 978-84-9743-733-2.

La publicación se compone por cuatro volúmenes:
• El Volumen 1 se basa en una aproximación teórica y conceptual a la idea de e ciencia territorial con aportaciones de varios autores, con la recopilación de ideas surgidas en los seminarios organizados en el marco de la investigación, y con una propuesta metodológica de seis visores de análisis en el marco de esta idea.
• El Volumen 2 es la actualización del Atlas de las Transformaciones Territoriales y Urbanas para el periodo de 2004 a 2012, a partir de la compilación de las Cartografías de las Transformaciones y las Cartografías de Usos y Formas de la Región Metropolitana de Barcelona.
• El Volumen 3 recoge la serie de ocho lógicas proyectuales propuestas en el marco del proyecto y que se explican de forma gráfica y narrativa a partir de las situaciones territoriales detectadas y la ejempli cación a partir de aquellos proyectos metropolitanos de la base de datos elaborada que intentan dar respuesta.
• Y por último, el Volumen 4 recoge las conclusiones abiertas para iniciar el debate y futuras investigaciones.

1

CONSOLIDATING THE OPEN SPACES
AND THE ECOLOGICAL INFRASTRUCTURE

Gallecs rural área, Mollet del Vallès

Source: Cities, metropolitan territories and efficient urban regions.
Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya
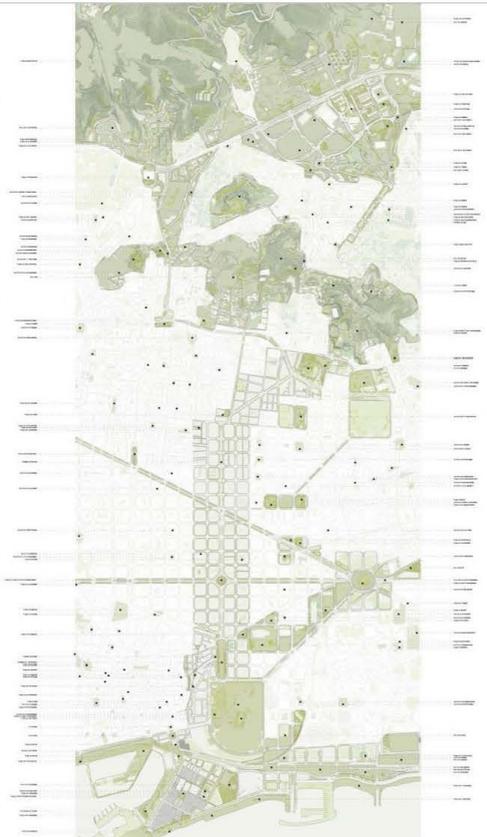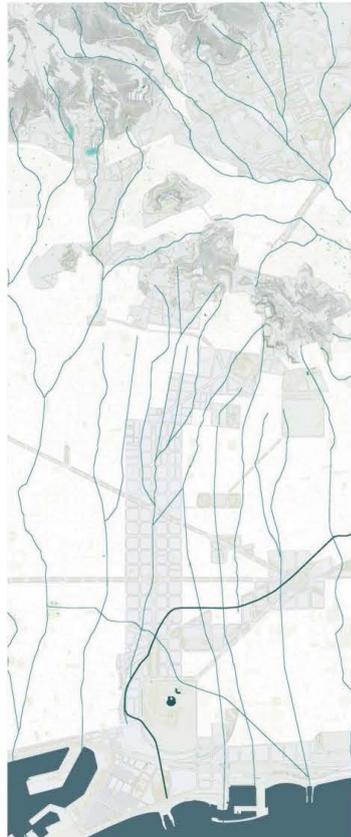
El sistema públic del verd urbà: 6 - les cartografies del corredor verd Ciutadella - Collserola

Source: JLP arq

2

RESTORING THE TERRITORIAL CONTINUITY
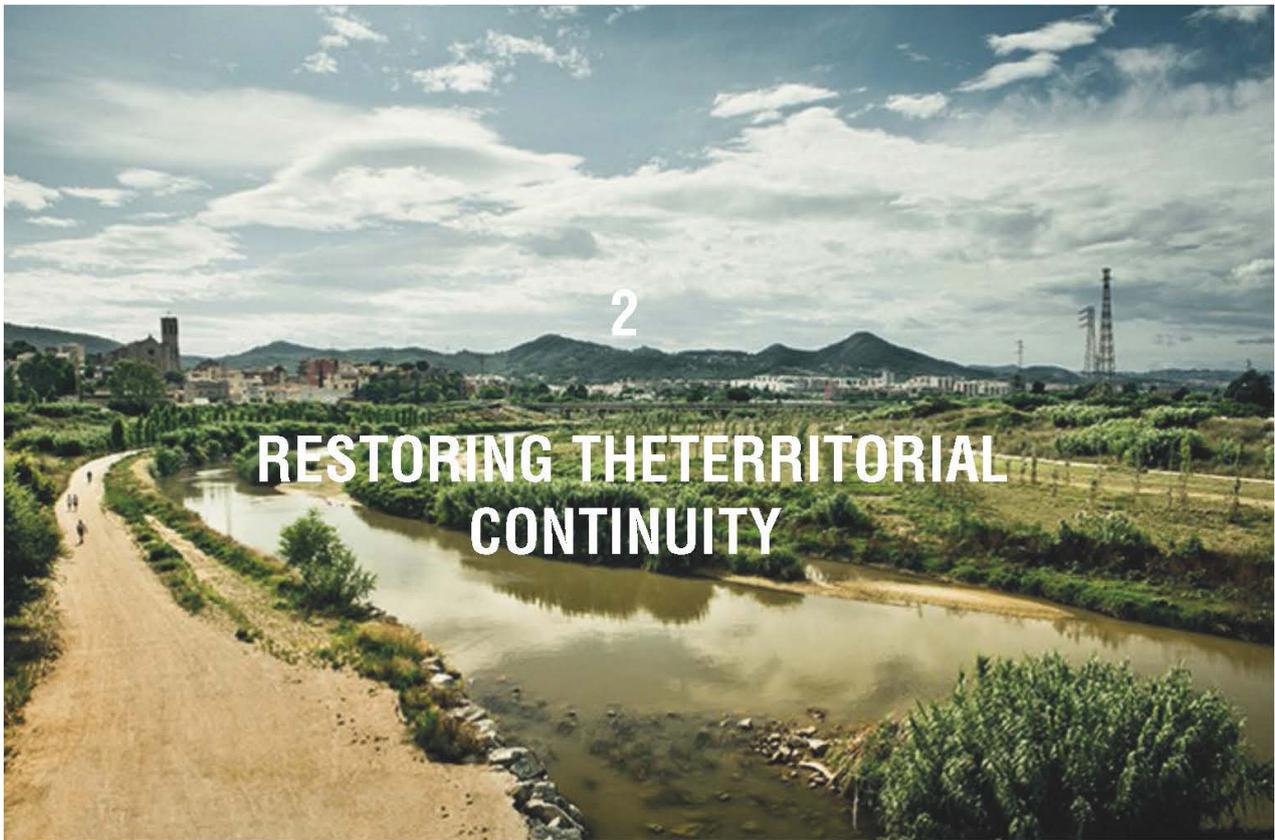
Llobregat river recovering

Source: Cities, metropolitan territories and efficient urban regions.
Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya

New path from the Diable Bridge

Solana Park, Sant Andreu de la Barca

River Park of Sant Boi de Llobregat

Llobregat river area: the space of the river and the biophysical matrix
the project of the river. An ecological and social recovery

Source: AMB

3

REPROGRAMMING THE DETERIORATED NATURAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL SPACES

Restoration of Garraf's dumping site

Source: Cities, metropolitan territories and efficient urban regions.
Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya

Landscape project in the area of cliffs Montjic

Source: JLP arq

4

PROJECTING THE BORDERS AND PROMOTING THE INTERACTION IN THE ECOTONES

Collserola gates and the renaturalisation of Barcelona

Source: Cities, metropolitan territories and efficient urban regions.
Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya

LÍNIA DEL TREN

LÍNIA DE TREN

RAMBLA DE POBLENOU

CEMENTIRI DE POBLENOU

VIL·LA OLÍMPICA

PORT OLÍMPIC

RONDA LITORAL

BARRI DE LA BARCELONETA

PLATJA DE SANT SEBASTIÀ

0   500 Metres

Transformation of the Barcelona coast

Source: http://www.subenuix.com/ca/transformacions-litoral-de-barcelona/

5
PROMOTING THE TERRITORIAL WASTE SPACES AS OPORTUNITY SPACES

Park of the Trinitat road junction, Barcelona

Source: Cities, metropolitan territories and efficient urban regions.
Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya

Park of the Trinitat road junction, Barcelona

Source: AMB
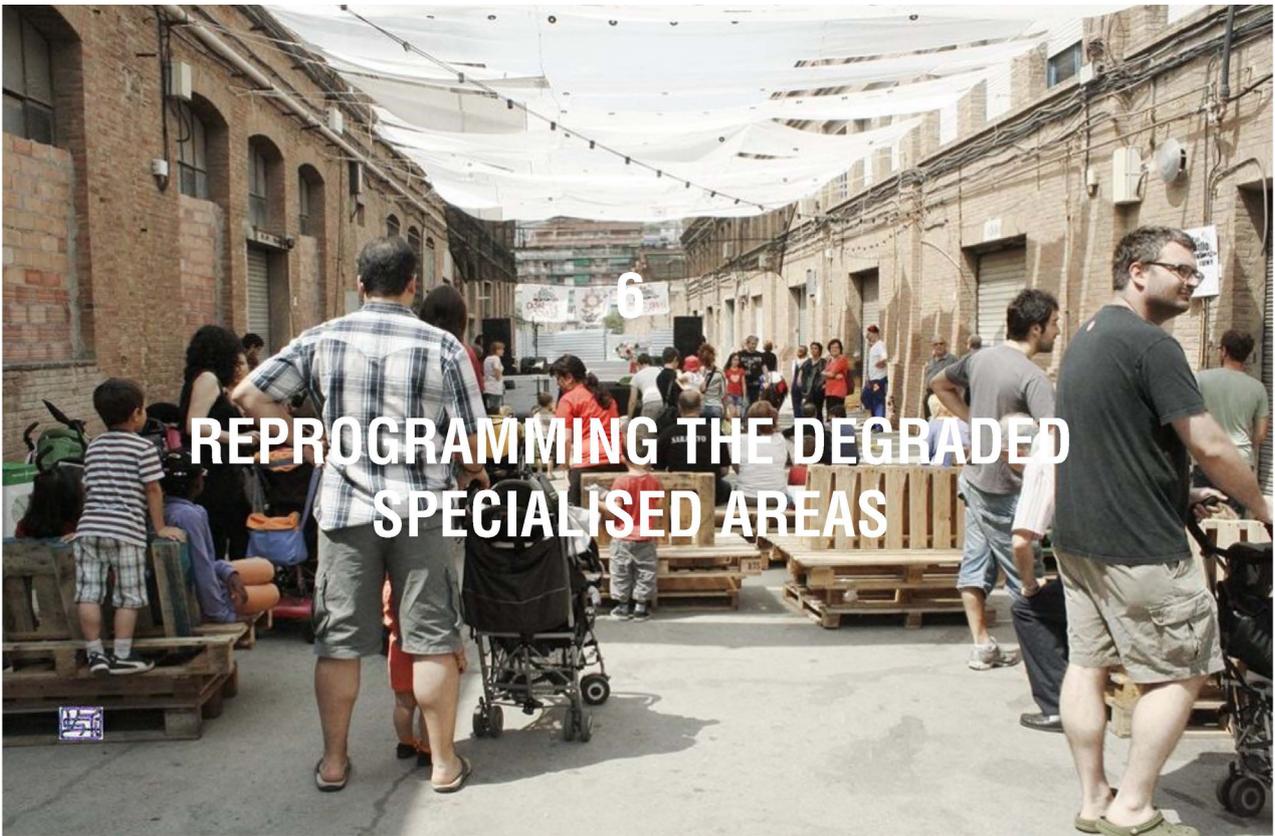
6
REPROGRAMMING THE DEGRADED SPECIALISED AREAS

