URBAN AND LANDSCAPE PERSPECTIVES

Silvia Serreli (Ed.)

City Project and Public Space

Urban and Landscape Perspectives

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Urban and Landscape Perspectives is a series which aims at nurturing theoretic reflection on the city and the territory and working out and applying methods and techniques for improving our physical and social landscapes.

The main issue in the series is developed around the projectual dimension, with the objective of visualising both the city and the territory from a particular viewpoint, which singles out the territorial dimension as the city's space of communication and negotiation.

The series will face emerging problems that characterise the dynamics of city development, like the new, fresh relations between urban societies and physical space, the right to the city, urban equity, the project for the physical city as a means to reveal civitas, signs of new social cohesiveness, the sense of contemporary public space and the sustainability of urban development.

Concerned with advancing theories on the city, the series resolves to welcome articles that feature a pluralism of disciplinary contributions studying formal and informal practices on the project for the city and seeking conceptual and operative categories capable of understanding and facing the problems inherent in the profound transformations of contemporary urban landscapes.

Silvia Serreli
Editor

City Project and Public Space

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To my daughter Marta

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Chapter 1
Environmental City Project and Public Dimension of Landscape

Silvia Serreli

Abstract City and territory design may offer new, original relations between urban societies and physical space, creating new forms of public space that will respond to a different kind of urban order than in the past. The sections of this book tackle, from the different viewpoints of the authors, the tensions currently experienced by cities and the prospects design offers to favour greater quality of our landscapes.

"City Project: Public Space Design", the first part of the book, inquires into the sense of contemporary public space, highlighting issues that concern urban landscape transformations induced by globalisation processes and the need for "reconstruction" of the city. The second part, "Territorial Project: Public Space Experiences", highlights some reflections and experiences, with design tending towards the quest for a new urban order and recognising the space of communication and negotiation of the city in the territorial dimension. "City Policies: Public Sphere", the third part, discusses the possibilities of reactivating civitas. The experiences illustrated by the authors show how landscapes with high environmental quality increase the probability of future care by the inhabitants of the city and the territory, both through direct policies and through self-regulatory forms of residents' behaviour.

This chapter highlights in particular that city design can generate new public sphere spaces on the territory that will nurture social cohesion. An environmental orientation and social rooting of transformation action will make it possible to imagine multiple expressions of the public sphere, as the place of possible experiences of collective interaction and as an opportunity to share common goods involving the city and the territory.

Keywords Environmental city project • Landscape-public space dialectic • Urban knowledge capital • Spatialities of globalisation • Low-density settlement territory

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1.1 Tensions of the City

The city is subjected to the coexistence and conflicts of universal mobility and the need for rooting; it expresses new "necessity conditions" that lead to ceaseless motion towards something which is felt to be missing. There is an impelling need of quality urban life which poses questions not just of the economy and politics operating in a geographical dimension without boundaries but also of the values and ethics that make up our conception of the world.

As Amartya Sen reflects (2002), the city project is necessarily bound to a moral commitment to global ethics but also to the practical need to make different institutions complementary, including the market, democratic systems, social opportunities, political freedom and other institutional subjects. The criticalities that globalisation has created are well known, as are the not always positive effects on the city. However, as it emerges from the lively public debate (Bhagawati 2005; Friedman 2005; Wolf 2006), there is great hope that our quality of life improve further. Beyond the economic aspects, it continues to promote greater capillary circulation of goods, services, the international flow of ideas and knowledge and the sharing of cultures. Many empirical and analytical studies have highlighted the economic and social importance of "values".[1] As Sen emphasises, among these the focus is more and more on the values of environmental protection, the struggle against economic poverty and the prevention of excessive levels of unemployment, etc.

The city we are referring to in this book to outline some perspectives is not a universal city that takes shape through the language of globalisation and the principles of economic competitiveness on a world scale. It is, rather, a variety of forms by which the city is expressed, often the product of complex economies and marginal economies, a phenomenon that concerns all territories, without a specific local character (Friedmann 2001; Hall 2001; Graham Marvin 2001). In the global civil society, however, we must inquire into the strategic role of cities as places in which the values of a culture are transmitted and how these have the ability to influence the economy of different parts of the world. These are questions that open up reflections by some authors of this book on the idea of future development of the city and the territory. Joseph Stiglitz (2006) maintains that in the last decades opinions both on the meaning of "development" and on the way of achieving it have changed a great deal, a fact that has had important repercussions on urbanisation.[2]

In order that the city improve the quality of life of its inhabitants through new ideas for development, however, a vision and a strategy are not enough; ideas must turn into projects and policies, and quality of the institutions is needed for them to support realistic programmes dealing with the different methods of production of the public sphere.

The various forms by which the city is expressed are certainly conditioned by the effects of an economy that is more and more global. As Stiglitz again maintains, "we all live in local communities and continue, much more than we realise, to think in terms of local reality". The local mentality persists, and dissatisfaction originates precisely due to the success of a dichotomy between local politics and world problems.

We shall need to think and act in a global manner, according to Stiglitz, for globalisation to really work. In this sense, city design makes a change of mentality and behaviour necessary, just now that the world is more and more interdependent. Future prospects are nurtured by requirements involving equity, ethical commitment and responsibility, which need to be placed in a sufficiently wide perspective. Although the importance of nationality and citizenship in the contemporary world cannot be denied, we need to dwell on the relations between people whose ties do not take borders into consideration but depend on other identities and solidarity based on different classifications from the political and national ones (like sharing an ideology or moral principles, cultural affinity, suffering from common privations or other affiliations separate from citizenship). The world in which we live is not only a group of nations but of people, and the relations between individuals are not necessarily mediated by their respective governments. Our global interrelations are by far more widespread than international relations, and even antiglobalisation protests cannot but be global events (Stiglitz 2006).

The effects of the current international crisis throw light on the claim for a new "right to the city" (Lefebvre 1978; Harvey 2012), which will entail maintaining a close relationship between physical structures, social relations and political capacity. The lack of identification of these three dimensions heavily reflects on the future of the city and its contemporary urban landscapes and on the phases of growth and transformation of society and the economy.

The need for change that concerns prospects for improving the quality of our urban landscapes is handled in this book by various papers that focus on the quest for new reference bases that may encourage a reverse tendency in lifestyles and the forms of interaction between men and their spaces of action (Sennett 2012). Some of the authors of this book highlight the urban landscapes of the large urban concentrations, the dominant centres of the global economy, the nodes that draw together the higher functions of management, administration and production, linking enormous segments to the global system whose importance is not only considered in terms of size but also for the gravitational power they exert. These city forms are often generated by transformations consisting of clusters that become part of the urban archipelago of enclaves, creative islands and new spaces created for residence, work and leisure, with a monofunctional tendency (hubs of high finance, culture and leisure, etc.).[3] Other authors also dwell on the landscapes with dispersed settlement, the small, low-density urban centres where nature and the environmental landscape prevail. We are speaking of the urban forms that have become the periphery of the world economy, territories without scale that require an alternative urban perspective to that of the large concentrations. They are urban forms of the widespread city, territories that the dominant culture has "bypassed", which often show "few connections" defining places with marginal economies.[4] In these, the small towns that often find themselves in "survival" conditions may have urban perspectives if they can be re-assessed in terms of the local in relation to the global, if a new interpretation can be made in the contemporary key of the specificities of an urban space characterised by the dominance of natural and historic resources (Sanna and Serreli 2010).

Low-density settlement territories can incorporate possibilities of coexistence based on two reference frames: that of universal mobility and spatial organisation of the specialised circuits of globalisation and that of the physical context, the "walled city" (Costa 1996), the coordinates of ontological rooting, as the Italian philosopher Massimo Cacciari maintains (2004). The coexistence of universal mobility and rooting is revealed in conceptual and physical spaces that are not always linked with the figure of the metropolis. Urbanity is manifested in unusual places in the high-density city, as it is in the city spread over vast territories (Choay 1994), and is expressed in different spatial and conceptual forms that involve processes in which a new geography of centrality appears. In these geographies, translocal processes multiply, and these affect the meanings of the local spatial forms, which are based more and more on "urban knowledge capital". The interpretation of these geographies of the city carried out by Saskia Sassen places the accent on the need for revising some of the paradigms of the city, such as agglomeration and dispersion, that are influenced by the requirements of the global market, tending between standardisation of the infrastructures of the specialised circuits and the need for diversity and specific capacity of the contexts expressing urban knowledge capital.

As the authors of the third part of the book highlight, the relationship between mobility and rooting clarifies new places of the public sphere that recognise their spatial dimension in those places where it is possible to show the rational commitment of individuals living and working in a world of institutions, many of whom move around regardless of national boundaries. These may be strategic ambits for the city in that they may give a contribution as novel solutions to the problems institutions are trying to handle (threats to the natural environment, food production, social inequality, etc.).

With greater interdependence between the countries of the world, the areas are increasing in which cooperative action is possible and in which collective action is not only desirable but also necessary: the need is being created for more effective action aimed at solving common problems (Appadurai 2011).[5]

The possibility of solving problems inherited from the past (like inequality and poverty) and new criticalities (like environmental decay and overcrowding) is one of the challenges of contemporary times, in which city design has the task of strengthening the various institutions defending the different, interrelated kinds of freedom: the market, the state, the media, political parties, schools and non-governmental organisations. "All are involved, in different and complementary ways, in enriching our 'freedoms' and therefore in improving the future of urban life" (Sennett 2012, p. 149). A concept emphasised by Stiglitz maintaining that "our future will depend above all on the success of broadening our respective freedoms, obtained by the strengthening and quality of the different institutions that support and promote our human capacities. In this I believe lies the most important indication for the future" (Stiglitz 2006, p. 320).

According to the point of view taken in particular by this chapter, some city forms have a perspective that has been defined "environmental" (Clemente 1974; Maciocco 1991a, b). If the spaces of the metropolis reveal forms of "amnesia", of rejection of "reparatory" interventions, as Sennett maintains, the territory and its

environmental quality open up possibilities for reconfiguration of the spaces of urban action. The resources and quality of the environment-landscape, the accessibility of open spaces and the slow time of inhabiting may be considered indispensable resources of the city, its counter-spaces. The territory incorporates common goods of identification, accessible spaces that create a different trend compared with the hetero-directed spaces of the metropolis, enabling spaces to be lived in where it is possible to feel free, "to act without feeling manipulated" (Maciocco 2008). In these, it is possible to give lifeblood to "collaboration" (Sennett 2012) and to new spatial forms of the public sphere. In this sense, internationalisation of the economy, the change in relations between the mobile and immobile factors of development and the spatialities of globalisation, may encourage opportunities for a reverse tendency that will involve the "spaces of freedom" of the city.

Urban quality is tied to the environmental quality of its spaces and is expressed through forms of integration and identification between city and elements of the territory.

The need to "repair" the city may be favoured by the environmental quality of the low-density settlement territories.[6] For these, problems arise of progressive loss of urban quality due to depopulation and to difficult access to the resources of efficient urban organisation. From this viewpoint, the chapter reflects on the capacities of the project to create opportunities so that these territories do not disappear. Some issues are studied in depth that concern in particular the possibility that territories with dispersed settlement belong to the new geography of centrality of the contemporary city and may still produce cognitive capital useful for the contemporary economies.

1.2 Geographies of Centralities Between Standardisation and Diversity

I will deal with the first issue raised in the "City Project: Public Space Design" section – urban landscape transformations in contemporary times induced by globalisation processes – borrowing Saskia Sassen's reflections who, in the richness of her writing, brings to light a different perspective compared with the more radical positions of the negative effects of globalisation.

In the Global City Report of 2010 (Sassen 2010),[7] Sassen maintains that in today's economies founded on high speed and global communications, it still makes sense to speak of some factors that have characterised the traditional city: localisation and distance. These factors are part of the new geographies of centralities characterising the contemporary city, divided more and more into enclaves and archipelagoes (Petti 2007; Secchi 2007). It is often a case of interconnected places, strategically localised on a global scale, that belong to the multi-localised processes of the current economies. They envisage large translocal structuring with spatial organisation that has a number of contradictory effects on cities. Some experiments[8] pose the problem of the boundary and recode the meaning of agglomeration and

dispersion in a city. According to Sassen, if geographic dispersion reflects postmodern spatial forms that capture innovative economic dynamics, the forms of agglomeration belong to the economies of the modern city. Each city can concentrate instances of agglomeration and of dispersion of a particular productive process. But agglomeration and dispersion should be considered two extreme categories, while the intermediate forms that can be generated are actually different. We deduce from Sassen's research that the greater the capacity for geographic dispersion of societies, the greater the possibilities for some components of the city to be subjected to agglomeration economies (Sassen 2008). Depending on the geographic dispersion of societies and productive processes, a dispersed city may contain agglomeration processes within it and give shape to a multisite process.

Analysing the role of human resources in the new global labour market, we can agree with Sassen that the global city may be considered a place that makes "urban knowledge capital" specific, the place of the variety of networks, of IT circuits, the place able to satisfy the variegated demand for highly specialised talents. This phase of globalisation needs to rely on different specialisations of cities to respond to the problems arising from the "incomplete knowledge" of the market economies. The more standardised industrial sectors on a world scale are increasingly encountering restrictions imposed by the context in which they operate: impenetrability of policies and economic and political distinctiveness at a national, regional and local level. In overcoming the inadequacy of the current management model, the introduction of roles is becoming more and more consolidated that have strong proximity with the context in which the operative process is localised. They are the "local talents" which have changed the structural tendencies of the global labour market and global movement of individuals (professionals, specialised workers, etc.). The success of these roles is connected not only with skills but also with the possibility of incorporating "implicit knowledge" able to stand up to and codify the economic culture of the context. These bearers of specific knowledge have taken key roles in the global economy. In this sense, Sassen emphasises the importance of the specificities of the city in facing the problems of incomplete knowledge. The city produces particular cognitive capital that is greater than the sum of its parts: "urban knowledge capital" referring to the specific cultural words of each city.

The resources necessary for organising and managing the technology and power of the transnational corporations are not "mobile" but contain the restraints of the context and are tied to the many economic and cultural aspects of a place. Thus, the production of management skill includes concrete processes, localised in the multiculturalism of cities. This is a rather different perspective from those that emphasise tendencies towards homologation and standardisation of the local in favour of the global. It is a perspective that allows places to be included in the dynamics of urban organisation, which have up to now been considered marginal in the innovation processes of the current economies.

These processes grow not from a single global market but from a multiplicity of specialised circuits and from different methods, which each place produces in relating with these markets. Qualitative changes in the global economy parameters and the inadequacy of the predominant models of operative management condition the

evolution of the specialised circuits, which suffer from the context of economic recession and demographic changes, the uncertain future and variable conditions in which the circuits of the economy operate, the diversity of the political economies, government planning and the management cultures of each country and from the increase in segmentation of the specialised labour market (Sen 2002; Stiglitz 2006; Sassen 2008; Sennett 2008).

These changes have significant reflections on the urban landscapes that compete to place themselves on the map of the geographies of centralities produced by the market economies. Is it possible, however, to compete to belong to the new geographies of centralities also in urban situations that are different from those of the metropolis? To maintain that in the low-density settlement city there are the same chances as in the metropolis is apparently contradictory. Yet I believe that the changes we have spoken of may also enable territories with settlement dispersion to produce cognitive capital useful for the contemporary economies.

As Sassen maintains, the global economy prospers on the different specialisations of the contexts. The functioning of its specialised circuits, which involve the large number of markets, is based on the homogenisation of standards (e.g. of production, financial reporting, accounting, of spaces useful for certain activities). The new logics of the agglomeration are determined by organisational complexity that includes a mix of conditions (complexity of functions, uncertainty of markets, speed of transactions, etc.). This type of economy requires dense places comprising a mix of businesses, talents and skills in a vast range of specialised sectors. Such forms of agglomeration give life to what is defined as urban knowledge economy, in which knowledge economy is based on the agglomeration forms but becomes urban as the city adds another dimension, since it is the result of the particular interaction of other components. As for the highly globalised sectors, to have access to urban knowledge economy is a crucial resource.