Can Batlló recovering, Barcelona

Source: Cities, metropolitan territories and efficient urban regions.
Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya

Parcial urban plan, Pla de Ponent Can Sellarès, Viladecans
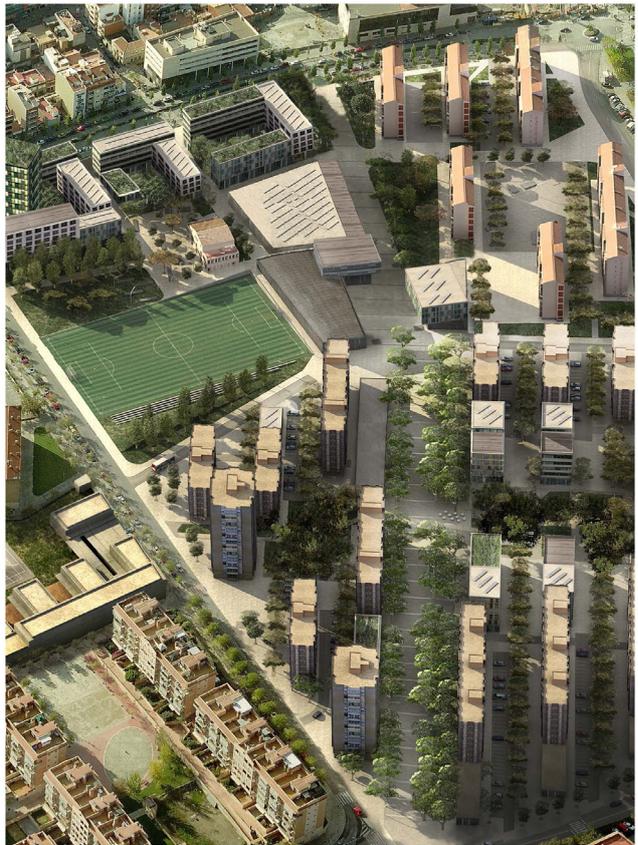
Source: JLP arq

7
INTEGRATING THE FRAGMENTED FABRICS INTO THE TERRITORIAL AND URBAN SYSTEM

Alba and Synchrotron Park, Cerdanyola del Vallès

Source: Cities, metropolitan territories and efficient urban regions.
Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya

Parc aeroespacial Viladecans JLP architetti

Source: JLP arq

8
PROMOTING THE TERRITORIAL
AND URBAN REGENERATION

Transformation of La Mina neighbourhood, Barcelona

Transformation of La Mina neighbourhood, Barcelona

9

RECONSIDERING AND PROJECTING NEW AREAS OF CENTRALITY

Glòries new central park, Barcelona

Source: Cities, metropolitan territories and efficient urban regions.
Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya

Front litoral masterplan. The site plan

Source: Consorci del Besós

10
RECONFIGURING THE METROPOLITAN STREETS AS STRUCTURAL AXIS

Main Street refurbishment in Sant Boi de Llobregat

Source: Cities, metropolitan territories and efficient urban regions.
Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya

Green Corridors, Barcelona

Source: JLP arq

11

INTEGRATING THE INFRASTRUCTURES

Park in Mollet del Vallès

Park-Square Can Fradera 'Central Island', Badalona

12

INCREASING THE MULTIMODALITY AND INTERMODALITY IN THE MOBILITY NETWORKS
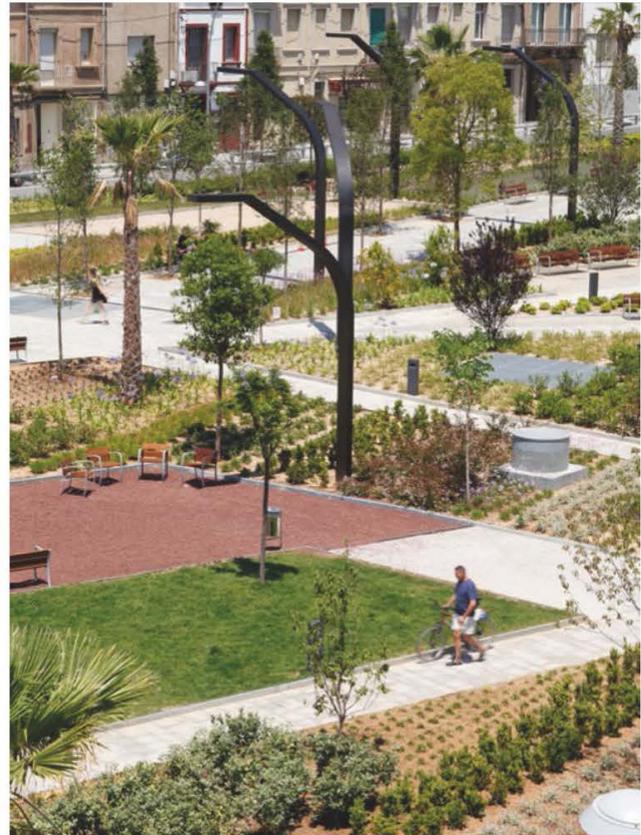
La Sagrera Intermodal Station, Barcelona

Source: Cities, metropolitan territories and efficient urban regions.
Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya

Park-Square Pompeu Fabra, Badalona

Source: JLP arq + FFFF arq

13

ENSURING THE ACCESSIBILITY
TO THE MOBILITY FLOWS

Escalators in Horta neighbourhood, Barcelona

Source: Cities, metropolitan territories and efficient urban regions.
Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya
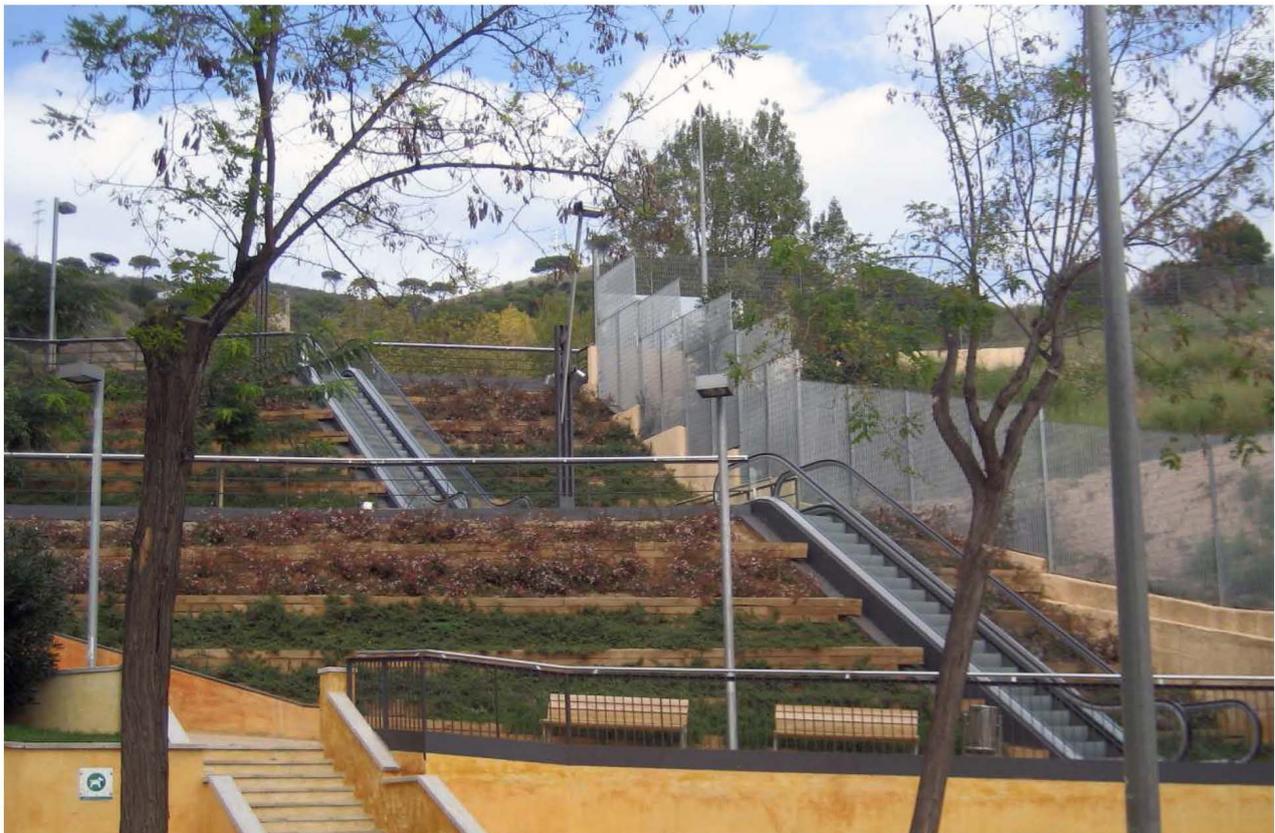
Escalators Implementation and Public space at Santa Coloma

Source: B2B architetti

14

IMPROVING AND ENSURING THE HABITABILITY OF THE DIFFERENT FABRICS
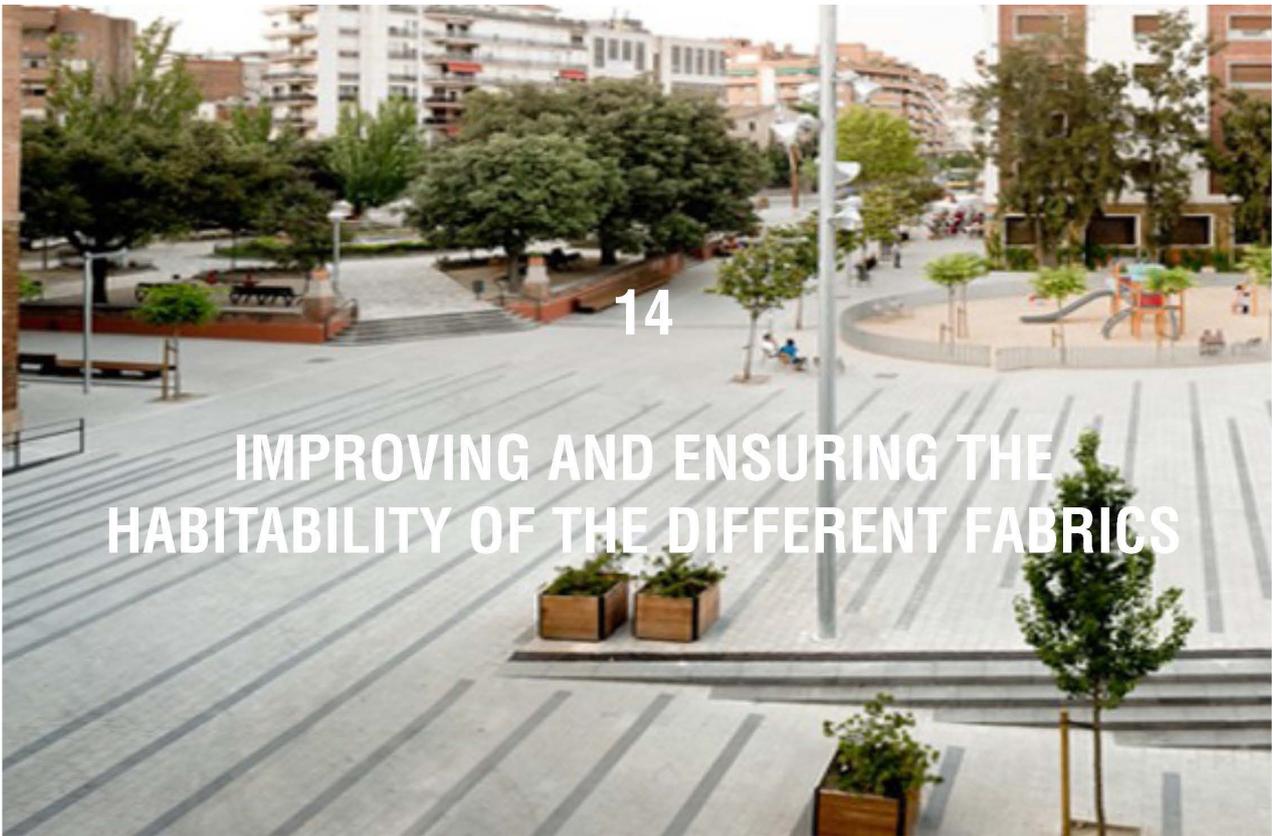
Refurbishment of the public spaces in Cornellà de Llobregat

Source: Cities, metropolitan territories and efficient urban regions.
Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya

**L'ESPAI DEL PEATÓ
ACCÉS AL VIAL DE CORNISA**

ascensor aïllat
camins
a través l'edificació
places
bus + people mover
telefèric
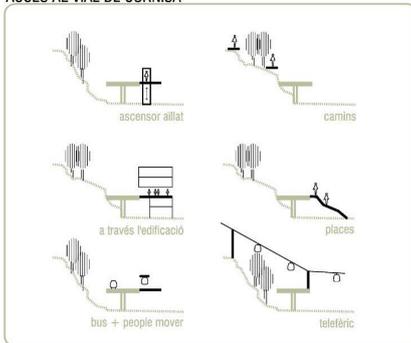
**L'ESPAI DEL PEATÓ
EL VIAL DE CORNISA I EL PENYA-SEGAT**

a nivell
passera elevada
topografia artificial

**L'ESPAI DEL PEATÓ
EL VIAL DE CORNISA I EL PORT**

a nivell
estructura elevada
topografia artificial
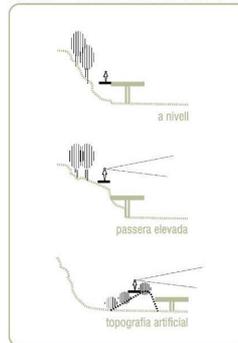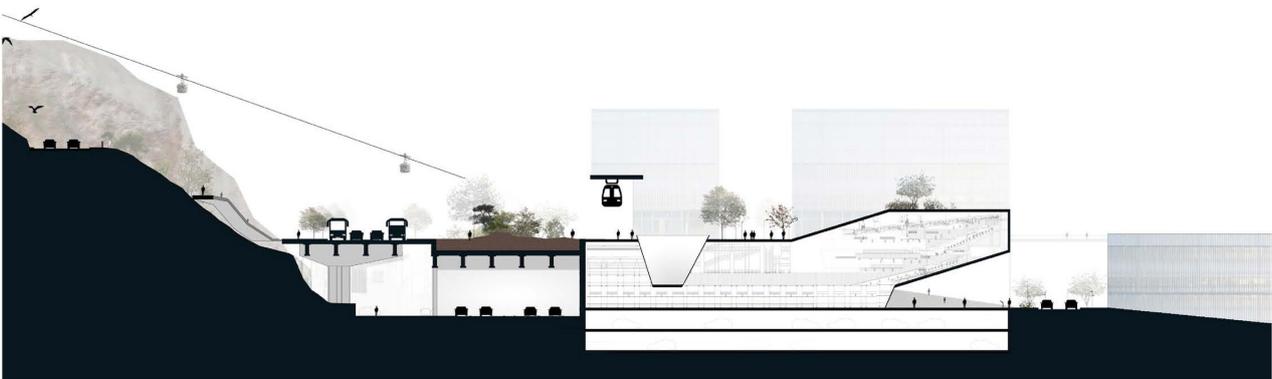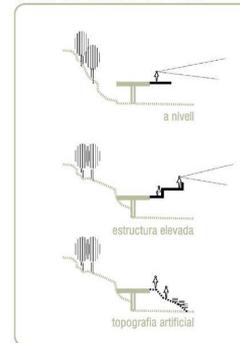
El Morrot de Montjuïc

Source: JLP arq
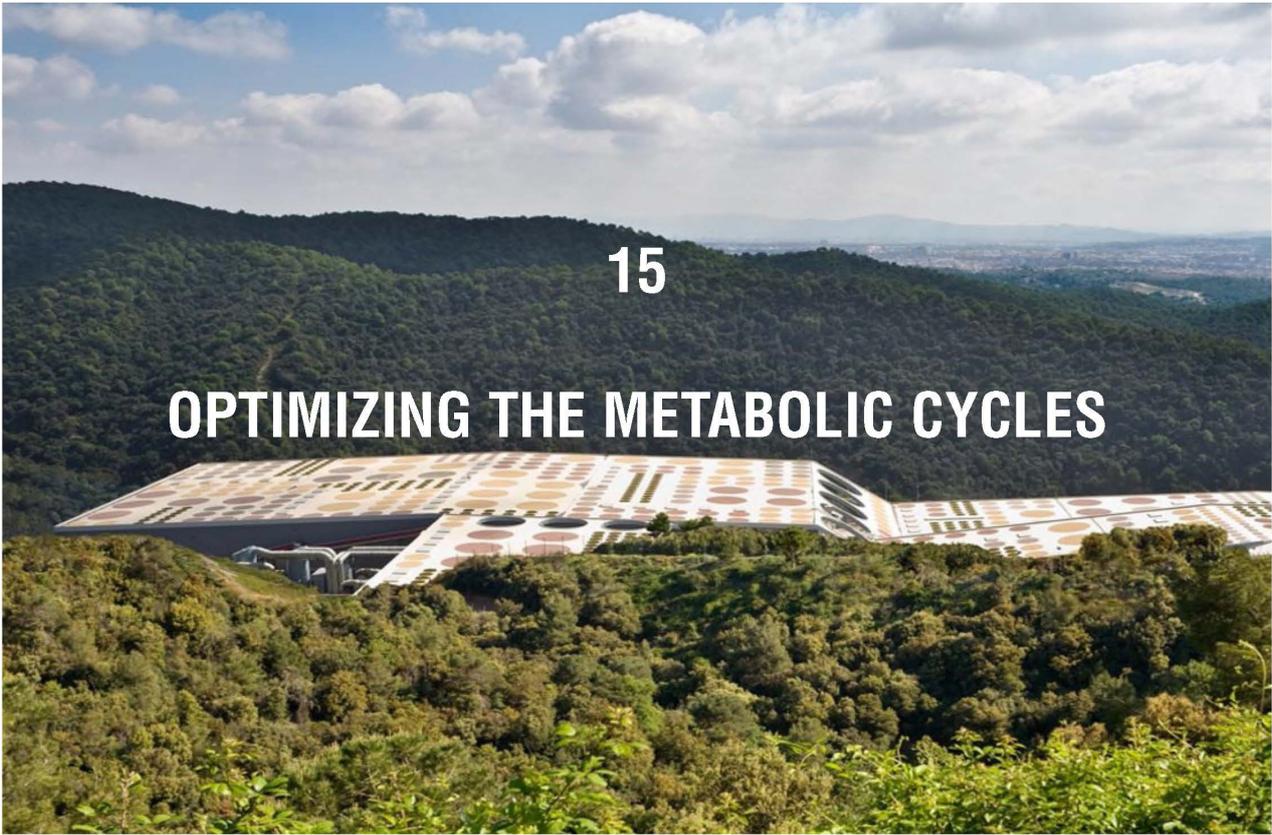
15

OPTIMIZING THE METABOLIC CYCLES

Parc Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona

Source: Cities, metropolitan territories and efficient urban regions.
Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya
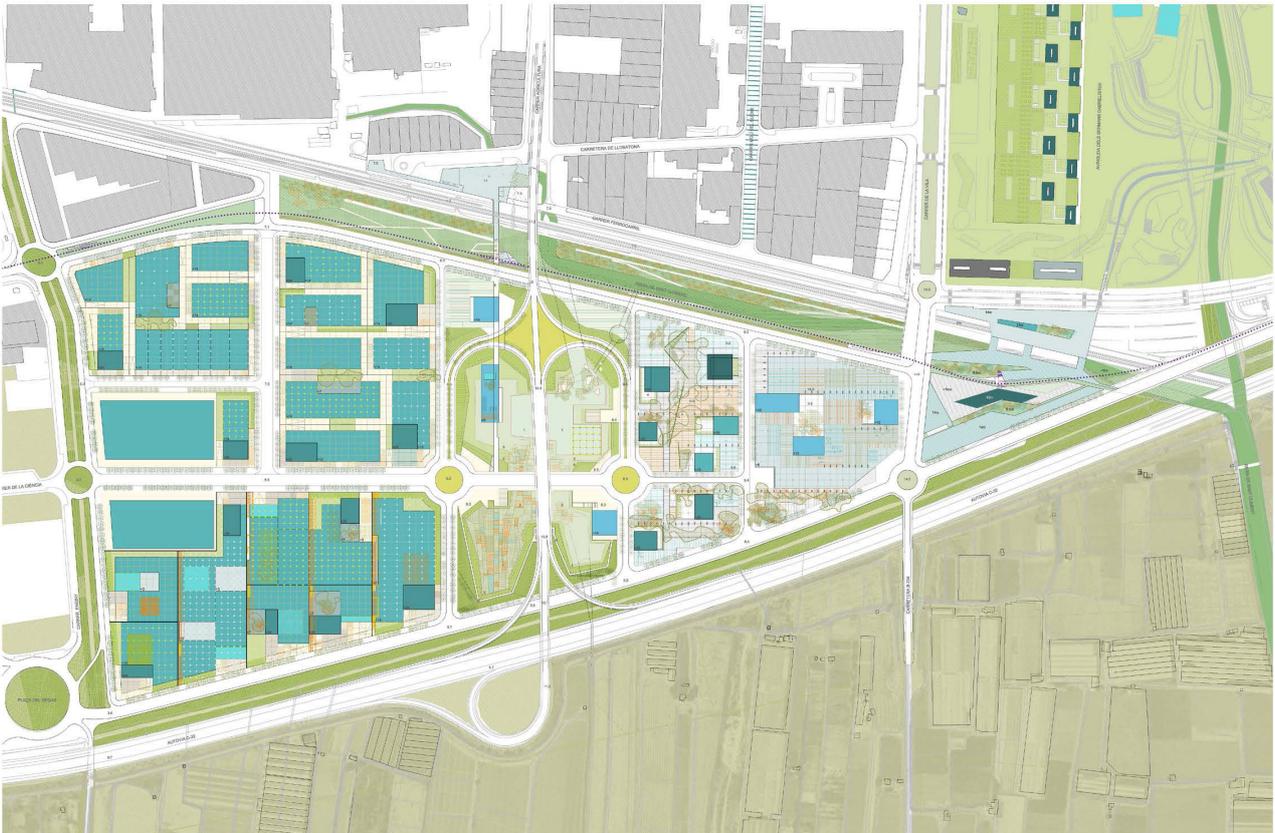
Ca n'Arlemany

Source: JLP arq

Ali Madanipour

Public Space and Urban Transformation

Public space has become a subject of wide-ranging academic, professional, and public attention. This is a welcome development, as few could doubt its value, as it is such an integral part of urban life. But public spaces have always been an essential part of the city, so what are the reasons for the renewed interest in them? In this paper, I will look for the reasons for this attention and the conditions of its possibility. Public spaces of cities are their backbone, where different paths and trajectories intersect to make up the urban life in all its complexity. These social crossroads are in the DNA of cities, embedded in urban society and space from their birth. The remains of Mesopotamian cities from around 5000 years ago have many ingredients of what we recognize as a city even today, showing the private spaces of households, organized around the public spaces of street and square, and public institutions such as temples and markets (Benevolo,1980). As Alberti (1988, IIX,6, p.262) puts it, 'a forum is but an enlarged crossroad', and many medieval cities grew around this public space infrastructure: road junctions which were elaborated in many different ways to give shape to the emerging cities (Platt,1990:94). Cities have gone through many changes throughout history, but the significance of public space in urban life has not diminished.