There is a dual effect on the city, which can be interpreted according to Sassen through the processes of *disassembling* and *reassembling*.

On the one hand, disassembling the urban is necessary for the city to be interpreted. The processes on which our landscape production is based need to be taken apart and places understood, apart from a survey of physical signs of a territory. Interpretative errors are avoided on the cause-effect relations between forms and underlying dynamics. Our cities are greatly conditioned by the spatial forms of the hyperspace of global business, which needs to produce standards and infrastructures; this has produced effects of homogenisation in the urban landscapes. These effects accentuate fragmentation processes in the cities and often generate new centralities which, on the other hand, cut off other city areas no longer useful to an organisation polarised on the infrastructures of today's economy. Indefinite landscapes are generated that can contain different functions and in a certain sense create disorientation. Similar spatial forms can contain different types of processes and vice versa; similar processes can give life to completely different spatial forms.

These are the current ironies and contradictions of the city: the globalised economy retrieves the specificities of contexts, while the response from the context arrives through forms of standardisation of space. In Sassen's opinion, the architecture

of our cities does not succeed in taking its distance from the globalisation of standards and contributes to the disorientation. Many architects concentrate on interpreting these infrastructures through forms that are more and more strange, incorporating the limits of the homogenisation processes of the standards. In this sense, architecture also erroneously encourages the cliché maintaining that globalisation just creates homogenisation processes in the city. Studying the city through the forms of these architectures and their spatial organisation does not allow us to interpret the deep dynamics that generated them, for they fall into the mechanism of homogenisation of the standards that involves production, but should not perhaps involve architecture. Yet, as Sassen emphasises, the efficiency of the global economies is based on diversity and does not only require standardised infrastructures.

The city project that faces the problems of ever-increasing internationalisation and globalisation of urban life has to react to produce *reassembling* effects. Translocal economies do not need infrastructures alone. The dynamics of the rapid transformations that simultaneously unfold in different cities create different spatial outcomes. A tendency is also emerging towards an increase in the demand for complexity and diversity of the roles managing production processes: it thus clarifies a need for qualitative difference of contexts. Diversity is recognised in the specific capacity of the context to react and give shape to different spatialisations of the dynamics of production. In this sense, the context is able to give value to its ties which become intermediate variables of the entire process.

New urban landscape design starts with *disassembling* action which distinguishes and recognises the different instances of agglomeration and dispersion of a productive process, making the different spaces legible that can be generated in a context. Only a few of these spatialities can be interpreted and made clear in the forms of standardisation. If in the city different spatial outcomes of economies derive from the specificities of the context, it means that a very strong relation exists, as the philosopher Silvano Tagliagambe maintains, between productive structure and that of path dependence, "namely the type of memory addressing the organisation of knowledge, skills, routines, and which thus constitutes the dynamic archive of production knowledge and capacities and innovation available" (Tagliagambe 2008, p. 76).[9] He highlights *sociocultural proximity*, the processes of *collective learning* and the centrality of the link between *innovation* and *training*. Education and training are one of the spheres from which the decisive relations for the purposes of development of an urban system depart and upon which they converge.

1.3 Repairing the City and Public Sphere

In the *reassembling*, project may be interpreted the need of a "reconstruction" of the city, which, as Maciocco and Tagliagambe (2008) maintain in their book "People and Space", may be envisaged starting with *civitas*. It is emphasised by various authors in this book that the public sphere is created around reference bases that progressively disengage themselves from the spatial dimension, just as in the current

cultural reality under transformation, public opinion is formed more and more in the virtual dimension, without giving up its spatial dimensions. We must not therefore speak yet of weakening of the spatial dimension of the public sphere. It is, rather, a lack of reference bases with which, as stated, the representations of public space are associated.

In this sense, the third part of the book *City Policies: Public Sphere* investigates the possibility that urban space design and public policies can give life to places of collective interaction that develop within a network of human relations, in the common space of different subjects.

Richard Sennett (2012) emphasises in his recent essay "Together. The rituals, pleasures and politics of collaboration" that new ideas on how to design the city can arise from an understanding of the relationship between personal commitment, social relationships and physical environment.[10] In the culture of short-terminism and inequality, "collaboration" may still be described "as an art, or a profession, which requires people to have the skill to understand and respond emotionally to others with the purpose of acting together" (Sennett 2012, p. 10), even though modern society has weakened the capacity for collaboration in very clear ways. "Society is causing people to 'lose the skill' of practising collaboration: material inequality isolates individuals, fixed-term work makes their social contacts more superficial and culture triggers anxiety towards the other. This causes the skills necessary for managing inflexible differences, the collaborative technical skills necessary for good functioning of a complex society, to be lost" (Sennett 2012, p. 19). The ability to collaborate is, according to Sennett, a precious social gift that does not involve routine behaviours but needs to be developed and deepened.[11]

To back up this position, Sennett highlights two critical factors which put the concept of public sphere and urbanity in a crisis: on the one hand, the material and institutional factors which link with modern work methods that are more and more short term (mobile, flexible, part-time, etc.). The modern organisational system of companies inhibits collaboration, even if it departs from collaborative presuppositions: a separation of individuals actually exists into poorly communicating separate units (the so-called silo effect); there is a reduction in the time people spend together for work; social relations become short term; and work groups change rapidly to avoid rooting and personal ties. The processes of identification with the institution belonged to become weak, and a progressive lack of involvement is generated. Cultural forces are the second factor and are connected with the birth of new behaviours: individuals tend to feel as little stimulated as possible by the deepest differences. They are pervaded by homologation of tastes and express an increasingly neutral vision of the world: to neutralise diversity, fit it in, is a need born from anxiety over the difference involving the global consumer culture economy. These factors nurture the conditions of isolation and introversy of which Robert Putnam speaks (1995), which does not allow us to evolve as individuals and citizens. The same tendency is followed by the "capabilities approach" of the philosophers Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum (2002); they maintain that society should extend and enrich people's wealth of abilities, above all their capacity to collaborate, whereas "on the contrary today's society reduces them". But despite the incapacity of

society to agree to enable relational worlds to unfold, people's ability to collaboration of people is by far greater and more complex than society gives them space to express.

On the grounds of this premise, I believe city design may open up some horizons of hope. As collective action, it may activate "*committed collaboration* that brings together people with separate, conflicting interests, are not fond of each other, are not equal and do not understand each other" (Sennett 2012). But the possibility of encouraging new forms of interaction between men through new transformations and of producing new community models to strengthen knowledge capital and to have history evolve lies in the ethical responsibility of the designer. Reflecting with Hannah Arendt (1988), it is still possible that different human beings express themselves on common affairs in a common space, "action is impossible, unthinkable and unrepresentable without other men who will participate, assist, respond, react or oppose the act". But at the same time, acting in public would be empty sociality without the existence of a private, or in-action sphere.

Thus, urban space design and the setting up of public policies may generate opportunities for "repairing" in the sense Sennett gives to it, for they create the conditions for a new spatial dimension innate in the public sphere to unfold, creating new reference bases for the action of individuals. "Today's society urgently needs to be repaired"[12] so that individuals may develop their collaborative skills. The repair intervention consists of resisting impulse to withdraw into oneself induced by forms of individualism.[13] It is a tendency towards emotional disengagement and dissociation to alienate oneself from civic participation and from the destiny of everyone else. Turning to individualism is fuelled by self-complacency and seconded by a series of institutional forces – "facing weak, unreliable social order people tend to withdraw into their shell". In-action by individuals as a form of self-complacency is a part of everyday life, a feeling that expresses satisfaction with the status quo and denies collaboration and perception of the Other. Max Weber (1970) highlights that individualism represents the negative side of work ethics, as it is a form of isolation that increases our sense of anxiety the more we focus our attention on our inadequacy. Withdrawing into oneself is born in particular to reduce the anxiety aroused by being faced with the needs of others.

All this denies the essence of urbanity as the inclination to pay attention to others. In this sense, in agreement with Sennett, "repair" action is necessary, the aim of which is to keep ourselves connected with others.

City design can reconfigure the conflictual relationship between individuals and their capacities for collective action and seek a new balance to create new forms of sociality, which first and foremost may be traced by pursuing a new institutional culture. Reconstructing faith in the institutions that are not only bureaucratic realities, as Emile Durkheim (1962) analyses them, but a set of situations that embody shared traditions and convictions, codes and rituals. Design should tend towards actions able to counter the state of disheartenment and demotivation and make explicit the primary role of the institutions and "sociable collaboration" to keep morale high.[14]

In the urban repair project, it is hoped that links be established between project cultures and policy cultures that will ensure legitimacy and operativeness able to of transformations (Palermo and Ponzini 2010). But it is also desirable that new behaviours effectively steer the course be generated that will favour the capacity to express people's internal inclination to create projects, which develops through collaboration with others.

1.4 Environmental City Project and Urban Knowledge Capital

Some perspectives for "repairing" the city are put forward in the second section of the book *Territorial Project: Public Space Experiences*. The arguments set forth by the authors maintain that in some areas, the territory offers places where it is still possible to enrich the wealth of people's collaborative capacity, where social experience is not detached from physical sensations, and the informal gestures of work (not made inflexible by protocols) may still produce relations between people creating emotional links between them. The territory therefore enables reconfiguration of the city into places in which the power of small gestures is felt also in community ties (Sennett 2012). If the spaces of the metropolis reveal forms of "amnesia", of total refusal of repair interventions, the territory and its quality of environment-landscape may open up possibilities of reconfiguration of the spaces of urban action (Maciocco et al. 2011).

1.4.1 The Landscape-Public Space Dialectic

The quality of the environment-landscape of a territory may be considered an indispensable resource of the city. The territory incorporates common goods of identification, which can promote new spatial forms of the public sphere. In its different forms, the city seeks accessible spaces, public spaces as a state of existence that create conditioning, spaces of action "in which men may enter into relations with one another and conserve the memory of their acts through speech" (Sennett 2012, p. 24). They are spaces that do not respond only to a visual order but have the potential to create a new social order, since they encourage new rooting possibilities in the age of universal mobility (Cacciari 2004). On the territory, the repair of impaired social relations can give access to open solutions that are more experimental in perspective and more informal in process. It is still possible to experiment with unpredictability on the territory as a condition of freedom within the sphere of particular rules and escape from being captured by repetition (Dal Lago 1988) or the uniformity that tends to hide the identity of the subject and lead towards nonaction (Arendt 1988, p. 17).

Various papers in this section of the book maintain that other figures exist by which the city is expressed that can make a "repair" perspective explicit and that the

territory and its landscapes are goods of identification, cultural resources which can be equated to a concept of common good and in this sense we may also speak of public spaces (Maciocco 2008).

Following this tendency, landscape design becomes the main regenerating engine of the city, capable of new cultural direction. The hypothesis maintained is that on the territory, contemporary spatialities can be produced, as they are places accessible to all that open up to the creativity of individuals and their need of personal gratification but also to new forms of collaboration and collective action.

The resources of the environment-landscape conceived as goods of identification offered by the territory are spaces of the city in which universal mobility and rooting can cohabit. For this reason, the territory is an intermediate space, a space of mediation between different languages that has great educational potential (Clemente 1974) and can express new ethics of responsibility of individuals and the collectivity. Fernando Clemente began to state in 1970s in his book *Contenuti formativi della città ambientale* (Formative content of the environmental city) that the individual may be educated by the landscape, which has the potential to redirect inhabitants as citizens in order to create new *civitas.* A research trend studied in depth by Giovanni Maciocco and experimented with in relation to territories of *externity,* the urban perspectives that can be outlined as counter-spaces of the metropolis. For the public element to be made explicit on the territory, it is perhaps useful for the city's form to change and be redirected on new reference bases of the environment-landscape. Hence, public space design is also landscape design (Maciocco 2008).

The cultural interpretations of the idea of environment-landscape are varied and the literature is vast: many ambiguities exist. In this book, I maintain that the elements of the environment-landscape can take on the function of public spaces of new forms of city that are spreading onto the territory. I consider Pier Carlo Palermo's definition (2008) more significant than others on these issues when he associates the landscape with the critical dimension of each urban project, a field of interaction of which each project is a part. Each change in the landscape should be understood as a work of architecture, the outcome of the dialogue between project and context. The encounter between architecture and nature makes hidden figures of the landscape become visible and enables resourceful images of the territory to be proposed, able to express the multiple forms of contemporary cultures. The landscape does not represent a single physical form but a variety of ways of life and values of a place. Public space, as an action of transformation of the landscape, therefore opens up new perspectives.

To assert that the landscape and public space are cultural goods and potential common goods, I shall follow Palermo's reflections (Palermo 2008), which can clarify some of the theses supporting the landscape-public space dialectic:

– Just as we have spoken of the plurality of "publics", we can speak of the plurality of landscapes.
– They are always culturally determined.
– They are entities linked with co-evolutive processes of production of meaning of a horizontal, transcalar type.

- Both create dynamic interaction between individual rationality and collective rationality, i.e. plurality of views but also actions of sharing necessary as they are common goods.
- As common goods, they are not only productive resources but conditions of possibility that "carry out an important role in a variety of processes creating value: development, sustainability, social cohesion, enhancement of social capital and improvement in quality of life".
- By nature, they are exposed to risks of decay and dissipation if the systems regulating them are not adequate: pure public control is inadequate for them but so is the extreme alternative of privatisation. They need action programmes not aimed at pure defence, as goods, but at the possibility of activating effective processes of urban development that will enhance the specificities of the context.

In this landscape-public space dialectic, the reference paradigms are those better known as landscape design and landscape architecture, which range from garden planning experiments to landscape reorganisation of infrastructures.

The reference base converges, rather, on experiments that recall project-based approaches ranging between the architecture and urbanistic disciplines. Some Italian designers have worked on the landscape, in their theoretic and experimental research, with micro-actions, "enzymatic" actions for Vittorio Gregotti (1966), "homeopathic actions" for Giancarlo De Carlo (1992)[15] and process-oriented actions for Fernando Clemente (1974). In these actions, the architecture is not fuelled by the mimetic relationship between nature and artifice but states its ethical responsibility changing what exists. The three designers underlined in their different project experiments that the territory offers the possibility to construct, through the plurality of landscapes, new representations of the alternative urban spaces to those of the dense city.

The project has the function of reconstructing emerging points of view, also often conflictual, to understand whether they can converge through action towards a common idea that identifies in the landscape a cultural and identitary good. In this direction, the public space project is in the first place a cognitive process of the territory, tending on the one side to reveal the implicit and latent potential of the context and, on the other, taking responsibility for the critical modification of what exists.

1.4.2 The Environmental Project of External Territories

An initial contradiction needs to be dealt with, in my opinion. The territory offers the city the possibilities of repair, configuring itself as its counter-space for the environmental quality of resources, the presence of places where the natural dimension preserves the ecological functioning no longer perceptible in the dense city, the urban opportunities of freely accessible open places and the slow time of the life of stable inhabitants. These situations are nowadays considered vital resources for the city, certainly a city different from the consolidated forms of the metropolis.

Despite their quality linked with the environment-landscape elements, these territories undergo situations of decay generated by depopulation, forms of abandonment of rural activities and the lack of accessibility of resources.[16] Various authors, dealing in depth with the themes and dilemmas of capitalism in this era of globalisation, maintain that these realities which are at the edge of the transnational dynamics of current economies will tend to remain marginal.