So the question that we are faced with is: why are we still concerned about something as old and as basic as urban public space? By now, after centuries of making and remaking cities, we should have worked out how to develop and maintain our common infrastructure; so why should there be intensified attention paid to a time-honoured subject? Does it reflect discovering new pathways or a moment of crisis and anxiety? I look for some answers in three interrelated and overlapping shifts in recent years: technological and economic changes, the shifting relationships between public and private spheres, and the growing diversification of urban society. Together, these changes bring about significant demographic, technological, political, economic, social, and cultural changes, with direct implications for public space, putting forward challenges and causing anxieties that need serious attention. The provision and maintenance of public space is an essential part of the production of space, with all the contextual specificities that such process entails (Lefebvre, 1991).

Technological and economic transformation

The first shift is in technological and economic arrangements, with major social and environmental consequences. For more than a century, transport technologies have allowed the growing cities to disperse in all directions, a suburbanizing trend that continues to this day, with considerable implications for all aspects of life in cities.

With the arrival of the information and communication technologies, it was thought that cities would disappear altogether (Martindale,1966). You could be anywhere and have access to all the services and resources you need. But there are many good reasons for cities to exist, from economies of scale to mutual social support and cultural richness of life. This is why urban living thrives, despite the hasty predictions for its demise. But urban populations everywhere demand to be supported by a high quality spatial and institutional infrastructure that would facilitate the social life in cities.

Provision and maintenance of public space is now a central theme of sustainable development in European strategic policy documents, from the Aalborg Charter (EC,1994) to the Bristol Accord (ODPM,2006) and the Leipzig Charter (EC,2007). According to the Aalborg Charter of 1994, in a Europe where 80 per cent of people live in urban areas, 'our present urban lifestyle, in particular our patterns of division of labour and functions, land-use, transport, industrial production, agriculture, consumption, and leisure activities, and hence our standard of living, make us essentially responsible for many environmental problems humankind is facing.' (EC,1994, 1). To confront this trend, it was essential to move towards sustainable development, of which the provision and maintenance of public open and green space was an important part.

According to the European Environment Agency, the driving force for urban sprawl is the individual search for higher quality domestic space, but the adverse impacts of this search on the society as a whole include an increase in energy and land consumption, traffic, air and noise pollution, heat waves and climate change (EEA,2009). The sprawl, therefore, needs to be restrained by creating compact cities, which would diminish transport and energy use, and safeguard the countryside for agriculture, recreation and wildlife. But compact cities should offer a high quality of life that would persuade people to remain in cities, rather than leaving for the suburbs and fuelling urban sprawl. Provision of public space is one of the key ingredients of high quality environment. The significance of parks and boulevards has been recognized for centuries, and the provision of public open space was also one of the key demands of the Charter of Athens (Sert,1944). Now the emphasis is on all the green assets of an urban area, in whatever size and form that can be found, connected to each other to form a green infrastructure, which allows the wildlife to thrive, local food production to be enhanced, and connection with the natural world be maintained (Landscape Institute, 2009). A new drive for the improvement of urban public spaces is gathering momentum: Public spaces are reclaimed from the car, pedestrians and bicycles are given more prominence, civil society actors invest their energies in urban improvement, from looking after the forgotten corners of the city to engaging in community gardens and urban agriculture. Furthermore, a campaign for de-cluttering has started for getting rid of the mass of instructions that fill the urban space, creating information overload and aesthetic disarray.

In addition to urban sprawl, which hollows out the social fabric of the city, deindustrialization, globalization, and a major global economic crisis have shaken the city's economic foundations, threatening its inhabitants' ability to earn a living. The European Union's 10-year strategy, EU 2020, indicates the extent of the challenge: 'Europe faces a moment of transformation. The crisis has wiped out years of economic and social progress and exposed structural weaknesses in Europe's economy. In the meantime, the world is moving fast and long-term challenges – globalisation, pressure on resources, ageing – intensify. The EU must now take charge of its future' (EC,2010a: 5).

Facilitated by technological change, the major economic shift in recent decades has been the globalization of industrial production, relocating the manufacturing indus-

tries from their old centres to new ones. This was not an accidental shift, but initiated by the companies that looked for cheaper factors of production, and for being free from labour disputes and environmental regulations. This fundamental economic change has had considerable impacts on the social and spatial organization of the city. It has fuelled urbanization in industrializing cities, like in China, which is experiencing what may be the largest wave of urbanization in human history. It has also fuelled transition to services in deindustrialized cities in the West, which have been looking for alternative economic rationale to fill the gap. In both cases, public spaces play a mediating and facilitating role in economic transformation.

Cities are engines of economic development, where the production, exchange and consumption of goods and services take place. A key driver of economic development is innovation, which draws on the encounters between different stakeholders, the meeting of minds, partly facilitated by the composition of the urban environment and support from a vibrant public sphere. Clustering the new companies in science parks, technopoles and cultural quarters has become the holy grail of local economic development, thought to generate the critical mass that is needed for such innovation (Madanipour, 2011).

Economic development also draws on investment. The economic significance of urban space is acknowledged by the European strategy on the urban environment. According to the Lisbon Strategy, Europe had to become 'a more attractive place to work and invest', which would be facilitated partly by a high quality urban environment: 'The attractiveness of European cities will enhance their potential for growth and job creation' (EC,2006, 1). In the Leipzig Charter, the European ministers of urban development emphasized the role of public space in economic change, as 'soft locational factors, they are important for attracting knowledge industry businesses, a qualified and creative workforce and for tourism' (EC,2007, 3).

In the context of globalization, where city authorities behave like private firms competing with each other for investment, high quality public spaces, tall buildings, and expressive architecture are all seen as symbolic assets, enhancing the image and quality of a city on the global stage, all seen as devices that could distinguish a city in the crowded global marketplace, much in the same way that packaging and advertising are meant to differentiate goods on supermarket shelves. The economic roles of public space at the local level include building market confidence, creating attractive conditions for private developers to invest in an area, making and enhancing the land and property market. Some public authorities look for economic justification for investment in public space, and they find this justification in confidence building for the market, laying the foundations of a property market in declining areas, where none may have existed, or strengthening weak markets, attracting private investors to an area, and seeing the rise in the land value as the ultimate justification for investment in public space. For private developers, good public spaces provide clear competitive advantage for the quality and market value of their development.

The consumption of goods and services, now so thriving through globalization, is a major drive for the global economy; the more we consume goods and services the faster the wheels of the global economy; so consumption becomes a goal in itself, whether or not we need those products, to the extent that consumerism has become a primary identifier of the rich urban societies. Investment in public space is an essential ingredient of boosting this consumerism and experience economy. Public spaces provide the atmosphere of glitz and spectacle that would draw people to particular places, where we can enjoy the pleasure of apparent abundance and being with others.

The new, welcome attention to public spaces has no doubt created some improvement for many cities. However, the fruits of economic development are not equally

distributed, and the patterns of investment and consumption are widely different in different cities as well in different parts of the same city. So the question becomes: Is the current trend of attention to public spaces good for everyone, or do they serve only some people? In other words, whose public spaces are they (Madanipour,2010; Madanipour, Knierbein and Degros, 2014)?

Shifting relationships between public and private spheres

The second shift, which overlaps the first, is in the relationship between the public and private spheres. In political and legal theory, the public sphere is often the sphere of the state, as distinctive from the private sphere of individuals and households (Wacks,1993; Taylro,1995). The two spheres are kept apart, as the intervention of the public sphere into the private sphere would result in the loss of privacy and individual freedom, while the encroachment of the private sphere into the public sphere may create individual gain and collective loss (Nolan,1995; Nagel,1998). Cities of all times are shaped by this interplay between the public and private spheres (Madanipour, 2003). This relationship has been changing once again in recent decades, as a result of technological and economic change, with direct implications for public spaces and urban life.

For a generation after the Second World War, a model of development emerged that was based on a tight regulation of the market by the state, stimulating demand through a better distribution of resources, and improving the conditions of life in cities. The state was directly involved in the provision of public services and the production of the built environment. This period, which is called 'The Glorious Thirty' by some in France, could combine prosperity with a degree of equality; but it ran out of energy by the 1970s (Aglietta,2000). The laissez-faire phase which followed, and has been going on for the last thirty years, reduced the size and scope of the state, now seen as bureaucratic, clumsy, unaffordable and ineffective. Instead, the values of methods of the market were embraced, radically changing the balance between the public and private spheres. The Keynesian accord between the state and the market was broken, transferring the production of the built environment to the private sector.

The spaces produced in the first period were often modernist spaces, designed from inside out, paying more attention to the buildings rather than the spaces outside. In a famous sketch, Le Corbusier shows his ideal public spaces to be pleasant and plentiful, but the main emphasis remained on how to plan the buildings successfully. The modernist manifesto, the Charter of Athens, had paid specific attention to public spaces as breathing spaces in the overcrowded and badly built cities (Sert,1944), but in their design philosophy, public space was essentially at the service of buildings, enveloping and supporting them. When these buildings went into decline, public spaces surrounding them became a huge problem.

In the following, neo-liberal period, the resources of the private firms were mobilized, which had access to productive capacities that could transform large parts of cities and regenerate declining areas. But these firms had a limited remit, responsible towards their shareholders, rather than delivering services and spaces for the general public. Urban development projects still needed public space, but these new spaces were more functional intermediate spaces rather than publicly accessible ones. In an increasingly unequal society (OECD,2008), the intermediate spaces they produced were privately controlled, sometimes with the help of guards, walls, gates, and cameras, setting boundaries that would limit access to these spaces. The more unequal societies became, the harsher the boundaries that separated the public and private spheres. The private sphere expanded and protected itself by various measures, while the public sphere suffered from neglect and decline. This reduction in sup-

ply and access opened up a crisis of confidence and a rising sense of anxiety about public services and spaces, and by extension a crisis for the city as a whole. So much of the debate about public space reflected anxiety about this changing relationship, which is a mirror of the broader relationships between the market and the state, and between the individual and society. When these fundamental relationships change, the features of society and its spaces change. The campaign for public space, in this sense, is a campaign for the integrity of the city and society.

The political significance of public space has been known since ancient times. The agorà in Athens is often mentioned as the prototype of democratic public space, although spaces for some form of collective deliberation can be found in all cultures. An idealized conception of democracy has long been based on the development of an active public sphere, in which citizens are able to participate, communicate freely, and develop opinions about the affairs of their society, enabling them to make informed decisions in democratic governance (Habermas,1998; Arendt,1958). As non-state actors have proliferated, the challenge of urban governance has included setting up frameworks for cooperation and the formation of collective actors. In both physical and institutional forms, public spaces make an important contribution to urban governance, by becoming the focus of free expression, protest and conflict, as well as deliberation and collaboration between a wide range of actors, and a vehicle of legitimacy for the public authorities that have lost some of their earlier mandates in transforming cities. Strategic plans and large urban projects have become a prominent form of urban development in Europe, based on partnerships between the public sector and these non-state actors, and revolving around a series of public spaces (Lecroart, 2007). Focus on the process of design and development of these projects would allow the development of a shared vision and a spatial focus of attention.

The private control of urban space, however, is a continuing concern. The urban spectacle is supported by events and festivals set up to support commercialism, dominated by commercial messages and control of large corporations, to the extent that campaigners in the UK complain about the emergence of cloned towns, whereby all high streets are dominated by the same companies, making them all similar to one another. The production and management of public space by private companies continues to cause similar complaints. Even the business-friendly Mayor of London (2009), in his manifesto for public space, announces his concern, which is why the London Assembly (2011), suggests tighter controls are needed to ensure public spaces remain accessible and in public hands. Similarly, the viability of many public services, such as public transport, libraries and museums, is under pressure in the period of economic austerity. Austerity is not a universal problem, and many cities around the world continue to grow in size and prosperity, and carry on investing in their public spaces. In unequal cities, however, a privatized form of public space may be taken as a norm.

What makes a place public? If we were to answer this question with just one word, it would be access. The key feature of public space is its accessibility. The more accessible a place, the more public it becomes. Access cannot be abstract and universal; it is the expression of relationships between people, an expression of power and control over territory, an interplay of inclusion and exclusion. So it always takes different forms and levels, and that is why a city is full of shades of public-private relations, from the most public to the most private places. The boundaries that separate the public and private spheres from one another, manage this access, and in doing so they characterize a society. One of the orthodoxies in urban design advocates clear boundaries between the two realms (Jacobs,1961; Newman, 1972), where space can be defended and protected. But harsh and strict boundaries suggest unequal socie-

ties, where fear and threat of violence rule, eventually leading to gated neighbourhoods and exclusive enclaves. Highly articulate, soft and porous boundaries, in contrast, show a more peaceful and sophisticated encounter, and a more urbane society. The boundaries between public and private spheres are never fixed, dividing the urban world into a sharp dualism. Instead, it is always evolving and interdependent, but anxieties rise when one side seems to be losing the ground.

Growth and diversification of urban society

The third shift is in the growth and diversification of urban society. The world is now officially urban, with more than half the world living in cities, which are growing further at high rates. Even in Europe, where population is fairly stable and 80% of people already live in urban areas, larger cities are growing rapidly, albeit at the expense of smaller towns and cities, as well as through international migration (ECOTEC,2007; RWI et al, 2010). In this urban world, public spaces are particularly significant on many levels. As more people move to cities, they need the essential spaces that facilitate social life, a common infrastructure of institutions and spaces that is a vital prerequisite for making collective life possible. It is an integral part of urban life, as evident in informal settlements around the world, where we can witness the birth of an urban area, where consolidation of housing is followed by the development of local public spaces (Hernandez Bonilla,2010). The development of urban areas that are dismissed as slums follows the historic path of mature cities, where people's ingenuity and imagination create the spaces necessary for a decent collective life.

Alongside the growth of urban populations, social diversity and inequality has increased. In its search for finding what characterizes urban life in Europe, the first State of European Cities report identified diversity. 'Diversity appears to be the main characteristic of urban life. A growing number of people is living alone, particularly in the core city areas. Families tend to be coalescing in suburbs at the periphery of urban agglomerations and this group too are following increasingly varied lifestyles.' (ECOTEC,2007, 119).

With the economic and political shifts towards the market, the growth of social inequality is detectable in most countries. As various reports by the European Commission (2010b), OECD (2008), and the UK government (National Equality Panel,2010) show, social inequality has grown over the last three decades, alongside the changing model of economic development and the shifting boundaries between public and private spheres. Also, with globalization and international migration, smaller households and increasing variety of lifestyles, the urban populations are more diverse than ever before (RWI et al, 2010). In the transition from manufacturing to services, the organization of social groups and urban spaces has been changing. Blue collar workers had once shaped the industrial cities, with their rigid routines of life and mass patterns of consumption and socialization. With the relocation of industries, blue collar workers are being replaced by white collar workers who work in services, with their flexible routines of work and diversified patterns of consumption, and served by an army of casual and underpaid workers from around the world. Gentrification, which facilitates this displacement and replacement of one group with another, is a widespread phenomenon around the world (Lees et al,2008). Public space improvements, whether by public authorities, civil society activists, or private companies, adjust the city's space for its inhabitants, but in doing so, they may knowingly or unknowingly facilitate displacement and gentrification. On the receiving end, ghettoization, homelessness, and sudden bursts of anger in the form of riots, are some of the ways that these changes find expression in public spaces. But anger and protest are not limited to the invisible and deprived minorities.

They are also displayed by the mainstream casualties of these major transitions, as recently being played out in public spaces in all continents.

Meanwhile, a series of social movements have pushed for some time for broadening the meaning of the public. The word public refers to people as a whole and theoretically includes everyone. But in practice, it has tended towards a narrow definition, without taking the diversity of society and the different positions and needs of its members into account. Women have argued that cities have historically been built and run by men, undermining women's roles and needs. In the distinction between the public and the private, men have dominated the public sphere of work and politics, pushing women to a domestic sphere in which they could be controlled and suppressed (Fraser,1989). City design clearly reflected this unequal arrangement, whereby industrialization separated the world of work from home, suburbanization trapped women in isolated peripheries, socialization became limited to the spaces of consumption, and the design and management of urban spaces remained insensitive to women's needs. Alongside women's movement, ethnic and cultural minorities have also argued for their right to the city, overcoming the actual and symbolic barriers that deny them access to particular places and activities. They have demanded to be represented in the public domain, rather than being ignored, undermined or suppressed.

In the design of the urban environment, the standards have been set by the able-bodied and mobile populations, while the elderly and the disabled have often been ignored, and their reduced mobility seen as a regrettable but inevitable fact of life. But now in ageing societies, the pressure is on to address their needs. For a person with reduced mobility, moving in most public spaces is a struggle, continually negotiating impassable barriers, difficult surfaces, abrupt level changes, and dangerous crossings. Many cities have started adopting measures for widening access to those with reduced mobility, either in a wheelchair, pushchair, or just having difficulty in negotiating the steps and steep slopes (Fletcher 2006).

Children are the core of the nuclear family and their significance has grown enormously in modern family life (Ariés,1973). Their presence in public space has been managed through a combination of ordering and protection. The provision of playgrounds has acknowledged the need to cater for children, and the fear of anonymity and crime in the city has led to all forms of protective behaviour, but has also limited their presence to specialist and monitored places. Young people in public places, meanwhile, become considered as threats to others, closely watched for any misbehaviour that would unsettle the calm order of the city (Litscher,2014). When fear of crime has risen, all vulnerable groups have withdrawn from public spaces. The tension between the vulnerable elderly people and the energetic teenagers is one of the key themes of public space in many neighbourhoods.

With social diversification and historical change come tensions over identity. With its monuments and collective experience, public space forms an integral part of the urban identity, folding many layers of history into tight corners of urban space. But when people or places change, a crisis of representation is evident: whose identity does or should the public space represent? Some elements of the past simply turn into an aesthetic experience, losing their meaning and significance in the mist of time. When the city's history includes troubled memories, or when they are simply treated as belonging to an unremarkable period in history, they present new challenges: should they be kept and remembered, or should they be removed and forgotten? As bad memories or insignificant heritage, they put forward a dilemma that many cities face all the time.

Conclusion

I have only touched on a simplified outline of three major shifts in urban societies to show their implications for public space, opening up lines of discussion that each needs much space and time to develop. They show the significance of public space, its direct connection with wider urban processes, its important role, the obstacles facing vulnerable groups, and challenges that cities need to address. Public spaces are crossroads, where different paths and trajectories meet or collide, the stage on which the public life unfolds, the essential realm of sociability. The key attraction of public space is its people, and its defining feature is open accessibility. Most of the images that we see as good public spaces are from city centres and their busy streets, where a lot of happy people fill vibrant and colourful places. This image is a proxy for a good city and a good life, where people are present in accessible and open spaces, living a prosperous and peaceful life. The test of a good city, however, is that it is good in all its parts and for all its people.

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Gabriele Pasqui

Between Republic and Democracy. Dilemmas and Perspectives in Planning Practices

Crisis? What crisis?

The amusing cover of the 1975 Supertramp "Crisis? What crisis?" long playing has a color photograph of a young man in a bathing suit sitting on a lounge chair under an orange umbrella. He is sipping a cocktail. The image is shown on a black and white background of garbage dumps, barracks, smoking factory chimneys. With sunglasses and a stupid expression on his face, the man seems totally unaware of his surroundings.

This famous cover can be interpreted in two ways. We might call the first one apocalyptic. It conveys the idea that we are unconsciously slipping into an abyss – an urban condition that is increasingly unacceptable from an environmental and social point of view that we are not even aware of. The second might be called post-modern. This is a "softer" portrayal of the crisis as an ultimately permanent condition in which we are called upon to live with lightness, deploying tactics rather than strategies.

I do not want to continue with my irony, but I do want to stress that in times of crisis (and today in Europe we certainly are in a time of crisis, at least economically and financially and certainly), perhaps we should learn to think about the very notion of crisis, its dependence on the "apocalyptic tone" (Derrida, 1983) that permeated the Twentieth century and which constitutes – simultaneously – our origins and our possibilities (for words and action).

In my opinion, thinking about the crisis does not mean denying its consequence but it also means putting aside its absolute and radical character, becoming wary of its "unique" nature. There is nothing non-existent or virtual about today's crisis. I only note that we should analyze the crisis considering continuity and the profound *solidarity* of daily practices (Pasqui, 2008, Sini, 2010).

This solidarity and this continuity produce differences, both in their expressions and their movements. It might be fitting to critique the praise of the every day and the "silent transformations" that discussions about planning and the city have produced abundantly over the last twenty years. However, it is not possible to deny that an anchor to practices and the real transformations of the city and the territory invite us to recognize the weight and importance of the continuity of processes and forms. This continuity is interwoven with the materiality of special interests, powers, forms of representation, and languages.

This article examines some prospects for planning practice that can comprehend today's conditions and its breaks with the past, assuming as a possible focus the dialectics between democratic and republican approaches in planning.

Today

The first challenge lies in defining what "today" is. In a dense and beautiful text, Giorgio Agamben invites us to be wary of the notion of the contemporary condition as the "grasping" of a possible future from the darkness of the present (Agamben, 2009). Rather, we think of today and of the contemporary condition when we allow the discontinuity of different time frames and their co-presence to coexist. To me, this means observing the discontinuities and ruptures – along with their continuity – in those inextricably woven practices that overlap and intersect.

In this direction that seeks to think about the crisis within the continuity of practices, I can point out three significant shifts in planning in the Europe of today's crisis. These three ruptures indicate both internal changes in planning practices, in its discourses and in its languages as well as, more radically, a series of effects generated externally on the changes taking place in society, in the economy and culture which influence professional, institutional and disciplinary practices.

The first is the break with the logic of growth and expansion. This is, in a non-ideological sense, a discontinuity that has been with us for at least thirty years in the awareness that planning and urban expansion in western nations do not (any longer) necessarily go hand-in-hand. It follows that at least in European and nord American cities planning is not and probably will not be primarily focused on shaping urban growth (Vv.Aa, 2006).

The second is a break with the culture and material forms of welfare which merged material and immaterial forms of welfare during the long cycle of the city of the twentieth century and which shaped infrastructure and public services that are the fabric – today increasingly frayed – of our cities as well as the legacy of a season that is, in many ways, over (Van Toorn, 2009).

The third is a break with a pedagogical idea that identifies planning with a project for civilization, facing a radical (and probably justified) mistrust of the role of expert knowledge in contemporary society and in urban plans and projects.

If we want to reframe these three shifts in terms of the fundamental and deep-rooted linkages that planning practices established with society and politics, we might say that they mark a shift in the nexus with nature, with social justice and with democracy .

These aspects do not seem so distant from the "new urban question" evoked by Bernardo Secchi in several recent texts (Secchi, 2010). This is an environmental and climate-related question and a new social question (Soja, 2010). It is the rethinking of the issue of citizenship in relation to urban and social processes of augmented mobility (Ohnmacht, Maskim, Bergman, 2011).

We must still ponder – in closer and more pragmatics ways – whether this way of "narrating" the novelty of our practices is effective, or whether we should also try to measure what we do, what happens, and the maturing relationships between powers and knowledge in the ordinary practices of territorial transformation and management.

Words and *stimmungen*

First I would like to observe the dominant "moods" in the discourses about, and in, planning.

I speak of moods [*stimmungen*] to indicate that they are not vague feelings, points of view and value orientations, but concrete ways of experiencing practices and caring for our knowledge and know-how. Initially, and without any pretense of completeness, I will identify at least four different inflections.

The first refers to resignation when facing a condition in which critical aspirations appear to be mute in an increasingly evanescent public sphere. This resignation con-

stantly evokes the vision of the end of planning which is increasingly out of synch with public agendas and increasingly marginalized in academic and professional domains.