The low-density settlement territories of Sardinia in Italy are representative of this kind of situation, as are the situations of physical and immaterial insularity of Greece and the internal territories of Portugal but also the island system in the north of Scotland, to give just one example in the European context. The centres of dispersed settlement immersed in vast areas of nature, called "minor" to point out incorrectly that the future of the city may still be imagined through hierarchical models, may, on the contrary, be part of some processes of contemporary economies (Serreli 2004, 2008b). Sassen's reflections enable us to understand that the strengthening of the small urban realities may be triggered if these territories manage to become part of the multisited processes of the economies of globalisation. Since the new economy may spatialise various instances of its trajectory in different contexts, and since there are many translocal productive processes, it must be established which segment of the chain of operations may be contextualised in a specific geographical area. To activate public policies in this direction means to understand which instance of the chain of operations is actually found in a given space (e.g. economies founded on biodiversity, on self-consumption and on alternative forms of tourism). To belong to these segments does not mean to betray the specificities of a context. On the contrary, it means to have the opportunity to take a chance and experience innovation for oneself. These chances of globalisation are not actually shunned by small local realities, which are increasingly bypassed in the hierarchical logics of the local economies but may take on the role of unusual resources in the organisation of translocal economies.

Thus, belonging to the network of destinations on which the infrastructures for global operations rely may be a strategic objective that does not involve homologation of the actions on the territory, for the networks need – apart from their own infrastructures – other types of resource that constitute social capital, a capital of historic-environmental resources, of actors of the local society and cultural circuits.

A reconfiguration of the identities of the past in innovative forms may favour the inclusion of some territories in specialised networks of contemporary urban organisation. The hierarchical models and classifications on cities lose their sense. Some urban centres dominate certain specialised circuits of the economy but have a minor role in others.

In 1990s, referring to these situations, the geographer Giuseppe Dematteis spoke of "equivalent or localisation-indifferent networks" to recall the "minor" urban situations subtracted from the hierarchical model of subjection by large cities.[17] Localisation indifference is in this sense a local ability to govern processes on one's territory that are generated elsewhere, creating new circuits that communicate at different scales. If it is true in the current economies that the more production processes are globalised the more they become geographically dispersed, it is possible

that some territories may respond to the localising needs of certain segments of the market, whose movement depends on the value of certain resources that make urban knowledge capital explicit.

In the small centres, first of all, the social capital needs to be strengthened so that it will equip these territories with the new relations essential for the functioning of a complex, organised society based on diversity. Here the project has a fundamental role if it tends towards possible reactivation of the inhabitants' aspirations, who live with great difficulty on dispersed territories. Transformation actions have sense if they are able to counter the abandonment and decay of strategic resources for the city. Forms of passive self-complacency need to be fought of the inhabitants as they interiorise exclusion to the point of considering that they do not have the right to others' consideration (Durkheim 1962; Sennett 2012) and cannot be part of the development strategies of public policies. The sociologist Arjun Appadurai (2011) maintains in his essay "Aspirations nurture democracy" that the ability to have aspirations is a cultural capacity. Culture is considered in particular an engine of development able to reduce forms of exclusion.[18] Within a consensual frame, dissent is considered an integral part of culture itself: to give voice to a protest enables position taking and the possibility of expressing one's point of view and one's own requests within each society (Hirschman 1982).[19] The protest must be expressed in terms of action and behaviour and must have cultural strength at a local level.

What action can be taken to strengthen the ability of the marginal urban situations to have and cultivate their own voice? Many authors agree on the need to construct a new institutional culture in which democratic freedom and social opportunities may contribute substantially to economic development. Action and interaction and creative and experimental practices tend to challenge the ordinary institutional set-up, precisely because they originate as a need from the difficulties of dealing with the emerging problems with the normal administrative behaviours (Palermo and Ponzini 2010).

The future of the small communities in these territories of *externity* (Maciocco 2008) may also be discussed through Sen's arguments when she highlights the role of values and culture following the particular viewpoint of economic analysis.[20] Cities do not derive their meaning from their position in the global networks, as Sassen maintains, overturning Peter Taylor's theories (2004). The strengthening of social capital enables an extension of the knowledge capital we spoke of in previous paragraphs: the possibility of making path-dependence processes (Scott 2006) global and specialised may be strategic for the leading economies, increasingly based on culture and knowledge. In them, the advantages of place lie in the capacity to internationalise, as again Sassen maintains, the creative strength of local culture, an action originating not just from universal mobility. Being in contact with different cultures and societies and, at the same time, claiming adequate opportunities – political, social and economic – to properly understand one's own social background safely rooted in the community and culture.

City design should perhaps therefore address new routes, overturn the homologating organisational logics that are necessary for the standardisation of economic

processes, but without leading back exclusively to these. In the processes of internationalisation suggested by many authors, the challenge for small centres is to ensure that citizens gain the maximum benefit from the potential of the territory because of the natural resources and history deposited thereon.[21] But it is not simple to have the requirements of the transnational level converge with projects and aspirations at a local level. Small communities need to be able to decide what importance to attribute to their own resources, and the choice cannot be subtracted on the basis of an order of priorities decided from the outside. The advantage of specialisation entails repositioning of the place, in that the knowledge of the past is taken into a different set of circuits of the economy. Appadurai emphasises that a new model of global governance should be outlined capable of mediating between the speed of movement of capital and state power and the profoundly territorial nature of the existing democracies.

In Italy, as in other European countries, these strategies are not easy to implement, even when we only refer to small urban realities that resist the current political strategies of the national government which imposes a significant reduction in financial resources assigned to favour cooperative organisation in the management of environmental resources and urban services.[22] Moreover, the main sources of funding are strongly steered towards project-based approaches in which the logics of short-term investment, budget, reporting and assessment dominate. But on these territories, it is perhaps necessary to promote approaches that put slow learning and gradual change in the forefront, together with the acquisition over the long period of capacities, skills and faith.

As various authors maintain, globalisation is giving shape to a new geography of governmentality (Held 1995; Rosenau 1997; Giddens 2000; Appadurai 2011). Under the surface and envelope of the old national states, we are witnessing new forms of power and competency organised on a global base. Specific forms of self-government, self-mobilisation and self-organisation are considered fundamental to concretely change the conditions of discomfort of the more peripheral territories. The project should then work on the internal consensus that is reproduced following the "rituals of practice and procedure" (Appadurai 2011, p. 46), following a certain type of language and specific "ritualised" social performances (Fernandez 1986). The creative quality of the ritual is fundamental for building opportunities of legitimisation of innovative practices and expresses the importance of the cultural dimension for development. For ritual is not meant as automatic repetition of a series of actions but as a flexible set of performances by which social effects are produced and new ways of feeling and living together are born.

To conclude, following Appadurai's reflections, I believe we can think of city design as an element of mediation, an external agent that is immersed in different urban situations subjected to the dual requirements of universal mobility rules and rooting to the place. In urban space transformations into urban situations with settlement density, but also as regards fragile urban territories, design should be the interpreter of processes of consensus production to manage to identify the efforts and

energies of change. Careful observation of rituals through which consensus is produced within the community and between the community and the institutions may give voice to the protest in relation to choices and transformations. Protests should be encouraged rather than repressed or ignored – “it is indeed with an aware protest that the ability to aspire, as a cultural capacity, may take shape and strengthen” (Appadurai 2011, p. 51).

Design and public policies should thus encourage local learning experiments that can increase the possibilities of steering possible aspirations within the cultural map; “this requires a method; the practical and material aspects are placed in their contexts, namely on the map of possible aspirations, using a careful, meditated study that passes from the requirement of specific goods and technology to move on to narrations that will enable them to be given sense and from there to aspirations” (Appadurai 2011, p. 51). Aspirations are closely tied to many other elements that we may consider cultural, including lifestyles, values, morale, habits and material existence. And this brings us to culture in a more general sense. To understand the direction people take within their own social spaces is, I think, one of the most important aspects for the future of the city.

Notes

1. According to Sen (2002), the development of economic ethics is one of the most important challenges the developing countries have to face during the early phases of industrialisation. Good functioning of exchange and production, the success of initiatives aimed at countering poverty, organisation of public health and, in general, of the growth of productivity all depend on the proper behaviour of the individuals involved.
2. Some economists emphasise the importance of human capital and of putting people at the centre of development by investing in education. An issue emphasised in particular by Sen (2001) in her essay “Development and freedom”, according to which great capacities increase with the education and freedom that development guarantees people.
3. In the new scenario of intercity competition, cities have to offer stimuli to capital, bringing their attractiveness up to date, both in the economic and demographic sense, and improving their urban infrastructures. In this sense, city policies are focused on the development of “attractive” urban structures which imply the creation and expansion of new cultural spaces, of leisure and of consumption (Serreli 2008a, 2010).
4. Jane Jacobs (1984) defines them as *bypassed places*, in contrast with the “well-connected vibrant cities” that are the centre of advanced productive processes. Bypassed places do not constitute periphery but are, rather, external arenas (Lagendijk and Lorentzen 2007), regions excluded from the current world system: “the periphery is not defined by default in terms of what is missing; rather,

periphery is purposively created. It is the iniquitous mechanisms of the projection of city economic power that are periphery-producing processes" (Jacobs 1984).

5. For Stiglitz, collective global action should concentrate on the need to place a restraint on the disadvantages an economic subject causes another subject and promote general well-being, acting collectively, taking steps to guarantee global public goods that will be for the benefit of the populations of the whole planet.
6. In my reflections in the book "The Urban Potential of External Territories" (Maciocco et al. 2011), I supported this thesis with Giovanni Maciocco and Gianfranco Sanna, FrancoAngeli, Milan.
7. The purpose of the report is to pinpoint the most innovative cities that have shown rapid, coherent and efficient evolution, building up an economic, social and infrastructure fabric able to attract new residents, new functions, new businesses and, above all, new creative talents. Saskia Sassen dwells on this aspect in particular in her paper "Global Talents for Global Cities" (see http://media.teknoring.it/file/dossier/Global_City_Report2.pdf).
8. We refer to the experiments illustrated by Sassen on the agglomeration model of the city of Chicago and that of the city of Los Angeles (Sassen 2008).
9. It is worth emphasising that Tagliagambe (2008) speaks in this context of memory as re-categorisation originating in the process of return between representations at successive moments of perception. From this same dynamic process of comparison between images of things perceived and linked between them at different times, the imaginative function also springs forth, which consists of the ability to make new images and representations emerge by constructive associations. This first level of the memory is integrated by a second one, the long-term memory connected with "secondary synaptic changes, which put some of the same neurone groups involved in a given short-term memory in a relation between themselves" (Cf. Maciocco and Tagliagambe 2009).
10. This implies further study of the methods of material work (as he illustrates in the first volume of the trilogy *The Craftsman*) and social collaboration (theme of the second volume *Together: The Rituals, Pleasures and Politics of Cooperation*). In the "Homo Faber project" trilogy, Richard Sennett has published the two volumes *The Craftsman* (2008) and *Together: The Rituals, Pleasures and Politics of Cooperation* (2012). The third volume on cities is currently being prepared for publication.
11. For Sennett, "The practice of collaboration in difficult situations can help individuals and groups to become aware of the consequences of their actions"; sensitivity towards the Other springs from practical activity and not from an ethical disposition, a state of mind inherent in each of us, as the political philosopher Michael Ignatieff maintains (see Sennet 2012, note 6, p. 16).
12. Collaboration allows repair for it is not a static (innate) object (Sennett 2012).
13. There are many theoretic references on the theme of individualism. Sennett quotes Alexis de Tocqueville as the prophet of mass culture.
14. For Durkheim, strong attachment to the institutions strengthens the morale, while a weak one undermines it.
15. Quoted by Pier Carlo Palermo (2008).

16. In depopulated territories, the challenge is linked in particular with the possibility of managing to raise morale in the hard conditions of an increasingly harsh international crisis.
17. Dematteis describes the group of urban centres linked by relations that become explicit on the macro-territorial scale through the reticular model, following three types of urban network: networks with a specific hierarchy based on the Christaller model, multipolar networks or those with a stable local specialisation and equivalent or localisation-indifferent networks. The latter interprets the counter-urbanisation processes of the 1980s, which benefited from metropolitan depolarisation (Cf. Dematteis 1990, pp. 30–31).
18. Appadurai speaks in the essay quoted of the relations between culture and economy, above all in places where poverty and situations of great social inequality prevail. In particular in the chapter on profound democracy, he handles the innovative ways in which new associative social forms are constructed in Mumbai. For Appadurai, the idea needs to be strengthened that the ability to have aspirations is a cultural capacity and can find support in the pioneerist agreement on "recognition" constituted by Charles Taylor's important contribution (1994) to the debate on the ethical bases of multiculturalism.
19. The economist Albert Hirschman maintains that we need to strengthen the ability of the poor to express their protest, take part in debates, argue and propose fundamental transformations in social life not only because this is virtually the definition of inclusion and participation in every democratic society but above all because it is a case of the only way the poor have of changing completely at a local level what we call the terms of recognition typical of a certain cultural system.
20. This theme, according to Sen, has not received particular attention from economists, while it has been studied in depth by sociologists. Max Weber's thesis is well known on the crucial role of Protestant ethics in developing industrial capitalism; other Asian researchers nowadays emphasise the role of Confucian ethics in the success and economic progress of East Asia. So that the economies of a territory may grow and develop, something more is needed than the evaluation of possible profits that would be achieved. As Sen maintains, the importance of faith in economic relations and activities must not be underestimated, together with consideration for others and, more in general, civic sense.
21. Joseph Stiglitz highlights that the battle a town has to wage to obtain the complete value of its resources is particularly harsh when it is a case of selling natural resources owned by the state to the private sector. The argument in favour of privatisation is that the private sector is more efficient than the public one, an opinion that, according to Stiglitz, was born more from ideology than concrete analysis.
22. This, apart from the political implications, constitutes a great stimulus activating the vitality of the small centres, changes awareness and prompts individual mobilisation to defend one's own specificities and identity. Only through this vitality and energy is it possible to put forward cooperative urban organisation in which each single reality finds its own role within a common strategy that will enable them to stand up to other realities.

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Part I
City Project: Public Space Design

Chapter 2
A Great Work: Renovatio Urbis in the Age of Globalisation

Arnaldo "Bibo" Cecchini

Abstract The elements that give shape to the new way society is organised in the contemporary city are three:

– The enormous, abnormal inequality, socially and in terms of power: nowadays the powerful on earth are like the semi-gods of mythology: they share only their mortal condition with the rest of humanity; the modern semi-gods do not even share places with us mortals: they live in separate spaces within or between the cities of men.
– The power of income or financial capital, power that exceeds official power. Following the 'glorious thirty' of the post-war period – an age of cold and hot wars, risk of mutual destruction and really harsh international wars and wars of liberation from colonialism, of totalitarian regimes in power over half of Europe, but an age of growth of collective well-being, a period of over 25 years of prosperity and progress – urban policies were abandoned and financial capital alone took over the management of transformations.
– New globalisation: today's globalisation is special. It has enabled really rapid delocalisation of manufacturing activities and has brought to an end the need for spatial contiguity; in this age, for the first time, the semi-gods can do without being a part of the city and taking care of their part of the city.

The focal problems of contemporary city transformation are therefore the ones of power management in the city, a question of democracy and decisional power, on the one hand, and management and conflict 'resolution', on the other.

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The great work all European countries need is a general plan for urban upgrading and city reconstruction (both 'urbs' and civitas), starting with the 'rejected' places, the outskirts: a work that would assure environmental sustainability, expert development, growth of social capital, improvement in quality of life and the aesthetic quality of cities.

Here we outline possible guidelines for it.

Keywords Globalisation • Semi-gods • Democracy • City reconstruction • Social capital • Quality of life

2.1 Background

One of the fundamental components of the urban landscape is human beings: urban landscape perspectives are first and foremost the perspectives of the people that compose it. Without being deterministic, the landscape ultimately reflects social organisation and the urban landscape does so in particular. At the end of the fourth century, following the Via Emilia towards Ravenna, St. Ambrose described a totally decaying landscape on a territory that had been rich in civilisation:

> Nempe de Bononiensi veniens urbe a tergo Claternam, ipsam Bononiam, Mutinam, Rhegium derelinquebas, in dextera erat Brixillum, a fronte occurrebat Placentia, veterem nobilitatem ipso adhuc nomine sonans, ad laevam Apenini inculta miseratus, et florentissimorum quondam populorum castella considerabas, atque affectu relegebas dolenti. Tot igitur semirutarum urbium cadavera, terrarumque sub eodem conspectu exposita funera…[1]

The bleakness of the landscape was due to the end of civitas, bringing with it the end of the 'urbs'. *Civitas* may end for many reasons, one of which is the loss of social and cultural diversity. City rhymes with diversity (of course, it also rhymes with liberty and society and civility). An essential condition for a city to be able to exist and be beautiful is that it welcomes, defends and develops every kind of diversity from economic (monocultures are the ruin of States, but also of cities) to social (rich and poor must live side by side and, incidentally, not be too rich or too poor), cultural (including subcultures and subversive cultures) and ethnic. But the city must be the place where diversities encounter each other, or we might say – using the term as it is used in chemistry – where diversities 'react'.

In Italy a heated discussion has been going on for many years on the theme of the 'great works', above all infrastructure works, the country needs in order to deal with the problems of efficiency and quality of the manufacturing system and services; the 'great works' theme is one that is being raised in many countries (Cedolin 2008).

This chapter links up with the discussion on 'great works' to propose the idea of a really great 'great work': to update and renovate all the settlements of a nation with high-density population and history and with many areas profoundly hit by the absence of effective and efficient urban design! To do so, we will try to describe the new features of the contemporary city, though not only nor especially in Italy.

2.2 Three Elements

Three elements give shape to the new way society is organised in the contemporary city.

2.2.1 Semi-gods and Richistan

In a successful, documented and somewhat contradictory book, Robert Frank describes the world of Richistan (Frank 2007), the pervasive *enclave* that in each country throughout the world groups together the extremely rich and their vast entourage of courtesans and chamberlains.

There have always been very rich people, "so very rich"[2] perhaps never, so far away in wealth and power from the vast majority of other beings almost certainly never, since the era, moreover mythical, of the semi-gods (Reich 1991).

The fact is that nowadays the powerful on earth are like the semi-gods of mythology (*legibus soluti* [above the law] like them but also lawless – *anomoi* [those who do not follow the law], ultrapowerful and conspicuous), sharing only their mortal condition with the rest of humanity. The modern semi-gods do not even share places with us mortals (something the ancient ones often did), but live on their 'Olympus' mounts or in separate spaces within or between the cities of men. Then those of them or of their chamberlains who have to stay in cities to some extent build themselves up as a separate caste. This fact has enormous consequences for the city.

> The pyramid of power was built out of velocity, access to the means of transportation and the resulting freedom of movement.
>
> Panopticon was a model of mutual engagement and confrontation between the two sides of the power relationship. The managers' strategies of guarding their own volatility and routinizing the flow of time of their subordinates merged into one (…)
>
> Panopticon is burdened with other handicaps as well. It is an expensive strategy: conquering space and holding to it as well as keeping its residents in the surveilled place spawned a wide range of costly and cumbersome administrative tasks. There are buildings to erect and maintain in good shape, professional surveillants to hire and pay, the survival and working capacity of the inmates to be attended to and provided for. Finally, administration means, willy-nilly, taking responsibility for the overall well-being of the place, even if only in the name of well-understood self-interest – and responsibility again means being bound to the place. It requires presence, and engagement, at least in the form of a perpetual confrontation and tug-of-war. (…) For all practical purposes, power has become truly *exterritorial,* longer bound, not even slowed down, by the resistance of space. (…) It does not matter any more where the giver of the command is – the difference between 'close by' and 'far away' or for that matter between the wilderness and the civilized, orderly space, has been all but cancelled. (…) The end of Panopticon augurs *the end of the era of mutual engagement:* between the supervisors and the supervised, capital and labour, leaders and their followers, armies at war. The prime technique of power is now escape, slippage, elision and avoidance, the effective rejection of any territorial confinement with its cumbersome corollaries of order-building, order-maintenance and the responsibility for the consequences of it all as well as of the necessity to bear their costs. (…)

> The contemporary global elite is shaped after the pattern of the old-style 'absentee landlords'. It can rule without burdening itself with the chores of administration, management, welfare concerns, or, for that matter, with the mission of 'bringing light', 'reforming the ways', morally uplifting, 'civilizing' and cultural crusades. Active engagement in the life of subordinate populations is no longer needed (on the contrary, it is actively avoided as unnecessarily costly and ineffective). (Bauman 2000, pp. 10–13)

Over 200 years after the French Revolution, and much more than at that time, semi-gods populate the earth again. The gulf is ever wider between the rich – free from all laws and virtually omnipotent, their only limit that they are mortal – and the common people, including the wretches on the outskirts of the world, but not only them, to the point that they live separate lives in separate worlds, almost without intersections or relations.

2.2.2 The Glorious Thirty

There was an age in the recent history of man when things did not go like this: an age of cold and hot wars, risk of mutual destruction, potentially catastrophic 'brinkmanship'[3] ('dancing' at the edge of the gulf), really harsh international wars[4] and wars of liberation from colonialism,[5] totalitarian regimes in power over half of Europe,[6] but an age of growth of collective well-being, a period of over 25 years of prosperity and progress.[7]

Racial conflicts, poverty, marginalisation, speculators' unrestrained appetites, economic stagnation and regional imbalances seemed to be the heritage of a past that should and could be 'surpassed'.[8]

A Texan, for example (rather a Southern Democrat: Lyndon Baines Johnson), who had become President following John Kennedy's assassination,[9] managed to launch an extraordinary project for reform in the USA (the Great Society of 1965[10]) and sign the act of equality of black people in 1964, making their rights effective in the Southern United States (the 'Civil Rights Act'[11]).

Obviously not everything was golden in this story and this period: Lyndon B. Johnson was the President of 'escalation' in Vietnam.[12]

To give another example, in that period in Italy for the first time since the war, clear political will was glimpsed as far as urban development policies were concerned. A Christian Democrat minister, referring to the experience of many European countries, proposed an urban planning law which would promote planned development of cities and prevent or reduce speculation. The Minister was Fiorentino Sullo and the year 1962.[13] Speaking to the Senate, Sullo said:

> To regulate the buildable sites in zones of urban expansion and consequent building activity, the scheme envisages within each detailed plan, compulsory for the local Councils expressly singled out at the moment of drawing up the area plan, the expropriation of all buildable sites by the Council, who are obliged to implement basic urbanisation works on them before turning them over for building use. The Council subsequently proceeds to auction the *ius ad aedificandum* on the urbanised areas: with the possibility, moreover, of directly giving up this right to Boards operating in the social housing sector.

> The financial problem connected with such regulation is resolved by the system of payment of compensation for expropriation, which, equal to the material taking of the patrimony, may be deferred for a year; this term appears sufficient to set in motion a rotation mechanism of the sums needed by the local Councils.[14]

Sullo's proposal for urban planning reform was shelved, and no urban reform carried out in Italy, especially after 1980 when the Constitutional Court cancelled the land law, approved in 1977, proposed by the Republican minister Bucalossi.[15]

In many European countries, there had already been a law for some time regulating the land regime and a modern urban planning law,[16] and during the course of the twentieth century, extraordinary local strategic plans[17] were created in various cities and excellent urban planning and good architecture were not uncommon.

It should be mentioned that there was also, at least in Europe and many third world countries, a strong social conflict and an organised, influential left wing – in some countries with a strong presence or predominance of Communists – which often contested reformist choices as being instrumental for the survival of capitalism (and they were). Meanwhile, however, this social pressure (together with the international situation) forced those capitalist elements to be reformist,[18] even if they did not want to, and to build the social state, defend public spaces and reduce inequalities. The great mass movement of 1968, the moment in which the political pendulum reached one of its extremes, belonged to that period.[19]

2.2.3 New Globalisation

> All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilised nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the productions of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal inter-dependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures, there arises a world literature.[20]

If this description by Marx and Engels is not globalisation, it leaves out very little of what has happened and is happening in our own times.

We do not want to go back over a debate here that has followers on one side convinced of the fact that the globalisation process is a 'continuum' dating back several centuries (Robertson 1992; Sen 2001, 2002; Wallerstein 1979; Frank and Gills 1993) and others thinking this globalisation is unique for one reason or another, compared with other phenomena of the past (Klein and Levy 2002; Beck 1999).

What is certain is that in many respects, this is not the first globalisation, for there have been others before it, certainly the triangular trade of the sixteenth

century (which had the slave trade as its characterising feature, an activity to which Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, the present queen of the United Kingdom, owes much of her wealth) (Northrup 1994) and the one of the nineteenth century described by Marx and Engels (which could have 1842 as its symbolic date, the year in which a group of international drug traffickers led by Queen Victoria of England 'opened up' Imperial China 'to the world' with the Treaty of Nanking) (Hobsbwam 1988).

But today's globalisation is special. It has enabled really rapid delocalisation of manufacturing activities and has brought to an end the need for spatial contiguity; in this age, for the first time, the semi-gods can do without being a part of the city and taking care of its public part and can live in a global city made up of dispersed fragments and small 'enclaves' throughout the world.[21] This globalisation, based on deregulation and economic liberalism, is having devastating effects on the city (Harvey 2010).

Who will the designer or planner refer to if the (financial) markets now 'vote' (alone or before the others vote or binding the vote of the others)?[22] And if the financial markets have one characteristic, it is that of not 'recognising' national boundaries and local governments (those voted for with the 'one head, one vote' principle).[23]

Who is going to commission the work of designers, planners, urbanists and architects? Will they have to be the creators of a product, a consumer good (and therefore something that is a good though volatile or virtual) for the 'city market'? Bearing in mind that 'city market' is understood here not so much as the market that cities allow, promote and generate, but the market in which cities themselves are goods?

This new globalisation, too, in which the role of financial capital is enormous and pathological (% finance of GPD), has, like the others, encountered – following many more localised crises – a devastating crisis, of lengthy duration and with no foreseeable outcome (Stiglitz 2010).

2.3 Two Issues

The focal problems of contemporary city transformation are therefore the ones of power management in the city – democracy and decisional power, on the one hand, and management and conflict 'resolution', on the other.[24]

2.3.1 Participation and Democracy

The democracy crisis has not extinguished the conflict. In fact, it is true that there exists in many citizens an acute sensitivity and willing capacity for mobilisation in a variety of circumstances and on different issues, which is anyway ultimately a

good thing, even when such mobilisation is 'wrong'. But these 'forewarned' citizens generally contend with problems almost always as single issues, usually 'local' or 'separate' issues. They often perceive and represent themselves as 'users', claiming not so much power and responsibility as, above all, services and respect for the rules. Their voice often, therefore, speaks for themselves alone, for the moment, for what they have a right to, but rarely for everyone (and a project for the organisation and management of the territory can only be a project for everyone), for a space that is larger than their space, to achieve new rights. And it is true above all that those who do not have a voice do not find anyone who will give them one (at most – and this is not negligible – they are offered pity and compassion).

The rationalisation of decisional mechanisms that eliminate overlapping and conflicts of competences would offer, at least on a theoretical level, some hopes of realising oneself better than in the past. For communication is easier, faster and more complete, the organisational model becoming established that of a light, target-oriented system and good techniques and good technologies make it possible to dismantle and destroy the bureaucratic cages.

But if techniques are reduced to techniques, the essence of democracy is lost and rationalisation and 'reforms' serve – at best to enable the *élite* to do their job better and produce people like themselves.

2.3.2 Breaking Up the Space of Conflicts

> The French suburb revolution is certainly the fruit of a condition pertaining almost to caste: the majority of the children and grandchildren of colonial immigration have no hope of social mobility, condemned as they are to inherit the status of their parents and grandparents, or even be declassed. Their prospects of getting a job and being accepted socially is somewhat elusive if, as a survey has shown, those with an Arab- or African-sounding surname have six times less chance of being called for a job interview, compared with a Franco-French peer. On the part of the institutions, one of the few non-repressive responses given to the great social issue behind the revolution is the proposal to lower the school-leaving age to 14 years, making it possible to have the 14 to 16 age-bracket ready for work. Which amounts to a final sentence for the young people of the 752 urban zones sensitive of their fate as outcasts. (Rivera 2005)[25]

Many of the causes of urban fragmentation are linked with the social question and the predominance of financial capital, of which land rent is the 'material' element. These two engines were the source of destruction of the united character of the urban dimension, and there we have the new cities made up of fragments.

> For example, does the housing emergency come into it or not? Does it come into it or not that in France, too, social housing is no longer being built and town councils are selling those they have. Does it come into it or not that one salary is not enough to rent a two-roomed property? Does it come into it or not that with 340,000 people applying for housing in the Paris area, no housing is available? Does the endless race of the property market, rents and property values that have grown exorbitantly come into it or not? (…) Does it come into it or not that re-distribution of wealth is producing more and more accentuated

polarisation between rich and poor? Does it come into it or not that some 6 million people in France are relegated to ghetto-quarters of the large cities from which they have been excluded, physically and socially? Are we sure that our past does not come into it and (…) we have "Nothing to hide"?

What type of outskirts are these that run through the centre and are before our eyes as we go through our everyday activities? Or, rather, of "what" are they the outskirts? What is it that surrounds what we simply refer to as outskirts? Where is the centre of these outskirts, the place from which these traces, following a centrifugal movement, reach this far?

The outskirts set on fire and smoking do not illuminate the social and physical decay of the districts but betray the removal of a thought for the city, for what the city has become, the inequalities produced, here and elsewhere, by the neo-liberal economic model.

Is it true or not that cities have no longer been on the public political agenda for some time? Is it true or not that urban safety is the way, now prevalent, that cities enter into debates and get onto political agendas? (…)

Can we change the route? Can we go back to looking at cities as places of innovation, growth and social justice? The answer has to be yes, and we must do so in such a way that cities (not just the outskirts) go back to being a focal theme.' (Caudo 2005)[26]

Let us look at a list of 'elements' and city fragments that can exist in their pure forms or 'cohabit' in more or less composite, integrated groups: the suburbs, the old centres that have now become the backdrop or a sort of Disneyland 'with a past', the exploded settlement and the planet of slums. They are the cities we might call, as Mike Davis does, the 'other cities' (Davis 2006), the places of brands, decentralised Olympuses or places where the 'archistars' work for the modern semi-gods, the gated communities, the mass consumer centres, great outlets or enormous malls, and the communication nodes of both traditional and recent transport networks, maybe built ex novo around the low-cost flight hubs. All together these built spaces create non-cities, that sort of 'contemporary city' that Maciocco calls 'discomposed' (formless), generic or segregated (Maciocco 2008).

As we have said, all these types of 'neocity' are governed by the modern forms of income and financial capital, the true engine of twenty-first century globalisation: wealth without work or merit. Basically, financial capital is the 'honey and ambrosia' of the new semi-gods, who – wherever they happen to pass through, almost always outside cities – want their temples and their niches. This triumph of financial capital is accompanied by economic and symbolic downgrading of labour and its spaces.

2.4 A Great Work

I would like to develop an argument put forth on more than one occasion by the Italian urban planner Pier Luigi Cervellati: a project is needed and is actually indispensable, which will link up economic development and the recovery and upgrading of urban areas, one with public directors but based on the possibility of private initiative. But if the public needs private initiative, private initiative also needs the public. The city is a common good; forgetting this has led to the crisis of cities (with the contribution of bad local authorities, very bad State guidelines,

ravenous speculation and estate agents getting rich producing the wrong kind of outskirts and regulatory plans). We are one of the countries with the highest number of homeowners. Streets that were once a place for cohabiting are now occupied by waiting or moving cars. Public places are scarce and usually far away and dirty. These choices produce only outskirts, which become ‘suburbs’, places of banishment, while the beautiful city, or rather the true city, requires wise administration, the will for planning, capacity of coordination in the common interest and for the good of the collectivity (Cervellati 2005).