The flip side of resignation is a self-referential stance, embodied in the language of "crisis" (in planning, urban design, architecture, the city) to which we react with closure within abstract circuits and forms of discussion through a kind of extra-disciplinary escapism that appears, in the best of cases, unfounded.

A second inflection is cynicism. Cynicism has become a key to interpreting the role that professional practices – increasingly detached not only from pedagogical orientation but also from any distance from the context of action – play in certifying interests and power structures. In its "cynical" narrative, planning accompanies processes and certifies them, supports manipulation, veils interests and power relations, and relinquishes any critical claim.

Millenarianism is a third inflection. As opposed to cynicism, it identifies epochal changes and proposes radical output that is both cultural and political. Some variations are highly critical of the current state of things. Others impose imagining completely "other" forms and practices even if they are, necessarily, in the minority.

Finally, a fourth inflection seems unable to grasp effective power relations and at the same time overestimates practices ultimately marginal in terms of investments and resources devoted to them, but also in terms of effectiveness that they were able to manifest later.

Each inflection has some evident foundations. Each says something about the production of practices and the meaning attributed to them. None, however, seem to be adequate enough for action that is both realistic and not resigned

Practices: states of exception, de-politicization, legitimation, sidestepping

We can identify some common features in exceptional experiences but also in the everyday practices that characterized planning as a profession and as an institutional activity for the regulation and management of the territory over the last years. These common features have complex and ambiguous relationships with the previously described inflections.

I am not going to offer a systematic view of the situation which should be supported by an empirical investigation into the "daily work" of planning (which and how many plans and urban projects are implemented, by whom, using what skills, with what kinds of relationships with the client, in what relation to research and education, and so on ...). I would merely like to attempt, tentatively and incompletely, to indicate some signs that seem characteristic of certain interpretations and inflections that the practices offer to a first glance.

The first feature is the progressive shift of local government activities into the sphere of the *exception*. Managing the territory seems to mean responding to some kind of emergency, which necessarily involves the suspension of standard regulations and the assumption of a logic tied to a "state of exception."

Whether it is the organization of major events (like Olympics or Expos) or the management of environmental emergencies (waste, mobility, location of new power plants with great environmental impacts), post-disaster reconstruction, or the construction of huge infrastructures, the activities on various governmental levels are increasingly based on a watch-dog logic, on special procedures, and on irresponsible subjects. The effectiveness of this "exceptionalism" – even in terms of policy analysis – is dubious. Certainly, this logic also shapes routine practices, redirecting attention to (presumed) efficiency, further weakening the possibility of creating a public debate that is not geared towards radical opposition or that is driven only by the encounter of, and conflict between, apparently legitimate technical knowledge

and expertise (Healey, 2010).

The second feature – the radical *de-politicization* of local planning practices – is strongly connected to the first. In part, it derives from a strategy that, in the 1990s, assigned a central role to some "excellent" technostructures – according to UE dictates. This de-politicization is closely related to the suspension (Hirschman, 1982) – or perhaps to the end – of forms of political representation and more general issues of representation upon which the bonds between territorial government and politics were based. On the other hand, this de-politicization does not mean that interests and powers did not confront the domain of the management of territorial transformation. Today, as always, planning decision-making is one of the critical terrains for power struggles on local and supra-local levels (Fainstein, 2010). This means only that the degree of transparency of the discussion and decision has been negligible and that very rarely were government choices regarding the city and territory truly placed at the heart of the political agenda and debate – intended as a confrontation of different regulatory prospects.

The third feature is the result of the second one. Especially in routine practice, it was the domain of an approach that saw planning as the *technical certification* of political choices and power relations. In many local contexts and in many plans, programs or projects, planning has not really acted as technical support for transparent policy choices from the point of view that Luigi Mazza has repeatedly proposed. I am saying that the role of planning (and architecture: See Ponzini, Nastasi, 2011) was to "veil" conflicts and choices through the (technical) legitimization of strictly political decisions (Sager, 2010).

Finally, the fourth feature is the *sidestepping* of power and conflict through which – partly due to naivety and partly intentionally – certain rhetoric (for example participation or integrated policies for urban regeneration) has avoided coming to terms with the harshness of the processes in act, settling for activating interesting – but ultimately marginal – courses of action (Friedmann, 2011).

The four inflections certainly do not include the totality of the complexity and expressions of planning practices. However, in their more or less obvious connections, they seem to outline an image of the whole upon which we can reflect together.

Universalism and differences

I do not claim, nor do I have the available resources, to completely illustrate the consequences of the distinguishing features of the planning practices that I have tried to describe. In this context, if my arguments have some strength, I would be satisfied with revisiting – in a cross-cutting way – some of the topics that I have mentioned. I will start with an issue that seems particularly important in the context that I have tried to describe: the management of differences and its complex relationship with universalistic needs deriving from the more radical and profound claims of the traditions and legacies of spatial planning (Hall, 1988; Taylor, 1998).

The reasons underlying this important and complex question are both far-ranging and specific in nature. In general terms, the complex expression of the possible links between claims based on both the universal and difference is *the* problem of advanced Western societies at the crossroads of globalization processes.

The question certainly takes on many different forms but it is tied to the redefinition, suspension and crisis in representative democracy and in politics in general, along with the notion of general interest representing a decisive background for spatial planning practices (Moroni, 2004). It also is connected to problems posed to any kind of local government action by the radical support of a "society of differences." I will not refer to the broader and more cross-cutting conditions underlying this issue insofar as the references to the debate that, in different forms, intersects philos-

ophy, political science, geography, and social analysis are vast. However, I do believe that a lucid position regarding the problem is expressed by Tzvetan Todorov (2002, 2006), who, by proposing the "spirit of the Enlightenment" in critical form, emphasizes its difficult, always precarious and essential *need for universality* in the context of the "discovery of others in their originality." Not to mention, as the "political" Derrida invites us to do in his texts on the "democracy to come" (Derrida, 1994, 2003), that the need for the universal is ultimately inherent in the European tradition, and therefore largely interwoven with deeper claims for political, economic and cultural colonization of "other" vital worlds that accompanied the globalization process - and still do (Nancy, 2002).

I merely point out that this issue lies at the heart of the attempts to rethink the traditions and political cultures of modernity and later of the Twentieth century (liberalism, socialism, communitarianism, and so forth) along with the more incisive thinking about the *paradoxes* of democratic theory. It also lies at the heart of the reaffirmation of new and more complete forms of universalism (on a planetary scale, but also on the continental and national ones) as well as the configuration of new difference-based political and social practices geared toward the reconstruction of nations, communities, identities.

But some reasons are far more specific and closer to our practices. These drive us to seek – in the complex chiasm between universalism and a difference-based approach – the background for identifying (and possibly facing) the "crisis" in our knowledge and know-how. In the following paragraphs, I will indicate three.

The first reason for the particular importance of this issue in planning practices is linked to the need to rethink the relationship between *local and supra-local decision-making* practices. This relationship was traditionally a central issue in the construction of strategies for legitimating regulatory land-use practices. This question not only relates to the increasingly important problems of so-called "vertical governance" within a context of unraveling institutional relations; but more radically today, it is a question of rethinking the issue of the self-government of communities faced with the expropriation of democratic decision-making processes concerning an extremely important number of supra-local collective choices (from the location of major infrastructure or the planning of services to important investment decisions) in a context, which I have already mentioned, that merges emergency-related concerns and de-politicization.

The second reason is deeply rooted in the history of spatial planning. It is tied to a differentiated or unitary treatment of places in urban planning practices. The issue regards primarily, but not exclusively, conflicts relating to land use. More in general, the question concerns the testing of the legitimacy of, and the possibility for, the radically *differential treatment of* places in the regulation and planning of the city and the region faced with the growing pluralistic expressions of interests along with the increasingly difficult legibility of the contemporary city and its forms of social and spatial organization (Innes, Booher, 2011).

Finally, the third reason for the relevance and importance of the relationships between universalism and differentialism in practices regarding the use of the city is tied to the difficulty in thinking simultaneously about sovereignty, citizenship and spatial regulation in a context of the radical *"pluralization" of uses and habits* that "dissociate" territory and sovereignty (Balducci, Fedeli, Pasqui, 2011) and that raise – in a view that sees the territory as "the use made of it" (Crosta, 2010) – a complex series of questions regarding the management of this pluralism.

Republicanism and pluralism

If we assume (at least for now) that the issue is important, we could say that the narratives and dominant moods, as well as the daily practices, can hardly face it completely.

Recently Luigi Mazza proposed an explicitly "republican" perspective regarding what he defines today with increasing insistence as "spatial planning" starting from a radical critique of strategic planning.

Inspired by an idea of republicanism as a "civil religion" (Petitt, 1999; Rusconi, 1999) that can mobilize "civic virtue" and, rethinking the issue of citizenship in a radical way, Mazza perseveres in pursuing an hypothesis of what he calls a complete planning system in which "a higher-level framework" (in relation to the local level) becomes the condition for legitimating supra-local choices. He maintains that "developing strategies is very difficult, not to say impossible, if the State does not retrieve its authority and commitment to coordinating planning functions to all levels" (Mazza, 2010: 7).

In Mazza's view, there is no opposition between the authority and legitimacy of the central state in relation to supra-local choices and self-government on the local level. Indeed, "crucial to the republican model is the theme of self-government, which can constitute a benchmark for evaluating public policies, in the sense that it holds out the option of considering good policies to be those functional above all to the development of democracy as self-government" (Mazza, 2010: 8). And again, "Outside a republican scheme, planning activities are principally instruments for legitimising vested interests and facilitating theory investments " (Mazza, 2010: 8).

It is not my intention to discuss Mazza's point of view in detail. It is, above all and explicitly, a *regulative ideal*, which, when it becomes a political project, must certainly face the difficulties inherent in such a perspective within a context of institutional weakness and the prevalence of individualistic cultures and "proprietary" logic – at least as far as Italy is concerned (Lanzani, Pasqui, 2011).

I would like to stress that Mazza's "republican" proposal is located at the heart of the issue that I have tried to highlight. On the one hand, it is based on the question of general interest, starting from the sharing – by the majority – of principles and civic virtues, thus giving a clear priority to national choices over local ones when such choices conflict. On the other hand, he adopts a radical idea regarding self-governing communities on a scale that is small enough to ensure that the mechanisms of representative democracy can guarantee effective control of the governors by the governed. He proposes an idea of local plans that are both politically legitimate tools for spatial control as well as strategies for the future shared by communities living in their plurality and autonomy .

In this context, a "differentialist" position is not abandoned even if it appears rooted in the standard instruments of representative democracy rather than in practices of self-government of communities based on direct participation free of interference in public decision-making. However, this is tempered by a strong injection of universalism as "institutional patriotism" embodied in the State and in its cultural manifestations and policies.

The consequences for the role of planning practices (or rather, spatial planning) are based on two principles. On the one hand, "It is not the task of planning to contribute directly to the political debate on the approaches that must form the reference framework for the action of government" (Mazza, 2010, p. 9). In other words, technique and policy must be radically separated, in order to avoid any confusion and illusion regarding the the role of the planner as someone who takes a partisan view or promotes more or less manipulative forms of consensus building. On the other hand "technical planning culture has a responsibility to clarify which

theoretical approaches should underpin the principles on which techniques base the models for possible planning systems and which principles these models wish to follow" (Mazza, 2010, p. 9). That is to say that the role of spatial planning is not only to certify choices dictated by more or less legitimate interests but rather to affirm that the public interest prevails over the individual one – in a republican perspective.

Conclusions

This is not the place for a critique of Luigi Mazza's "republican" proposal. I only note that this point of view – while directly and explicitly addressing the dilemma of the (possible) presence or conflict between universalist claims (and citizenship) and "differentialist" openness – poses more of a problem in the interpretation of the concept of difference (and differences).