The great work all European countries need is a general plan for urban upgrading and city reconstruction (both ‘urbs’ and *civitas*), starting with the ‘rejected’ places, the outskirts: a work that would assure environmental sustainability, expert development, growth of social capital, improvement in quality of life and the aesthetic quality of cities.

A truly great work, never mind bridges to Messina or exhibitions in Milan, beginning with restoring full dignity to each human being. What the inhabitants of the outskirts ask for first and foremost, like all human beings, is what forms the basis of the human condition in a system of social relations: respect and dignity.[27]

> *On n’est pas des racailles mais des êtres humains. On existe. La preuve: les voitures brûlen.*[28]

> Les quartiers pauvres, au XIXe siècle, n’étaient pas extérieurs à la capitale. Le prolétariat était dans la ville. La nouveauté des banlieues, ces espaces où l’on parque aujourd’hui les pauvres, c’est cette extériorité radicale. Le ban est un lieu qui n’en est pas un. Les parias partagent avec cet espace où ils sont parqués la même caractéristique. Ils sont tout à la fois dehors et intérieurs à la société, sur le mode du déchet. Ils sont toujours dans cette situation topologique paradoxale où ils sont à la fois à l’intérieur et à l’extérieur. J’essaie dans ce petit livre de mettre à jour une continuité : les choses fondamentales, dans l’histoire de l’humanité, se découvrent au ban. Le paradigme de la naissance du monothéisme, de ce point de vue, est intéressant. Un peuple d’esclaves, les Juifs, porté par une nécessité historique, invente une subversion universaliste, égalitaire, inédite dans l’histoire de l’humanité, qui lui permet de se libérer. Ces hommes du ban, du fait de n’être ni à l’intérieur, ni à l’extérieur, ont découvert l’être lui-même, ce que l’on a très longtemps appelé Dieu, et que certains continuent à appeler ainsi. Ce Dieu sans visage, vide, qui choquait les Romains. (…)

> Dans l’immédiat, il faut refuser ce leitmotiv du nihilisme démocratique qui consiste à dire : «Les paroles ne valent rien, elles n’ont pas de conséquences, elles ne comptent pas.» La parole a des effets. Chacun peut trouver ses énoncés. Se réunir, prendre la parole, parler de l’actualité, fabriquer des choses (…). La source de la psychose est dans ce nihilisme démocratique tantôt hilare, tantôt dépressif, qui consiste à ne plus croire en rien, à penser que plus rien de grand n’est possible. À dire, pour celui qui jouit d’un confort dont la plus grande partie de lé est toujours privée, qu’il n’y a «pas de progrès». Pas d’enjeu, pas de principes, pas de progrès, pas d’héroïsme…[29]

Security policies determine how the cry of he who has no future be interpreted. The violence produced by hatred of an unacceptable, hopeless condition receives an answer that separates human beings from each other, so that they do not turn their gaze to the semi-gods.

The most sinister and painful of contemporary troubles can be best collected under the rubric of *Unsicherheit* – the German term which blends together experiences which need three English terms – uncertainty, insecurity and unsafety – to be

conveyed. The curious thing is that the nature of these troubles is itself a most powerful impediment to collective remedies: people feeling insecure, people wary of what the future might hold in store and fearing for their safety, are not truly free to take the risks which collective action demands. They lack the courage to dare and the time to imagine alternative ways of living together; and they are too preoccupied with tasks they cannot share to think of, let alone to devote their energy to, such tasks as can be undertaken only in common.

> The extant political institutions, meant to assist them in the fight against insecurity, offer little help. In a fast globalising world, where a large part of power, and the most seminal part, is taken out of politics, these institutions cannot do much to offer security or certainty. What they can do and what they more often than not are doing is to shift the scattered and diffuse anxiety to one ingredient of *Unsicherheit* alone – that of safety, the only field in which something can be done and seen to be done. The snag is, though, that while doing something effectively to cure or at least to mitigate insecurity and uncertainty calls for united action, most measures undertaken under the banner of safety are divisive; they sow mutual suspicion, set people apart, prompt them to sniff enemies and conspirators behind every contention or dissent and in the end make the loners yet more lonely than before. Worst of all, while such measures come nowhere near hitting at the genuine source of anxiety, they use up all the energy these sources generate – energy which could be put to much more effective use if channelled into the effort of bringing power back into the politically managed public space. (Bauman 1999, pp. 5–6)

The modern outskirts were born with the stigma of being the place where the 'dangerous classes' lived.[30] Initially the dangerous classes of the large cities of the industrial revolution massed proletariat and subproletariat together (workmen, labourers, street traders, beggars, prostitutes and thieves) in shameful living conditions (Engels 1845). At some point, the efforts of hygienists and philanthropists, the growth of productivity and effects of the second globalisation[31] and consequent unequal exchange imposed by imperialism and the organisation and struggle organised by the Socialists led not only to physical and social recovery of the outskirts but also to a reduction in their peripheral nature and the birth of quality, well-located and well-connected 'working men's' districts.[32] When the inhabitants of the popular districts, with their trade unions and political organisations, began to elect the majority of the Town Councillors and the Mayor[33] and managed to siphon off large shares of income and increase the quantity of salaries compared with profits, their outskirts, no longer so peripheral, became more beautiful and richer in functions, attracting resources and activities. They were centres of discussion, decision and power: a situation that was always precarious, vulnerable and needing protection, but exciting, totally urban and civil.[34]

This is the first important reflection we must make and constitutes the key to dealing with the problem.

> The great majority of reasons for the crisis of the city, including the contemporary one, can be traced back to the contradiction between the collective, community, social nature of the city and the individualist features of the fundamental aspects of the organisation of production or consumerism. (Salzano 1998)[35]

From the inhabitants' point of view, the decisive issue was the reappraisal of the importance of labour in income distribution in western societies, which took place

from the 1980s onwards. This reappraisal was general and constant in all countries and often somewhat in favour of income rather than profits.

It was not just a case of the effects of the transformations brought about by new globalisation (delocalisation of productive activities in the emerging countries, changes in the organisation of labour, new role of consumerism, IT revolution and telematics) but of the defeat of subordinate labour after harsh conflicts and the surrender to the ideology of the 'single thought'.

Subordinate labour does not disappear even where traditional employed workers decrease, but is transformed largely into precarious, downgraded, badly paid, servile work: the so-called McJobs (Goos and Manning 2003),[36] an almost compulsory fate for young people of the outskirts, marked by the stigma of race, religion or perhaps even more of belonging to a class (giving an address in the Zen district of Palermo does not increase one's probabilities of passing a job interview, even if the candidate's family have been in Palermo for many generations and he/she is Catholic).

Generally speaking, guidelines may be identified that take into account 14 factors which, when interwoven, constitute an effective strategy. The first three in particular – land income control, empowerment/respect and labour/jobs – are structural elements through which it will be possible, as long as certain conditions are satisfied, to construct a 'form' of the city, new *civitas* and new sociality/integration.

The control of development dynamics, for example, needs to be released from the predominance of land rents and governed, on the basis of power relations between the classes, by public power. The protagonists of transformations should be all the inhabitants of the city districts, citizens and non-citizens, and their wealth of cultural and artistic production[37] and needs and desires must find a means of expression. Moreover, an essential condition is that work be a guarantee of recognition and promotion (who can ever consider himself worthy when his outlook is temporary work or frying meatballs for the whole of his life?), income and value for everyone.

Only if these three requisites are realised may architectural, urban planning and cultural interventions hope for success and may they deliver the outskirts from their condition of places of banishment.

The other 11 points clarify methods of action or 'how to do it'.

Building up work opportunities and creating services, including important ones, may pass through an economy based not only on goods. Experiments exist of alternative economies, solid though in a minority, like those based on the 'time bank' (Coluccia 2001), for example, or participatory economy (Albert 2003) or so-called microcredit (Yunus 2003). We do not intend here to be indulgent either towards the a critical praise of informal economy, which is often the submerged version of precarious parasubordinate work and almost always has the limit of not permitting accumulation but – if it goes well – just subsistence and the division of already existing work between a number of people (Breman et al. 2000; Breman 2004) or towards the 'new age' versions of so-called self-help like those promoted by De Soto (2000).[38] However, whether or not the State and public sector have an important role, with the 'Welfare State's' set of guarantees and rules in terms of rights to work, safety, health, education, social security and assistance, if weight

and substance are given to people's capacities for self-organisation and creating their own future, this is not only timely but perhaps indispensable.

Public mobility from, for and to – not only for work (not just 'Taylorist') is possible today, if anything the entire mobility system needs to be redesigned, combining mass, flexible and personalised transportation. Modern organisation of mobility has actually allowed the birth of the outskirts and their extension onto the territory. This organisation has become more and more inadequate with the change in production methods and lifestyles; what were once reachable places, 'easy' for mass transportation (at least in the planned outskirts), have become separate, unreachable places and ever farther from cities and with no ties between them.

Urban regeneration may be accompanied by new 'in loco' building and the voluntary shifting of people and groups who would prefer a new location rather than resort to the 'bulldozer' logic as a solution, which some continue to propose for the problem of the outskirts. This is wrong for a variety of reasons, but above all because it implies forced redeployment of people (and as we know, even the worst outskirts are not social black holes). Regeneration and reorganisation of buildings are, moreover, both possible and useful.

If efficient, rapid mobility can be realised on all the urban territory; supra-local and central functions should necessarily be extended also into the outskirts – quality functions, offering opportunities for economic revitalisation and avoiding concentration in dedicated zones.

Like functions, events, too, including important architectural interventions should be shared out, as they are also a stimulus to economic, social and cultural growth.

The poor quality and trivialisation of public spaces concerns the whole city, often including the central zones that have succumbed to consumerism, whether for tourism or not. A city is defined by its quality of life, housing and public spaces. Each of its parts should basically have quality houses and public places.[39]

Starting with the outskirts, where there are less constraints on restructuring interventions, renovation and new building, a programme of renewal may be considered that could be extended to the whole city and the territory of scattered settlements. It would focus on environmental sustainability, beginning (as we have said) with mobility, to continue with energy-saving interventions and self-sufficiency in power production, closure of cycles and integrated refuse management (reduction, reuse, recovery, recycling and differentiated collection).

Territorial rebalancing consists of many steps: those we have indicated but also action against 'sprawl' to make the city compact when possible, stop it exploding and make its spreading less unsustainable. Strong protection of nonurbanised territory should be included. It should become a part of the opportunities of urban life, though also involve the rediscovery and management of urban and environmental landscapes. Only within this strategic view and, if possible, with zero increase in volume, may we think of large interventions involving new building.

The theme of education has strictly to do with that of work. Often in peripheral districts schools are the 'only' facility of the democratic state; primary and middle schools frequently manage to some extent, thanks also to the 'heroism' of mistresses and women teachers (and the use of feminine nouns is perfectly correct), to play a

useful role and give some hope, even if dramatic family and social situations put every little conquest at risk each day. So that the fact that they are indeed the 'only' facility of the democratic state burdens schools with incorrect tasks, superior to their strength. Then secondary schools almost always become authentic 'black holes', due not so much simply to the greater difficulty of building learning communities in the adolescent phase, as to the obvious perception (partly objectively justified) of the basic uselessness in terms of working career of that particular course. To have good schools, you (also) need good jobs, but education and training are a necessary investment that the city needs and with the highest quality, especially in the outskirts.

The self-government issue is strictly connected with the theme of participation, democracy and empowerment and is a condition and consequence of guaranteeing recognition of human dignity and allowing each person to build up respect for him/herself and others.

Finally, there is the issue of social variety (which we have summarised in the pair *mixité/métissage* – 'racial blending'). It is worth saying that this should also be a variety of classes and races, not just an internal variety in the 'underclass' group. As is obvious, no-one can be forced to live somewhere or not live somewhere else, but if social, urban design, mobility and economic policies (keeping rents under control) are good, then they will be able to encourage, also in the short term, the mixing of different people and social groups.

Apart from those mentioned, there is a theme we have not dealt with, not because it is not important but because it is an issue in itself with many aspects. This is the theme of security. The invention of the new 'dangerous classes' has many ideological components, often not sustained by the actual facts. In the October–November 2005 'revolution' of the 'banlieue', there was consistent, unpleasant damage to things (8,000–10,000 cars set on fire and some public facilities plundered), but episodes of violence against people were very rare, and in all the manifestations of unease of the *banlieue,* the dead and wounded were rare, almost always from fights linked with the abuse of power by the police or directly provoked by them.

The situation in the USA has sometimes been much harsher, but the context of the 'ghettos' of the North American cities is a special one.

A pervasive presence also exists in Italy and is particularly strong in the metropolises of the south where organised crime often totally controls the territory, and with it an erratic form of spontaneous crime that is highly aggressive and dangerous. But these criminal activities, which also often originate in the outskirts (and are frequently visible and perceived as unsustainable when they take place in the 'central' outskirts in particular, as happens in Naples) are phenomena born of complex reasons. They often involve a 'continuum' between criminal illegality and illegality 'with a jacket and tie', between the dissolution of the ties of society and the values of cohabiting and exaltation of wealth and between crime, tax evasion, exploitation of illicit work and corruption.[40] Crime also becomes contiguous with market logics, though much more so than in the past when it might also have been a choice of a 'rebellious' life (Quadrelli 2004). We need in this case, too, in situations often experienced with great discomfort by many people, to know how to reason and distinguish. We need to give an answer to this unease, even when it is only perceived and

when, as often happens, it makes the various uncertainties – fear of the future, lack of prospects and the emptiness of existence (the various forms of *Unsicherheit* Bauman speaks of) – 'collapse' in the demand for 'police' security. Giving an answer is difficult. We must analyse, discuss and distinguish; listen also to the voice within the social phenomena of those who do not speak out but express themselves via destruction and refusal (those who 'break', the 'casseurs'), calling them outside; it takes patience, respect and humility.[41] Nor can crime be reduced to a 'unicum'. There is (or has been) 'individual', 'anarchic' and 'rebellious' crime, which is more frightening for the dominant classes but perhaps looked upon with benevolence or tolerated and controlled by the poor classes (including the working ones)[42] and 'immoral' crime, rejected by everyone (the definition of immoral changes from place to place – in the East Harlem 'Barrio', drug pushers and pimps are not 'immoral') (Bourgois 2003). Then there is organised crime linked with the market, which some deprived social strata perhaps tolerate or appreciate, through fear or for the 'advantages' it brings. It is not easy and the outskirts do not always come into it in the same way.[43]

Denis Duclos' interesting essay, documented, attentive and free of prejudice, shows that the *banlieue* is a place able to set itself up as an engine of integration, with integration meant as exchange, hybridisation and mixture of races, but not assimilation (after all, it is the Franco-French society that has refused to assimilate these French of a different origin, now third or fourth generation citizens, but too brown or dark or perhaps too dynamic or disrespectful).

> Gang turbulence can be unbearable. But it would be better to distinguish between the signs of an everyday revolution and what is nothing more than the explosive energy of the new generation (…).
>
> But what greatly irritates some intellectuals is the fact that this noisy vitality, sometimes mortal, has been translated into the production of an expansive culture, much more shareable than the one brooded over in the "centre". (…)
>
> … the Republic's schools still remain in the forefront, however, the media cover and permeate this population like the rest of the French and the level of technological mastery of the youth of the *banlieue* (internet, mobile phones, etc.) has already astonished … the police in charge of foreseeing groups assembling to fight, who have sometimes been deceived by what we might well call a culture of organisation! (…)
>
> Anyway, the success of a real public policy for integration – liable alone to have rapid, long-term effects on the Paris thugs who play at Robin Hood with the police or fire brigage – depends on two conditions.
>
> The first is that it should be part of a radical change of attitude discarding all forms of paternalism or unconscious denigration, and should recognise the right of the Other to occupy his own place near us in this world which is becoming united, just as we demand the same thing when we emigrate in groups to Morocco or near African beaches or those of other host countries, to live as pensioners with better purchasing power.
>
> The second condition is specific to the young people of the "districts". It is possible to wish together that the Republic's school be appreciated by everyone and propose at the same time to align remuneration for labour and the conditions of labour to the lowest levels in force in the "world's workshops", where capitalist exploitation, unable to survive without slaves, has been massively delocalized. As one of our old sages rightly says: 'We must give young people work; but profitable work. And, one day, they will be nice and kind' (Duclos 2006).[44]

2.5 Brief Conclusions

However, disrupted they are, not all outskirts, particularly Italian ones, including those of large cities, have the same type of problems as the French *banlieue* or the ethnic ghettos of the USA. The problems are not necessarily less, but are certainly different: the racial-ethnic-religious question, above all linked with the presence of second or third generation citizens, is the main difference. In Italy immigration is a more recent phenomenon, and immigrants are certainly located in decayed areas, but often they are placed within historic urban centres or some zones of the central areas (like in the American 'inner cities' (Wilson 1990), though due to different dynamics) – authentic outskirts in the centre of the city ('central suburbs') with specific problems of marginality. In Italy the authentic outskirts (the 'peripheral outskirts') are still places of 'banishment' of the marginalised, the 'dangerous classes' of the twenty-first century, but often inhabited by Italians descending from noble ancestors; the presence almost always prevails within them of 'working classes', pushed to the edges by the great transforming force of rents.

Of course the great crisis that began in 2007, the end of which we cannot see at this moment, has accentuated the problems and strengthened the dynamics, and even though the efforts to counter the presumption that the effects of the crisis be paid by its victims are weak and contradictory, there are signs that, regarding the unilateral 'class struggle from the top' of these last decades (Harvey 2005, 2010; Gallino 2012), indicate a revival of the organised, aware social urban conflict (Harvey 2012).

In these different outskirts, the issue of safety sometimes seems to be a focal question and the 'media' almost always make it more focal – a question, this one of safety, which exists also because it is perceived as a great problem and has to be dealt with in a direct way. However, the 'great work' I propose, namely the concerted reconstruction in rapid, defined times, of the 'urbs' and the civitas in many urban places in Italy, is able to give an answer also to this need. *Renovatio urbis* in the globalisation era may make the great miracle of the city possible: to be a place of encounter between diverse peoples, who change themselves and others, in relationships of constant participation in the debate and negotiation, a place of encounter that manages the conflict making it useful and fruitful.

Notes

1. 'Coming from Bononia you left behind you Claterna, Bononia itself, Matina, Rhegium; Brixillum was on your right, in front of you Placentia, by its very name still recalling its ancient lustre, on the left you saw with pity the wastes of the Apennines, you surveyed the fortresses of these once flourishing tribes, and remembered them with sorrowful affection. Do not then the carcasses of so many half-ruined cities, and states stretched on their bier beneath your eyes … remind you …' St. Ambrose: Letters, 1–91, translated by Mary Melchior Beyenka (Ambrose of Milan 2002), Washington 2002.

2. It should be considered that in our era as in all the others, the concept of wealth is relative: one is rich compared with the others who live in the same era and the same place. In many ways nowadays, place is a single one for all human beings, the entire planet (Krugman 2007).
3. On the concept of brinkmanship, see Schelling (1960), Nalebuff (1986).
4. On the Cuba crisis, see Schelling (1960), Dobbs (2008).
5. The bibliography on the Vietnam War is endless, as is well known; see, for example, Fincher (1980).
6. On colonialism, see Osterhammel (1997), Fanon (1961), Said (1978).
7. We owe the expression to Jean Fourastié (1979).
8. A symbol of the age was the triad of hope; Kennedy, Kruschev and Pope John XXIII are highly fascinating figures in the media, but certainly overestimated, at least two of them, from the point of view of their effective, long-term importance in history. Nevertheless, some words are more important, they are more than words, such as those of Kennedy's inaugural speech: 'Now the trumpet summons us again – not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need; not as a call to battle, though embattled we are – but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out, "rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation" – a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself. (…) And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you – ask what you can do for your country.'
9. John Kennedy's assassination at 12.30 on 22 November 1963 in Dallas was a crucial event of the second half of the twentieth century, much more for its symbolic impact than its actual importance ('Where were you when they shot Kennedy?'); look into the enormous bibliography by Manchester (1967).
10. 'We are going to assemble the best thought and broadest knowledge from all over the world to find these answers. I intend to establish working groups to prepare a series of conferences and meetings – on the cities, on natural beauty, on the quality of education, and on other emerging challenges. From these studies, we will begin to set our course towards the Great Society': this was LBJ's speech at Ann Arbor. The Great Society followed Roosevelt's 'New Deal' and Kennedy's 'New Frontier'; 'urban renewal' was one of the great themes of the 'Great Society' (see Andrew 1998).
11. The 'Civil Rights Act' came into force on 2 July 1964 and had a long, meaningful title: 'An Act to enforce the constitutional right to vote, to confer jurisdiction upon the district courts of the United States of America to provide relief against discrimination in public accommodations, to authorize the Attorney General to institute suits to protect constitutional rights in public facilities and public education, to extend the Commission on Civil Rights, to prevent discrimination in federally assisted programs, to establish a Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, and for other purposes'.
12. The choice of 'escalation' in the Vietnam War forced Johnson to give up the race for re-election in 1968. After him the progressive backlash began in the USA; his successor was Richard Nixon. But in the electoral campaign for President in 1968, another Kennedy was assassinated – Robert, John's brother.

13. At that moment, the Italian government was a DC-PSDI-PRI (Christian Democracy/Italian Democratic Socialist Party/Italian Republican Party) three-party one, led by Amintore Fanfani (Fanfani IV), and it was on the very eve of the entry of the Socialists that took place in November 1963.
14. Speech to the Senate by Fiorentino Sullo on 28 June 1962 (our translation).
15. The Bucalossi Law No. 10 (28 January 1977) envisaged, but in a rather ambiguous, unclear way, the separation between right of ownership and *jus edificandi*; 3 years later, the Constitutional Court deemed some points of the law anti-constitutional, due also to this ambiguity (Sentence No. 5 of 25.1.1980).
16. The battle against rents and for an efficient land law was very harsh everywhere, however (see Bernoulli 1943). Bernoulli is Swiss and is a direct descendant of those Bernoulli.
17. We may refer, for example, to the General Expansion Plan for Amsterdam (*Algemeen Uitbreidingsplan van Amsterdam-AUP*, 1935), the Greater London Plan (*Greater London Plan*, 1944), the Regional Plan for Greater Copenhagen (*Finger Plan* 1947) and the General Plan for Stockholm (*General plan för Stockholm*, 1952). As usual all that glitters is not gold; in fact some of the effects of these plans were debatable or counter-intuitive. But a fool's gold is better than none, and thinking of the future of a city is however better than not doing so; at least those plans could be discussed, while illegal urban growth could not (see Hall 1991).
18. At that time, the terms reformism and reform meant – in contrast with the use made of them in our times where reform also stands for a return to the past or to the age preceding the reforms – change in a 'progressive' sense, towards the future. 'Reformist' stood for 'moderate left', and the reforms were the social-democratic alternative to the Communist revolution, never under right wing fundamentalism (see Caffè 1990).
19. Apart from the opinions one may have on the movements of that year, there is no doubt that they hit the whole of the western world. But there was much more than echoes and reverberations in the countries of so-called real Socialism, too, and those movements were characteristically libertarian and left wing (see Kurkansky 2004).
20. The quotation is from the 1888 edition of Marx and Engels' *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, edited by Engels (Marx and Engels 1888). The original version is the German one of 1848 (*Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei*), and the first English version was the translation by Helen Macfarlane, 1850.
21. The last virtual conurbation that was invented with a great deal of ideology and reference to a 'happy few' was the imaginary conurbation between the two shores of the Atlantic called NYLon (New York + London) (see Gapper 2007).
22. For example, Italy's finance bill in 2006, like the ones for at least the previous 10 years, was 'passed' first by the international 'rating' institutes (like 'Standard & Poor's') and then by the parliament of the Republic.
23. In general the élites have never had much love for the principle that each vote has the same value. It took a long time to achieve universal suffrage, and a great many electoral systems, for reasons of 'governability', maintain mechanisms

that make sure that a different, perhaps very different, number of votes is needed, to elect a representative so that many voters remain unrepresented. On all the issues we speak of in these lines, see Crouch (2004).

24. I have developed, together with a juggler colleague (Ben Sidoti), a game on work in the age of globalisation. It was difficult above all to think up a role, the new one we have called the 'semi-gods'. We mean first of all the true billionaires, the men and (rare) women worth over a million euros and people like them or who have become assimilated. Since the French Revolution, there may not have been a similar class of rogues, free from all laws, with their court of stooges and puppets, hack writers, courtesans, clowns, bootlickers and flatterers, who live in a separate world from ours, inaccessible and indifferent to our destiny. To them are added low rank nobles, including public managers paid a salary of over a million euro a year and a few million as a golden handshake. Times have changed, and it is not polite to speak of 'class hatred', but some nostalgia, only virtual, for Monsieur Guillottin's 'bachelor machine', lies in each of our hearts. The game is *Pianeta GiOtto* and you will find it on my website http://bibo.lampnet.org
25. Our translation.
26. Our translation.
27. 'Respect' is the title of an important book by Sennett. Also in the recent debate on the problems and contradictions of multiculturalism, I see a common point between the different answers to the crisis of integration models: respect (see Sennett 2003 and Benhabib 2002). Bourgois (2003) also refers to the theme of respect as a focal concept. For an Italian situation, see also Palmas Queirola (2006).
28. 'Non siamo feccia, ma esseri umani. Esistiamo. La prova: le macchine bruciano.' 'We are not scum but human beings. We exist. The proof: cars are burning' (our translation).
29. 'In the nineteenth century the poor districts were not outside the capital. The proletariat was in the city. The novelty of the *banlieues,* these spaces where the poor are parked nowadays, is this radical "eternity". "Banishment" involves a place that is not a place. The pariahs share the same characteristic as the space where they have been parked. They are simultaneously external and internal to society, like refuse. They are always in this paradoxical topological situation in which they are simultaneously inside and outside. I am trying in this little book to highlight a continuity: in the history of humanity the fundamental things are discovered in "banishment". The paradigm of the birth of monotheism is interesting from this point of view. A slave people, the Jews, driven by past needs, invents subversion that is universalist, egalitarian, brand new in the history of humanity, which allows them to free themselves. These men of "banishment", for they are neither inside nor out, have discovered the being itself, which for a long time was called God, and which some continue to call thus. This faceless, empty God, who was troubling the Romans. (…) For the time being we must refuse this *leitmotiv* of democratic annihilism that consists of saying: "Words have no value, they have no consequences, they do not count." Words do have effects. Each can find his own argument. Meet up, speak out, talk about current

affairs, invent things … (…) The source of psychosis is in this democratic annihilism, sometimes hilarious, sometimes depressing, that consists of not believing any more in anything, considering that nothing great is any longer possible. In saying, on the part of he who enjoys a kind of comfort of which the majority of people are deprived, that "there is no progress": There are no challenges, no principles, no progress, no heroism …' Belhaj Kacem M (2006a) "Entretien" in *L'Humanité* 7 June (our translation); the «little book» referred to is Belhaj Kacem (2006b) *La Psychose française. Les banlieues: le ban de la République*.

30. The contrast between 'working classes' and 'dangerous classes' has to do with the birth of the modern city and urban design; see Chevalier (1958). A more general analysis of the strategies to control the 'dangerous classes' is found in Foucault (1975).
31. Before this globalisation, we can perhaps count another two: that of the seventeenth/eighteenth centuries involving the triangular trade between Africa, Europe and the Americas, which created productive slavery and that of the era of the Empires and Colonialism, symbolised in the opium wars and the submission of the great Asian civilisations. See the works (Sen 2001, 2002; Wallerstein 1979; Frank and Gills 1993; Klein and Levy 2002; Beck 1999; Northrup 1994; Hobsbwam 1988; Gapper 2007; Harvey 2010).
32. At least this is how it was in the first world. If or how much this also happened at the expense of the 'colonies' and the unequal exchange is a theme to be investigated. See the works (Sen 2001, 2002; Wallerstein 1979; Frank and Gills 1993; Klein and Levy 2002; Beck 1999; Northrup 1994; Hobsbwam 1988; Gapper 2007; Harvey 2010).
33. This is what happened for around 15 years in Vienna, with extraordinary results from the social, urban planning and architectural points of view (see Tafuri 1980).
34. The characteristics of new globalisation with the abnormal increase in inequalities have direct effects on urban organisation. 'But the negative effects to the detriment of the less well-off classes do not end here. It happens that, given the huge spending possibility of 5 or 10 % of the population of a country, a possibility that has gradually grown over the years thanks to speculative activities and a benevolent revenue office, many goods and services have increased in price to such an extent that the working classes and also a large part of the middle classes can no longer afford them, or find it much more difficult to have access to them. Think of that sort of tax on everyday life of home/work commuters. In many European Union and United States cities, the colossal financial income taxed with favourable rates have made the price of property or the rents in the centre of large cities rise so high as to expel almost all the population that traditionally resided there. We are speaking of professionals who are precious for the life of a city, but who are no longer able to live in the city. So that several hours of daily commuting weigh upon their existence' (Gallino 2012, p. 26). On the increase of inequalities and its effects see: Wilkinson and Pickett (2009).

35. Our translation.
36. The distinction is between downgrading jobs, like those at McDonalds, and ‘hi-tech’ jobs, referring to the Apple Company, Macintosh. We read that the situation is not so pleasant even in ‘technological’ jobs in Baldwin and Lessard (1999).
37. Which, by the way, the ‘fashion patrons’ plunder, without paying duty. There are no end of advertising videos, slogans, melodies, claims, images and fashion trends extorted or stolen by ‘cool’ hunters from young people of the suburbs throughout the world. See, for example, Madonna’s ‘Hung Up’ video http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EDwb9jOVRtU
38. In the light of what happens in China (and in India and Vietnam and …), the title does not show much inspiration either.
39. Neither did ideas for rationalisation and organisation of the modern city on the basis of spatial division of functions abandon the conviction that all functions had to be present in urban life, even if they were organised in distinct zones. So-called zoning, as it was defined, should be considered in the light of the past situation, analysing results and outcomes, both positive and negative, in context. In this case, too, we must avoid one of the fallacies of the issue: retrospective evaluation or looking at the past with the eyes of the present. There were many reasons for proposing zoning as a solution, but only in a specific context and at a specific moment, trying to rationally justify the disorder that was the fruit not only of complexity but also (for example) of speculation.
40. See Roberto Saviano’s book (2006), the enormous success of which is due to its literary qualities but also to the depth of the social survey.
41. There are those who have been studying the phenomena for some time. In France whole years of issues of the *Annales de la recherche urbaine* have investigated the *banlieue* theme, warning everyone that many things might happen (and they did) and saying why. Then there are those who really listen to the voices (sometimes strangled or coarse, sometimes refined and innovative) that can be heard in cultural production, music, language, or the many Creole languages (from the *verlan* to types of linguistic contamination) and contamination between cultures. The three protagonists only able to express a few things using their communicative method in the cult film on the *banlieues,* namely ‘Hate’ by Kassovitz, are a Franco-African, a Franco-Arab (*beur* in *verlan*) and a Franco-Jew. To some extent, this cultural mix or a similar one exists in many *banlieues,* where there are also many Franco-French and it often also becomes *métissage.*
42. Without indulging in any romanticism, we should say “there are different kinds of *mala* (underworld)”. Massimo Carlotto’s book (2006), dedicated to the smuggler/robber Beniamino Rossini, a gangster of old times (no drugs or women), perhaps builds up too special a myth. The same indulgence can perhaps be found in the study, though documented, of Del Lago and Quadrelli (2003). However, not all crime is perceived with the same fear and opposed in the same way.