If difference is a social product, historically determined as the overall outcome of social practices, then we must recognize that any unitary treatment of the concept of difference (something other than inequality and which can play a potentially progressive and innovative role) faces more than one risk. These are not abstract questions. I will cite only two examples. First, let us think of the radical intractability of the housing issue outside the recognition of its irreducibility to social demand – that is the way in which changes in life styles question not only "administrative" models regarding housing but also the most innovative attempts over the last twenty years to reframe and redefine "housing policy" (Lund, 2011). Or let us reflect upon the challenge to the "welfare" logic underlying the location of services – still very present in routine planning experiences – by erratic forms of mobility (Kaufmann, 2011) but more generally by the "pluralization" of the use of urban space by populations that cannot be reduced to a single and ordered form of representation.

In both cases, the abandonment of a "unitaristic" logic defies any simplistic conception of spatial citizenship and requires planning to know how to "think by differences" that are its own but that today must be revisited in a non-identity related or "essentialist" key that can above all think of differences first and foremost in their production and reproduction within social practices situated in time and space.

Yet, a difference-based approach alone, even if it is not thoughtless and well-tempered in order to avoid "individualist" and "localistic" implications, is probably not enough. The difficulties highlighted in the recognition of a public sphere that shares issues regarding the city and territory, the prevalence in the forms of action and attitudes like the ones described above, and the same moods that accompany this "minor" condition of planning question our need to inhabit the very difficult ridge between universalistic needs and differentialistic claims.

The first appear to be necessary if we want to give authority and legitimacy back to managing the frenzied urban and territorial transformations under way. On the one hand, they remind us of the importance of simple rules that are as certain, universal, transparent, and legitimate as possible. On the other, they remind us of the importance of taking responsibility, on all levels, for indicating directions and priorities.

The second, universalistic claims, instead points out the "vortex" of the complexity (but also the capacity for innovation) of local communities, inviting us to shape strategies that can "make room" for social practices without taking on any manipulative connotations.

I am speaking of the radical recognition of social pluralism and the intelligence of society, without an "aesthetic" conception that is content to narrate this plurality and that is nevertheless without the pretense of governing from the top down (we have understood that this is simply no longer possible, at least within pluralistic systems). I am speaking of setting into motion practices and experimentation that leverage the complex interplay between practices and structured fields, between conditions of

possibility and the constraints inherent in the transit of individuals and populations within their own practices and in relation to their "support" – made up of places and spaces, things and rules, materials and experiences.

In contrast, I am speaking of becoming responsible in the face of the universal need for social and spatial justice, for new approaches to citizenship and even for a new encyclopedia of rights that is created inductively and incrementally.

This dual need requires us to be wary of and suspend the moods to which I referred previously.

On the other hand, it elicits a possible response that can place planning practices within the materiality of the economic, social, political and cultural processes of the contemporary world, joining a realistic assessment of the possibilities for action with a critical and reflective scrutiny of the practices to which we are subject.

It is an evidently narrow ridge that I can only indicate here as an inevitable condition if we want to become wary of communitarian or identity-related claims as such, but also to be suspicious of universalistic processes veiling power relations and forms of domination (Derrida, Roudinesco, 2011). If, in other words, we still want to think about the future and the very possibility of the other and of its inclusion.

This "other", as Carlo Sini explains in the final wonderful pages of a recent book (*Da parte a parte*); it is here with us, living quietly within us. It allows us to present a eulogy for the relative, and differences, that is not an irresponsible relativism and that presumes the "hard" and conflicted nature of the practices of interaction between interests, individuals and cultures (Sini, 2008).

The ridge we are crossing forces us to bring into play both our moods as well as the drift of our practices, putting to work a critical realism (Palermo, Ponzini, 2011) that is not merely a statement of principle but a reflective approach to professional practice and institutional research.

There are no complete answers to these questions, as these pages show. At best, I have framed the issues and expressed the need to explore them without irresponsible digressions and without relinquishing a proper critical distance.

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Paola Viganò

Maps:
the Material and Conceptual
Dimensions of the Territory

In 1932 French writer Raymond Roussel, (author of *Locus solus*, 1914), Oulipo member, George Perec mentor and immensely loved by Foucault, writes *Comment j'ai écrit certains de mes livres* (How I wrote certain of my books). He consigns the text to a notary. In 1933, he dies in Palermo, probably suicide. His death seems a *mise en scène* and remains one of the many rebus, cryptograms that crowd his books, sometimes written starting from the assembly of automatic writing devices. In his last book Roussel describes the processes of formation of both books and writing. This reflexive exercise is what follows, and refers, in a more modest way, to a few operations of cartographic construction that we (Bernardo Secchi and myself together with a variable research group) have undertaken in the last years.

The hypothesis is that, in the field of urban design, urbanism and landscape urbanism, any new investigation should produce an original work of cartography. In other words, there is no invention of a research object without cartographic exploration and innovation. The strenuous construction of new modalities of visual representation of cities and territories is such an important activity that the discussion of design approach can be achieved through the commentary on the way it is drawn.

Elementarism

At the beginning of the 1990s, the depiction of the textile city of Prato, a mixed, layered and hybrid tissue, was developed through deconstruction in elemental units of the everyday space. The team, equipped with a legend, a plan at the scale 1:2000 and a wooden tablet with colored pencils, spent almost three years on site designing a plan for the entire city. The legend, evolving along the work, was divided into open and built elements affirming the importance of the ground and of the non-built space in the project of the city (Secchi 1986). This in-between space was minutely described not just as a distance among objects, but for its specific and heterogeneous characters. During the slow deconstruction, the surveyors interacted with people, took notes on the tablets, and constructed situations of informal exchange with the inhabitants to gather opinions, ideas, information. This "elementaristic" operation (first constructed in the plan of Jesi, but fully developed in Prato thanks to the city's complexity) was a strong statement against the prevalent idea of the impossibility to describe and to understand the contemporary space.

The term "elementarism" (Viganò 1999) belongs to the *avant-garde* of the XX century and remerges cyclically. The effort is to reduce the complexity of the world and de-codify its forms, techniques, and means of expression. It insists on the materiality of reality: size, characters, use, structures. It is a close and precise reading, used

to develop a critical vision through deconstruction of space into its most minute elements (fences, unpaved paths, open-air storage facilities, access points for pedestrians and cars, pavements, asphalted areas, trees, houses) whilst suspending all judgment value (both moral and aesthetic). Walking is a form of deconstruction.

The operation, strongly projective, preludes a reconstruction without negating contrast and dissonance, valorising the existing space as a resource.

In the hybrid space of Prato, we could read stories that did not fit with any fixed theory about urbanism: the working space strongly mixed with housing, services, facilities, relics of agriculture, orchards, truck parking, gardens… space is never fully transparent; privacy is the result of a gradient of opacity. The survey revealed the "magic realism" (in the original sense of the "magic" that is in reality, as proposed by Franz Roh in 1925 and by Massimo Bontempelli in the 1930s) of an archaic industrial system based on the decentralization of production with peaks of high technology and originality.

The projective power of the fieldwork and survey process revealed the potential and latent possibilities of a space: for its qualities and characters to be open to multiple interpretations.

The rationality of the diffuse city: the invention of the research object

In 2006, in the X Venice *Biennale* of Architecture, large screens delayering the strata of the so-called *città diffusa*, videos of a journey across the metropolitan area of Venice and models representing "the project of isotropy" were organized following the networks of water and asphalt (Viganò 2008, Secchi, Viganò 2011). Extended water management and diffuse accessibility were recognized as the main conditions of habitability and the two systems as the fundamental support able to organize the dispersion of activities and urban materials during time. To strengthen the conceptual shift, a shift in traditional representation was chosen: water was epitomized red. In addition, stemming from the regional cartographic exploration, all water lines (rivers, drainage, permanent water, episodically wet areas, irrigation ditches) were made visible: in all maps and at all scales.

The second step of the research investigated the temporal dimension of the territorial construction, the processes of rationalization. The *centuriatio* (the roman grid of roads and canals that prepared the ground for colonization two millennia ago), the reclamation of the marshland plain and the new techniques of water saving irrigation in the dry plain show that the actual venetian metropolitan area is the result of a dense infrastructural construction. There, it is still possible to read the persistence of a territorial structure (lost during the upper Middle Age and reconquered by the Benedictine monks) which guided extensive phenomena of settlement dispersion.

The entire territory is covered by the hieroglyphics of water and asphalt whose rationalities are made explicit by the superposition of the water network and the nature of the substrate. In the map we read the dark grey of the substrate of limestone and dolomite (mountains), the grey of the hills covered with forest and vineyards, the dry calcareous and gravel plain where the irrigation network transformed a "desert" in a garden, the pale grey of the wet plain. Close to the lagoon, the areas of the reclamation realized during the fascist era have produced a strongly artificial ground, below sea level, where climate change will impose new strategies.

The correlation between the substrate and the water rationality is so strict as to reveal an order that could last for centuries. The banal interpretation of the diffuse city as chaotic is finally and fully reversed. What is shown, deciphers the rules behind its construction and opens a project of isotropy, developed in rest of the research, valorising the idea of a territory which guarantees the same conditions in all directions. Since the end of the XVIII century, the debate on the good city form has been polarized around two main *topoi,* the compact city, with all virtues of community and responsible citizenships, and the low density, diffuse urbanity, where hygienic arguments and individual behavior matched in a new lifestyle. The first position has profited of an immense amount of research and representations (typological, structural, functional), the second has often had problems of visibility. In this sense the representations of the diffuse city, which is the complex result of endogenous and exogenous practices, had to be inventive to support and generate the research endeavor. Each map plays a heuristic role.
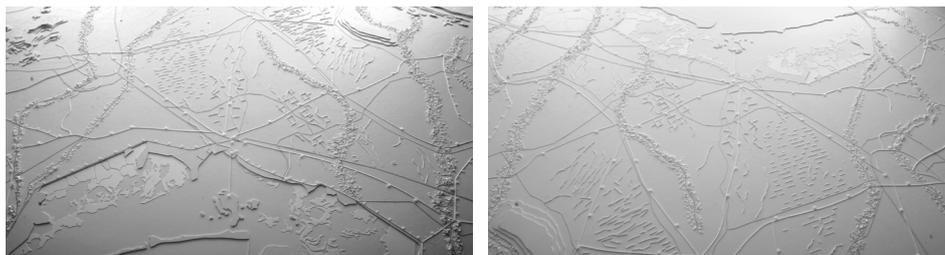
Water and Asphalt, maquette
Credits: Bernardo Secchi, Paola Viganò + PhD students, Biennale Architettura 2006
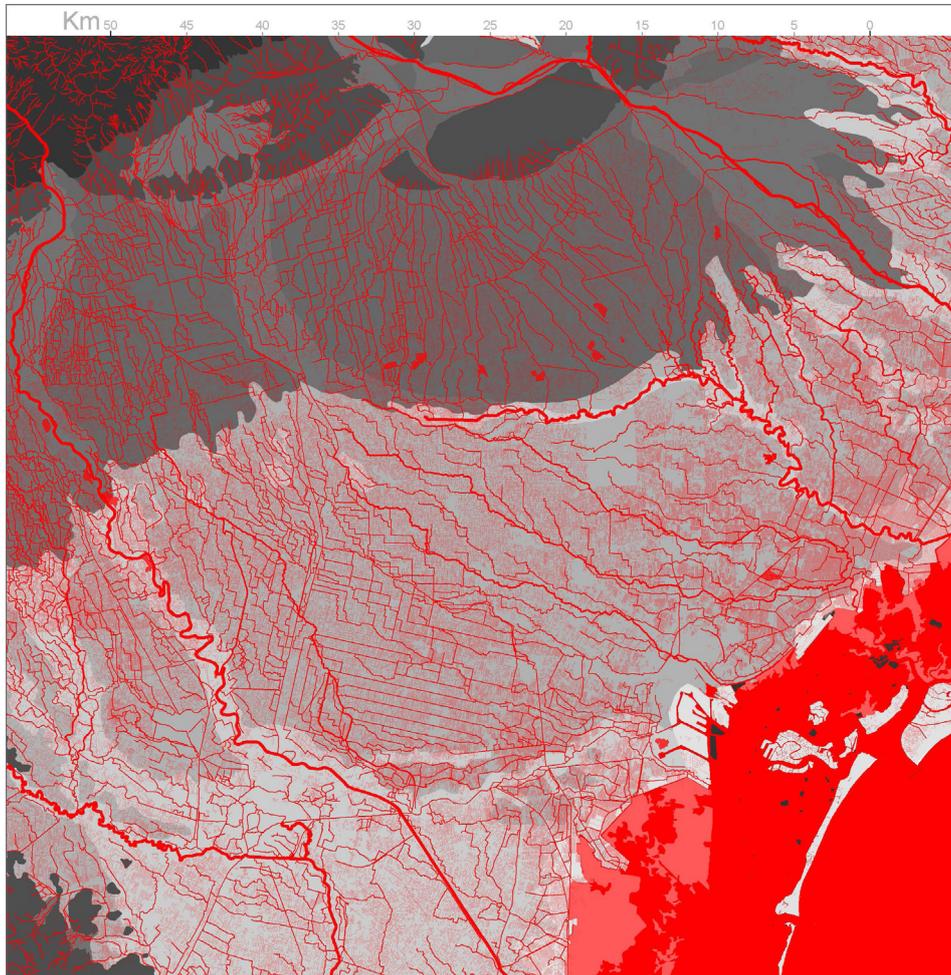
Natura del Suolo