43. In Stefania Scateni's fine book-report (2006), a collection of papers by writers and artists 'able to see what is not there', the essay by Nicola Lagioia on Bari offers illuminating food for thought on how and why criminals are different depending on the social context. Also in these extreme cases, we should say 'yes, something exists that is called society', otherwise we are done for.
44. Our translation.

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Chapter 3
The Identity of the City

Ali Madanipour

Abstract In the age of globalisation, urban populations have been concerned by the intensification of urban change, being overwhelmed by the pace and scale of change imposed on localities from the outside, eroding local identities at the expense of alien ideas and forces. The sense of identity across time and space is a social process drawing on the relations of similarity and difference, developed as narratives told from a perspective. Identity processes pose particular anxieties and challenges: whether and how a place can remain the same through time while going through necessary change; how a place can remain unique while also belonging to a group of similar places under the pressure for homogenisation. The way to manage these pressures and develop a secure sense of identity, the chapter argues, is through democratic management of change, which should facilitate democratic control over the substance, pace and representations of change, made possible through 'dynamic multiplicity', which is purposeful involvement of many voices over time.

Keywords Urban identity • Personal identity • Globalisation • Homogenisation • Dynamic multiplicity • Democracy • Cartesian dualism • Narrative • Similarity • Difference • Urban transformation

Much has been said about the loss of identity in the age of globalisation, whereby cities and localities are increasingly looking alike across the world, where people apparently behave in the same way and consume the same goods and services. This has caused much anxiety about the emergence of 'clone cities' and has given rise to the idea of asserting local identity as a form of resistance to global pressures. Identity,

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therefore, finds a crucial role in the cultural and political life of a place. However, cities are historical collections of objects and people, material and social facts and institutions and memories, whose identities across time and space are always multiple and contested by the process of change and representations of change. Identity cannot be easily pinned down or be reduced to its visual qualities. Is loss of identity only to be equated with loss of distinctiveness and visual diversity, or is there more to the notion of place identity? How do we make sense of the notion of city identity? This chapter is an attempt to find an answer, aiming to work out a theoretical framework with which to think about identity, in particular about the identity of cities.

The main argument of the chapter is that a city's identity lies in its relations of similarity and difference with other places and times, that is, how it resembles other places as well as its unique and continuous features that could give it a relatively stable sense of itself and how, and by whom, this sense is narrated and change is managed. Identity is a narrative told from one perspective, and therefore, to understand this narrative, we need to understand the nature, dimensions and representations of change. Anxiety about identity rises when the pace and size of change seem to be beyond control. As evident from the fast-growing urban areas around the world, now or in the past, in the developed and developing worlds, we see signs of concern about social stability and environmental quality. The chapter argues that the ability to have some control over the substance, pace and representations of change is essential for a city's inhabitants to have some sense of security in their identity. This would show the significance of a democratic process for managing this change.

3.1 Cities Through Ages

Many cities are a testimony to a long history. If we stand on the riverside in Newcastle upon Tyne, for example, we can look around and see the remnants of 2,000 years of history. What is now called Swing Bridge has replaced a Roman bridge over the river Tyne, a node on the wall that the emperor Hadrian built to protect his northernmost territories from the ancestors of the Scots. The straight and long streets such as Westgate Road are built along the wall, which ended in Wallsend further east. From this vantage point, we can see the Castle Keep, which was built a millennium ago after William conquered Britain and built many castles to dominate the country. We can see the remains of the medieval walls and streets of the city and buildings from medieval, Georgian and Victorian periods, as well as twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

What we grasp in a 360° panorama has been in the making for two millennia. Each building, bridge and road has had an impact on the city, introducing a new element into an existing context. Two particular tensions can be easily visible on Newcastle quayside. One is the dramatic range of bridges that cross the river. They show how through the changing technologies of transport from the nineteenth century onwards, the ancient low-level crossing lost its role to the high-level railways, motor cars and metro. This change took over the medieval city, turning the riverside into a place of industry, a backyard to the city that was growing uphill. A new pedestrian bridge, however, shows a new life for the riverside. With the

decline of the industries, factories were abandoned and the quayside was turned into a rusty no-go area. As regeneration activities in the last 20 years have brought these areas back to life, people have moved back to the river for work or leisure. Some industrial buildings have remained, and some have been converted to new uses. But most have been erased, to make way for the new entertainment and work places that have changed the character of the riverside. The city once moved away from the river and has now partially returned there. In the process, many tensions have arisen and many lives flourishing or wasting. A combination of economic and technological change transformed the city that had grown before at the meeting point of a hill and a river, resulting in a city that bears features of all of its historic periods to varying degrees.

Like all long-established cities, Newcastle is formed of a multiplicity of temporal layers; each layer consists of a large number of objects and institutions developed during a different historical period. As new generations emerge, and the city goes through cycles of growth and decline, only some elements are left from each period, by chance or by design. As its layers have multiplied, the city today is more complex than ever before. Like all other complex phenomena, the difficulty is how to represent the city. On the one hand, this is a city that has survived the test of time, has continued to be a major city for a long period of time and at least for the past 1,000 years has had a continuity of name and identity. On the other hand, this is a city that has changed beyond recognition, and apart from a few elements, there is not much that can compare this city to its previous periods.

When confronted by this multiplicity and complexity, the question is how do we analyse the city and represent it? How do we account for a complex historical phenomenon that has gone through so many changes?

A traditional way of analysing the complexity of urban form has been urban morphology, which draws on historical geography (Whitehand 1987; Conzen 1960). The urban form is divided into three elements of street pattern, building form and land use. Each element is changing according to a different logic. So the land use may change from 1 day to the next, depending on how people decide to use a particular place. Building form is more resilient to change, as buildings have a longer life, which may last for generations and even centuries. Once built, a particular building form is likely to remain more or less the same for a longer period of time, while the use of that building may change several times. The third element, the street pattern, is the most resilient, as it can remain unchanged for centuries. In many European city centres, medieval street layouts can be identified. In some cities, the Roman street patterns have persisted. In this way, the many layers of the city can be analysed into functions and types, to see how the city is a tapestry of physical elements from different ages, woven together through the overlapping of different textures and threads. As urban morphologists have shown, it is then possible to identify character areas in the city, where the streets and buildings may be traced back to a particular historic period.

This is a descriptive analysis of the physical environment, to link its complexity to different historic periods. But when it comes to the modern day, we need more

complicated tools that can explain the current dimensions of change. We also need a tool that would enable us to connect the physical and social environment of the city. The city's social environment is also formed of many layers, embedded in its particular norms and habits, its local use of language, its own history of people and events, its institutions and its memories.

3.2 Identity Across Space

We often hear complaints about the loss of identity in a place, where rapid development and lack of attention to the quality of development have produced a bland environment. Modernist redevelopments of historic cities are thought to deprive them of their character, while many new parts of cities are criticised for their inability to claim any sense of identity. Globalisation is thought to be creating pressures for homogeneity and loss of local character and identity. From these accounts, it would appear that the loss of identity is equated with reduction in difference. The question then becomes about the distinctive features of a city, asking what distinguishes one city from another; what is unique about it? Increasingly, the response has been the establishment of iconic features and complicated marketing strategies to discover, or invent, new markers. Cities are treated as goods on the shelves of supermarkets, hence the significance of product differentiation and the need for standing out in a crowded marketplace.

Identity, however, is not only about distinction. It also deals with features that are similar to others. Here we can draw on social philosophy's definition of identity, which sees social identity as the result of the relations of similarity and difference (Jenkins 1996). Individuals define their identity by defining who they are similar to and who they are different from. The same can be seen in cities and their parts. How can a city be similar to and different from other cities?

Relations of similarity often take place within similar cultural and historical contexts. We can talk about medieval European cities or medieval Middle Eastern cities, where the internal interactions of a civilisation would lead to similarities among its cities. We can, therefore, identify a city as belonging to a group of cities with similar features. The identity of the city, therefore, is partly based on its similarities. But even within a relatively homogeneous context such as the medieval cities, we will see unique features. The best examples are Gothic churches: whereas they all belong to the same European cultural, geographical and historical context, they are all different. Each city has applied the same set of ideas in a different context, with different combinations of architectural elements; the result is diversity as well as unity. Each city has tried to stand out by virtue of its greatest artefact while using the same alphabet to stress its similarities with others like it.

In the modern period, this question is often raised in reaction to worldwide styles such as modernism, which seemed to promote a universal pattern across the world, which was turning cities to be similar everywhere, eroding local and regional distinctions. With globalisation, this concern has intensified. What is a locality's

identity in the face of homogenising forces of globalisation? Large companies that work across national boundaries, global networks of information and communication, and intensified movement of goods, services and ideas have contributed to the emergence of global patterns of similarity.

The way the constituent parts of a city are shaped and related to one another creates a unique identity for that city, which makes it identifiable from other cities. By the emergence of global brands, retail chains, multinational corporations and international styles of architecture and urban design, many of the distinctions of cities are being eroded. However, psychological wellbeing of people in localities seems to require the establishment of some distinctive character. This is why a heightened attention to memorable objects, institutions and events has emerged. In the past, public buildings such as museums and libraries, or private ones such as skyscrapers, were erected as monuments by cities which had the necessary wealth and ambition. Now, flagship projects, football clubs and festivals are some of the devices that help establish a relationship of similarity and difference with other cities. The current competition for building the tallest building in the world, in cities such as Taipei, Kuala Lumpur, Dubai, London and New York, shows that the concern for status has been intensified. Status secures not only a cultural sense of uniqueness; it also fuels a sense of economic competitiveness in a global economy that has become increasingly interconnected.

The sense of uniqueness and status has a clear economic logic: claiming to belong to an elite set of cities which can hope to play the part of a node in the global economy. Iconic architecture is not merely a sign of cultural and social distinctions but also a sign of economic similarity, bidding for the membership of an elite club. Even when cities bid for distinction, therefore, they are asserting a relation of similarity at the same time. Local authorities decide who they wish to compete with, set them as benchmarks and try to find out what they have done to succeed. If they had a Norman Foster or Frank Gehry building, so should we. This is a process in which differentiation is desired, but assimilation may be the outcome. A sense of identity is established through the relations of similarity and difference. These relations, however, are not only across space but also over time.

3.3 Identity over Time

The problem of a city's identity has some similarity to the classical philosophical problem of personal identity over time. How is it possible that, over a period of time, a person remains the same? Is it through physical continuity or psychological persistence, or both, that a person's identity over time is established? (Olson 2003) The same questions can be posed about cities. How do we say that a city is the same as it was a century ago? Is it through the persistence of its physical elements? Or is it through the memories and feelings of its inhabitants that the city keeps its identity? Or is it a combination of both? But there is no single account for these interpretations, and so the questions become: What are the accounts of the physical and social-psychological continuities, and whose account can we accept?

There are, however, some important differences between the notion of personal identity and the collective identity of a city. In the case of individuals, the physical body may change over time, but it remains a single unit which ages and transforms. The city, however, is formed of many units, which change according to different patterns and paths and are interpreted by different people and at different times. While some grow old, others are renovated. The result is a complex set of objects and relationships that are constantly evolving, with many possible and competing identities, as seen from different perspectives.

One of the problems of identity over time is the distinction between body and mind: Is it the body's persistence over time that constitutes identity, or is it the psychological continuity that is the ground for identity? The general attitude seems to prefer psychological continuity as the basis of identity. However, in cities, this will be more complicated than in personal identity. If we take the psychological approach, we soon realise that memories are about people as well as about places. The mental states that determine identity are, therefore, not self-referential, but intentional, directing towards outside events and objects.

The way personal identity is analysed appears to draw on dualism of mind and body. In the modern period, the ancient dualism between the mind and the body was reaffirmed by Descartes and hence has since been called Cartesian dualism (Cottingham 1992a). He argued that the mind (or soul) is non-physical and is distinct from the body or other material objects: '… this 'I', that is to say, the mind, by which I am what I am, is entirely distinct from the body' (Descartes 1968, p. 54). This gave him a solid rational foundation for knowledge, which was thinking: 'I think, therefore I am' (Descartes 1968, p. 53). This separation has been challenged by later generations, to the extent that now most philosophers consider themselves anti-Cartesian in this respect, adopting a kind of materialism which integrates the mind and the body (Cottingham 1992b; Žižek 1999; Searle 1999). Psychoanalysts have argued that the body can influence the mind (Freud 1985), and neuroscientists have shown a two-way traffic between the brain and the body, and how the way people behave can change if their brains are damaged, hence challenging the divide (Greenfield 2000).

By separating the social from the physical dimensions of the city, we are in danger of applying a version of dualism to the city. By asking whether the city is what it is due to its material objects, or to the people who live there, we are using Cartesian dualism to analyse the city. Identity, therefore, is not entirely about the physical or entirely about the social continuity, but it is often a combination of the two. If we move new people to an old city, of which they know nothing, as, for example, after bloody conquests, can we talk about the continued identity of the place? On the other hand, if we move the people of a city to a new city, for example, rebuilt after a disaster or a major urban renewal scheme, can we talk about their continued identity? Are they the citizens of the same city or of a new city? In both cases, a new set of relationships will be gradually established between people and places, and a new identity for the city will emerge.

3.4 Interrupted Identities in the Age of Speed

Cities are large agglomerations of people and objects. At any moment in time, some of these constituent parts of the city are changing: babies are born, new people come to the city and new roads and buildings are built but also some people leave, old people die and aging buildings are demolished. It would be impossible to imagine a living city without these changes. In the short term, these small changes cannot have a major impact on the city as a whole; a complete change of the city does not take place. Over time, however, the accumulated effects of these changes may largely change the city. In extreme cases of change, the city, and even its memory, may be wiped out altogether.

This slow historical change seems to be expected as part of the natural cycle of human settlements. Problems emerge, however, when the pace of change is fast and its dimensions are large. Many European cities grew in the nineteenth century as a result of industrialisation. The speed of urban growth in Victorian Britain was so alarming that many of the elite were worried about the possible impact of this growth on the future of society (Briggs 1968). The anxiety and fear that accompanied the urban growth led to many efforts to instigate new forms of solidarity, whether based on religion, on tradition or on collective work. Similarly, some of the anxieties of the past 30 years can be attributed to the large-scale move out of the industrial era. Cities that were once the seat of industries started to lose their functions and rationale. The Newcastle quayside is the prime example of these changes of entry into and out of industrial period. Urban growth now accompanies anxieties for the degradation of environment and quality of living of places. In the United States, the pace of growth, particularly in fast-growing sunbelt areas such as Arizona or California, has troubled the city authorities who are interested in managing this change, but are unable to keep up with its pace.

In the developing world, urban growth is often phenomenal. The pace and dimensions of change are such that the authorities seem unable to cope with its demands. A new infrastructure of roads, schools, hospitals etc. is needed to serve the urban growth. However, the financial and institutional capacities of the local or national authorities are limited. The pace of change also worries the urban middle classes, who feel their safety and security are under threat. Gated neighbourhoods from China to South Africa to the United States are developed on the basis of an argument for safety and security.

The pace of change also threatens the sense of identity that urban societies have, especially in the age of globalisation, when the pace of change has intensified. This has been felt in western cities, where the international styles of architecture and the spread of international goods and services have produced ever more similarity than before. This has been more strongly felt in the developing world, where these international symbols have had the dual character of modernity and loss of identity and control.