- DA Vette e versanti delle Dolomiti
- DB Versanti delle Dolomiti
- SD Vette e dorasli calcaree delle Prealpi
- RC Rilievi collinari calcarei e vulcanici (foreste e vigneti)
- RI Rilievi collinari calcarei e vulcanici (foreste e vigneti)
- AA Alta pianura antica Pleistocenica, ghiaiosa e calcarea (seminativi)
- AR Alta pianura recente Olocenica ghiaiosa e calcarea
- BA Bassa pianura antica Pleistocenica calcarea (seminativi)
- BR Bassa pianura recente Olocenica calcarea (seminativi)
- CL Piana costiera e lagunare (seminativi)
- U Piana costiera e lagunare (seminativi)

Water and Asphalt, idrografia e natura del suolo
Credits: Paola Viganò, Bernardo Secchi, with Lorenzo Fabian,Paola Pellegrini eds. Water and Asphalt: the Project of Isotropy, 2008

Representing porosity

The cartography produced to frame a vision for Greater Paris and the after Kyoto Metropolis (2009), was guided by two gazes. The one, "Paris à vol d'oiseau", shows the need to take a distance from the ground, to highlight the structure of the territory, or simply to help define a not yet established field of investigation. The second, "pas à pas", insists on the concrete experience of a site, on the individualization of situations. The two gazes have both important traditions, in literature and in urbanism, and are not in opposition, but complementary (Secchi, Viganò 2011).

The first group of maps is comprised of serial sections that establish relations between the topography, the water system and the land use. In an area of 50kmx50km with Paris at the center and at a section interval of three kilometers, the sections describe the region and the agglomeration. This systematic investigation is typical in conditions of incomplete and insufficient knowledge, characteristic of a badly defined research object. It was the case of "Le Grand Paris".

Our tools, then, are inspired by the *krigage* and the Latin square, the first being used in mine exploration, the second by archeologists. This georeferenced systematic sampling technique searches for correlations and reveals the form of the territory, the first and most important monument in Greater Paris. The connection between highly urbanized areas and water is obvious, but problematic: the valleys, the plain and floodable areas, richer in biodiversity, are also those where to imagine new coexistences between natural and urban dynamics.
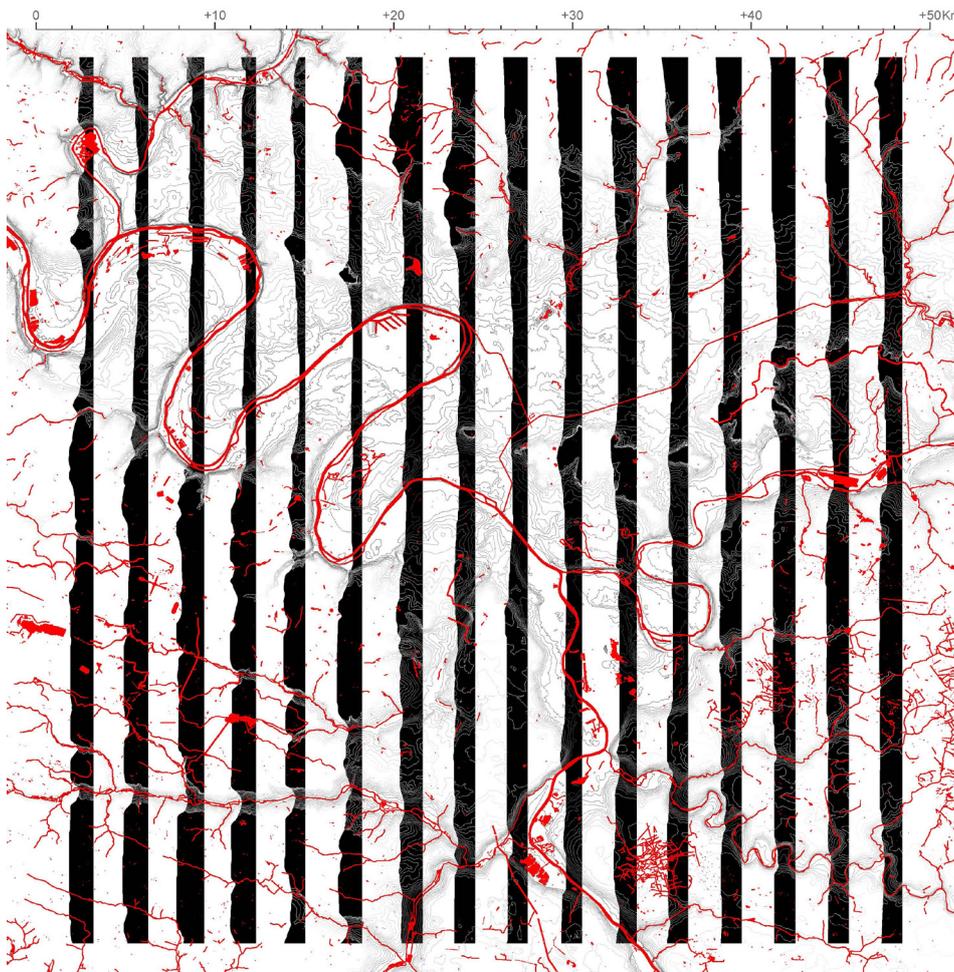
Les coupes sur le support topographique [Sections + water and topography]
Credits: STUDIO 09 Bernardo Secchi, Paola Viganò, The porous city. Le Grand Paris and the After Kyoto Metropolis, 2009
Ora in: Bernardo Secchi, Paola Viganò, La ville poreuse, MetisPresses, Genéve, 2011

A new "porosity of fractures" is opening up in the urban space as the old industrial sites along the rivers change dramatically. Porosity and permeability are the guiding concepts that inspire a "project of porosity" (spatial, social and ecological) in a fragmented metropolis full of enclaves.

Conclusions

The sense of un-satisfaction towards the actual cartographic mannerism can be extended to a wider process of homogenization: both in representations and design approaches. This is a fundamental reason for pursuing and reaffirming the cognitive and projective role of maps: exploring the territory, the thick and complex ground moving surfaces, through the effort of representing its multiple material, conceptual and hypothetical dimensions.

Legend:
- career, discharge
- built
- urbanization before 1858
- grands ensembles
- built generic
- pavilions
- pavilions in new towns
- industrial areas and business parks
- areas of equipment
- nature
- undergrowth
- forest
- marsh, bog
- prairie
- rock, scree
- sand, gravel
- vineyard, orchard
- water surface
- main water surface
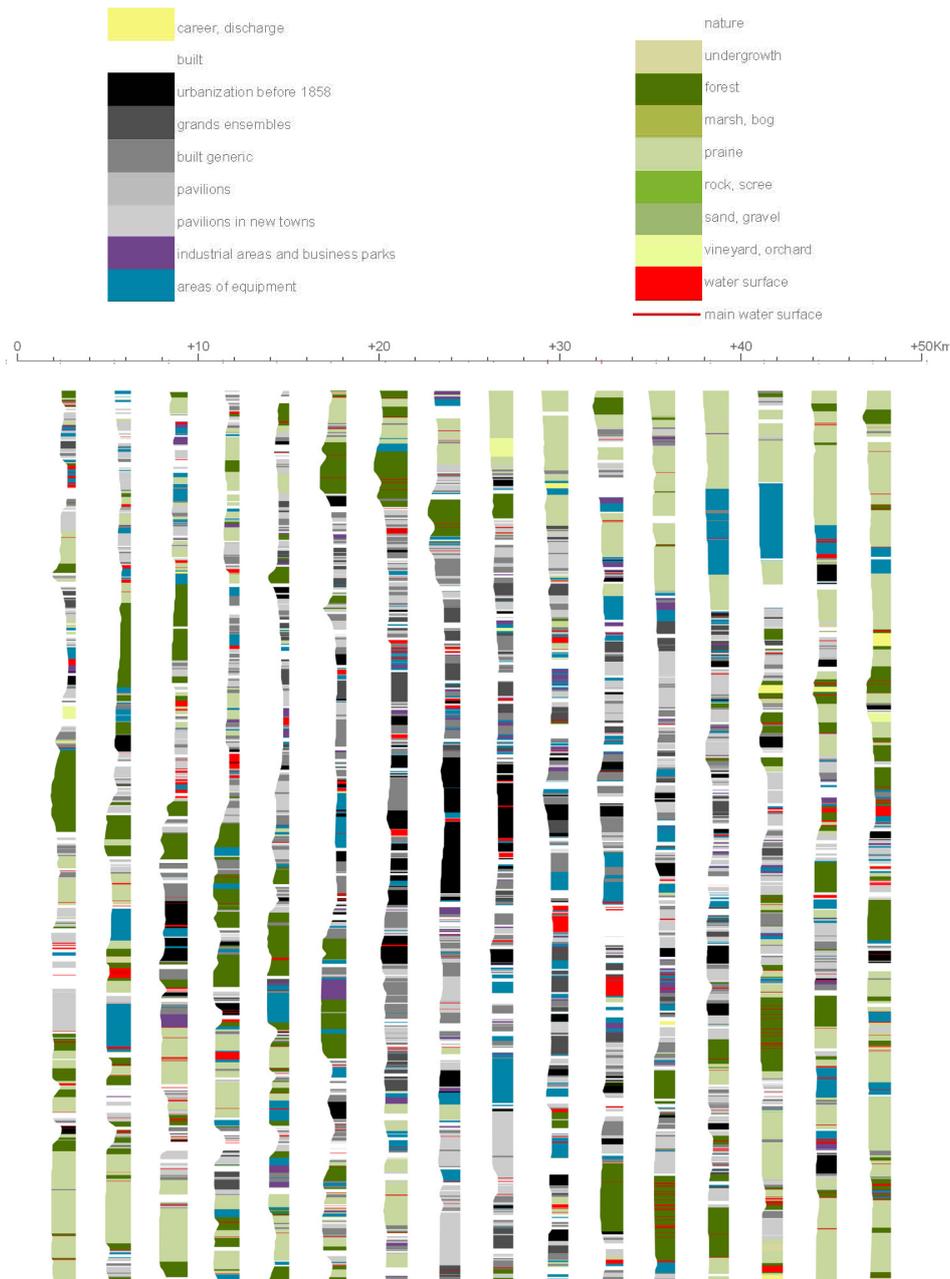
Coupes et modes d'occupation du sol [Sections and land use]
Credits : STUDIO 09 Bernardo Secchi, Paola Viganò, The porous city. Le Grand Paris and the After Kyoto Metropolis, 2009
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