Powerful players are able, with the help of new technologies, to move ideas, resources, goods and services around the world at ever faster speeds. This has speeded up social processes and routines. Technological change has transformed social behaviour, creating a fast pace of life, faster than ever before. However, there are objects around us that constantly remind us of the longer scales of time, a sense of continuity that defies the speed of social life. Astronomical and geological times are extremely long range, measured in millions and billions of years, even light years, which are beyond our grasp and even imagination. And yet these long spans can be observed in humble pieces of stone that we see around us. A sense of permanence can be detected in the building materials that we use to build our cities.

The artefacts that humans create bring with them a measure of permanence and durability to human life and at the same time condition human existence. '[H]uman existence' Arendt wrote, 'is conditioned existence, it would be impossible without things, and things would be a heap of unrelated articles, a non-world, if they were not the conditioners of human existence' (Arendt 1958, p. 9). The integration of humans and things in the construction of public space endows the public realm with permanence. As Arendt (1958, p. 55) wrote,

> Only the existence of a public realm and the world's subsequent transformation into a community of things which gathers men together and relates them to each other depends primarily on permanence. If the world is to contain a public space, it cannot be erected for one generation and planned for the living only; it must transcend the life-span of mortal men.

In this way, the world of artefacts not only mediates between the present members of the public, it also links them to other generations through time. This integration of people and objects in the analysis, and the appreciation of how social relations are mediated through objects, is a key point in Arendt's analysis of public space who uses this notion of the world to embed the social world in a particular context. There are others after Arendt who have attempted to integrate people and objects, although some have gone as far as giving the objects presumed power of agency (Latour 1993). The significance of objects is indeed dependent on a process of collective symbolisation, in which we allocate meaning to objects and events (Searle 1995).

The historical scale is much faster than astronomical and geological scales and yet slower than technological and social changes. Much of the city, particularly its old parts and historical monuments, remains the same even after decades of rapid change in social habits and technological innovation. We may use computers in medieval buildings, without feeling uneasy about the discrepancy. These old objects, places and buildings are signs of a relative permanence, defying the speed that dominates social life. In this capacity, they can reassure the citizens that there are some focal points that remain constant, even if everything else changes. Even at the social scale of daily life, speed is being resisted. The Slow Food movement, for example, which boasts over 80,000 members in 100 countries, came into being in 1986 with the aim of protecting 'the pleasures of the table from the homogenization of modern fast food and life' (Slow Food 2006; Knox 2005).

3.5 Identity in Society: Tensions of Representation

Identity is established through the relations of similarity and difference. But it crucially depends on the process of representation of these relations. There are many disparate elements in anyone's memory, and the way they are brought together to make sense of their experiences is through narrative. Personal identity, therefore, is a narrative identity (Ricoeur 1995). The way I establish the relations of similarity and difference to my own past and to others is through telling stories and describing the elements of continuity and disruption, my similarities with and differences from others. But a human being has a complex memory and a large mental capacity. Which features of my past should I choose to compare to my present? Which features of my mental and physical makeup should I choose to compare to others? These elements all go through a process of selection, consciously and unconsciously, resulting in a narrative that is at best selective and partial and subject to change from time to time. A similar process can be applied to the representation of cities and societies.

A city is a complex and multilayered spatial-temporal phenomenon. Which features are adopted as symbols with which to specify and describe a place? This is closely related to who is the agent in charge of this selection and description and the methods of narration and representation. Through different representations, we may hear completely different stories about a place.

The process of representation is thwarted by a multitude of problems and contestations. One problem is the selection of symbols with which to identify a place. Here the problem of stereotyping looms large. How do we describe a people? This often takes place through ineffective and prejudiced symbolisation, as famously exemplified in national and regional stereotypes. But if we look from within these communities, we may not recognise the stereotype at all. The other problem is a political one: Who tells the story and to what end?

In both cases, identity across time and space, the question remains as to which elements of the city we choose to represent as its distinctive features. In the case of individuals, deciding who we are similar to and different from is a process that mixes real and imaginary features, creating a social construct that is often contested but also necessary for the psychological wellbeing of individuals. As individuals are pulled apart by biological impulses and social pressures for conformity, they develop a mask, a stable appearance that they use in social encounters (Goffman 1969). Even though these pressures may be inscribed on their body as their character and so difficult to change (Bourdieu 2000), they try to wear a mask that would hide what they consider as weak, choosing the best appearance that they wish to show to others (Madanipour 2003).

As the city is a place of diverse people and physical spaces, the choice of what to represent is fairly open. To avoid essentialism, we cannot rely on a single narrative and a rigid identity to describe all these differences. The result would inevitably be multiple and dynamic identities, changing over time and across space, not only in relation to other places and periods but also to the city's present time and space.

Even here and now, we can find these differences that need to be included in our accounts of the city. The reality of the city, therefore, is always multiple, and depending on the narrator, we can hear different stories about its identity.

Nevertheless, we come across representations of the city all the time. Some of these are targeting particular audiences. For example, city marketing, which has become one of the main forms of competition in the global economy, puts forward a promotional profile for a city or a region, with the aim of attracting investors and visitors. Some fiction writers have presented cities in a specific light, so that there are themed visitors who search for the places mentioned in their novels, as, for example, tourists searching for the Da Vinci Code in Paris or Inspector Rebus in Edinburgh. Heritage trails go through cities in a particular order, to tell a historical story or to take visitors through the main tourist attractions, as exemplified in Boston. City maps show places that are likely to be interesting for visitors and edit other places out. Depending on who has provided the map, the locations will be shown with different emphases, as, for example, the map of Paris by Printemps department stores. Histories of cities are similarly coloured by the choices that the historian makes: what stories need to be told and for whom, which periods are more important and which characters need to be introduced. What are thought to be the causal relations determine the instrumental uses of representation.

From a mass of information, there is always a careful selection of stories and symbols to tell a particular story about a city's past or present. These would amount to a wealth of material and a richer profile for a city. But tensions may arise if people disagree on a profile. What city marketing material presents may be at odds with the realities, as well as hopes and desires, of local communities. The act of representation, however, gives the provider a degree of power, to tell the story in the way that may serve their aims, which may be exclusionary towards others.

These are relatively softer forms of representation. When they are turned into buildings and streets, they become strongly embedded in a place, and any change may become difficult. Over centuries, city centres have become the place in which powerful people and institutions have struggled to control and shape. By placing a church at the centre of the medieval European city, the control of the city's representation has been clearly given to an institution. By building high-rise towers at the heart of the American city, representation has been secured for the business elite. Accumulation of these controls has created an urban landscape, especially at the centre of cities, which is a map of power, and how the powerful have stamped their mark on the city, ensuring that its representation bears their presence.

3.6 Dynamic Multiplicity: Many Voices, over Time

Many critics of globalisation, or of the fast pace of urban change, talk about identity. For them, cultural identity appears to be a form of resistance to the fast movement that is transforming their familiar landscapes and norms. Cultural

identity becomes an instrument of injecting a degree of fixity into what appears to be fluid and ever changing, and doing so beyond our control (e.g. Castells 1996). And yet we know that this fixity is in danger of becoming too rigid, rejecting the possibility of change that is needed for social vitality and the possibility of change through dialogue with others. These rigid interpretations of cultural identity, as something essentially the same and unchanging, however, can lead to forms of intolerant tribalism. Some have celebrated this tribalism as a route to social renewal (Maffesoli 1996), but the consequences of heightened tribalism are now increasingly apparent in multicultural societies. After all, social identity is a process, which systematically establishes and signifies the relationship of similarity and difference between individuals, between collectivities and between individuals and collectivities (Jenkins 1996). Therefore, it is both through similarity and difference, and allowing for the possibility of change, that identity can be interpreted and understood.

Rather than a static understanding of space from a single perspective or a disembodied understanding of time, we need to be able to draw on different perspectives and combine an understanding of time and space together (Lefebvre 1991). Dynamic multiplicity, therefore, is an investigation of the city through time and through the different perspectives of embedded and embodied agents interacting with each other and with their physical environment (Madanipour 2007). It is crucial that the process of giving an account and accepting one as reasonable is not one simple exchange but an ongoing conversation, which can only be successful if a critical question and answer conversation is possible. As J. S. Mill insisted, human wisdom could only result from the 'steady habit of correcting and completing his own opinion by collating it with those of others' (Mill 1974, p. 80). This required an environment in which freedom of expression was guaranteed, as well as appreciating that the truth may have many sides: 'the only way in which a human being can make some approach to knowing the whole of a subject is by hearing what can be said about it by persons of every variety of opinion, and studying all modes in which it can be looked at by every character of mind' (ibid.). Nietzsche says almost the same, but in his own words. He warns us that any rational analysis is an interpretation from a viewpoint, but to counter the effects of entrapment in a single perspective, Nietzsche suggests we 'employ a *variety* of perspectives and effective interpretations in the service of knowledge' (quoted in Schacht 1996, p. 159). As he puts it, 'the *more* affects we allow to speak about one thing, the *more* eyes, different eyes, we can use to observe one thing, the more complete will our "concept" of this thing, our "objectivity", be' (ibid.). Therefore, a multidimensional viewpoint is required, which draws on different perspectives, integrating political, economic and cultural aspects of urban transformation. This viewpoint needs to be dynamic, so that it can address the process of urban change: incorporating a time dimension into the process of spatial change, rather than only focusing on a particular place or a single moment in this process. Ultimately, however, its role is not just mapping the diversity of views but also showing what may be missing and what has remained unsaid, making visible what often remains invisible.

3.7 Control over Change: From Stories to Practices

Any situation in a city is a display of a set of relationships and power hierarchies. Any change is a challenge to these relationships, undermining some and privileging others. The key questions, therefore, will be who initiates the change, who is affected by it, who benefits and who loses out? In other words, the main problem is the problem of control over change. Control over change includes treating the palimpsest, deciding on what to keep and what to dispose of, which is always a contested process reflecting political and cultural power of different social groups. This would include control over change as well as control over representations of change. In other words, it is control over both substantive and symbolic change that is at stake.

When the pace and extent of change is considerable, it seems that no-one is in control, which worries almost all stakeholders. What would be the outcome of such a forceful but uncontrolled process? But even within such strong currents, some are better placed to steer the process, or to benefit from it, than others. Those who feel they can manage the process are empowered to influence it further. If the process is democratically open to influence by the citizens, then the control of the process can be negotiated upon. If the process, however, is closed, it is likely to generate a sense of alienation in some, a sense of hopelessness.

Influencing the conditions in which we live and work is essential for the social and psychological wellbeing of individuals. Without the power to make at least some decisions, we will feel socially excluded, without a stake in our cities, and not wishing to invest in it with our energies and emotions (Madanipour et al. 2003). However, when change is imposed from outside, against our express wishes, the sense of powerlessness sets in.

The problem of managing change has challenged both developed and developing countries, wherever cities have grown fast. The difference is often in the presence or absence of the institutions that can manage this change effectively and in the responsiveness of these institutions to the public. In developing countries, the problem of managing growth has been a major challenge for the urban and national administrations. The necessary resources and institutions for collection of information, planning for change and implementation of plans have often been weak. The result has been a shared sense of being overwhelmed by change, both for the authorities and citizens. Furthermore, the degree of democratic responsiveness to the needs and desires of citizens has also been weak. So whenever change is managed, it may not be in the directions that the population can know about or approve of. Rather than being able to work with change, and channel it as much as possible in the desired directions, change itself becomes the enemy for some, who wish to revert to a golden age when change was slow or non-existent. Especially if these changes are associated with agencies from other countries, which are typically western, then a resistance to change agents and their cultures borders on resistance to all necessary change.

In the developed countries, the possibility of blaming another country is less possible. Agents of modernisation are all local as well as international. Resistance to change becomes associated with class and wealth, so that some see imposed change

as benefiting the elite at the expense of the poor. Others blame the mindset of science and technology for this change. Neighbourhoods are redeveloped, roads constructed and schemes implemented that radically transform cities. These schemes, however, often avoid demolishing better-off areas and seem to concentrate on the poorer neighbourhoods. In these places, the sense of helplessness prevails, as change is imposed from outside, without their participation.

Part of the problem of control is how it is represented. Whoever is in charge of representing change would do so in a particular fashion, which may undermine others. What one group presents as success is regarded by others as failure. What one group sees as modernisation of the housing stock, the others see as losing their homes to an abstract idea. The most important element in dealing with change, therefore, is to be able to feel in control, even if to a very limited extent.

Control over change includes deciding on what to keep and what to dispose of. In part these decisions are based on social, economic and political considerations. In part, they are also decided upon aesthetic considerations, which are rooted in social conventions and paradigms (Madanipour 1996). Depending on the paradigms of the time, one place may be judged to have historic and cultural significance, while others may be demolished as worthless. Who makes these decisions and on what basis is a key tension in change. This reflects the relations of power of individuals and institutions but also the power of ideas and conventions.

During the early modernist period, Victorian buildings were mostly considered as worthless, eclectic and built in poor taste. Many were pulled down to make way for new additions to the city. However, as modernism came under attack, interest in Victorian styles grew, which were now seen as colourful and with character. A new wave of modernism is turning the page again and new attitudes have emerged. The idea of harmony or contrast, which distinguished modernists from others, was a contested notion at the heart of many decisions about urban change.

If approaching the context is based on individual cases, we may see the city changing on a case-by-case basis. Each new addition may have its own logic, which may add to the aesthetic richness of the city, but it may also increase its sense of disorder. When the approach to new developments follows a particular style, however, the sense of harmony among the new additions may increase, but the contrast with the context may intensify. The nature of the process and the quality of the results will be different if new additions are based on a conceptual scheme, on an ideological basis or on a democratic process of decision making. It will also be different if change is introduced with the participation of people and stakeholders or through the imposition of some ideas by the elite on others.

3.8 Conclusion

The identity of cities can be studied at the interface of the relations of similarity and difference: how a place is similar to, and different from, others. These relations are articulated through narratives which connect disparate pieces and integrate them

into a unified and apparently coherent whole. Narratives, however, are themselves diverse, told by different people, situated in different parts of the society and towards different ends. The process through which a narrative emerges, through which the identity of place is articulated, is subject to tensions and power struggles, resulting in a diversity of trajectories for the future of a place. These narratives of identity both reflect the political structures and cultural preferences of a society, as well as the efforts of individuals and groups to introduce new stories and more complex identities. The only way a multifaceted story can be heard is through dynamic multiplicity: listening to many voices over time, but always with an eye for fairness.

As the speed of global change has intensified, a major problem is a concern for a degree of continuity. By tracing the processes of similarity and difference, with an analysis of identity over time and across space, we can identify how cities are similar to, and different from, one another and their own past. A combination of social and physical environments seems to enable city dwellers to keep a line of communication with the past. But when the speed of change is beyond control, which is often accompanied by a sense of powerlessness and alienation, the result of change can be resisted by people. Through ensuring democratic involvement in change, however, this can be partly addressed. A sense of continuity is more likely to occur if change is responsive to people, rather than imposed on them.

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Chapter 4
The [*Loving*] Metropolitan Landscape and the Public-Private Borderland: Refiguring the Field for Architecture, Landscape and Urban Design

Dorian Wiszniewski

Abstract This chapter promotes the city as integrated with its metropolitan landscape. It sees the city less as a series of architectural figures (autonomous works of art, technology and craftsmanship) on the common infrastructural ground of public space (museums, libraries, town halls, streets, squares and parks circumscribed by fields and transport systems) and more as the suspended animation of serial spatial practices negotiated across timeframes varying between the fleeting and the endless stretching out of the present. The corollaries to such a view are unpredictable, affirmatively uncertain, but not without confident commitment, clear architectural expression and evident territorial claims and differences.

This chapter encourages the recurrent critique of our old habits, especially those that precondition the relation between our cities and the landscapes within which they are arranged. The practices promoted through this chapter are premised on a deconstruction of our conventional legislative disciplinary approach to urban, landscape and architectural configuration. The recommendation is to nurture spatial practices that focus less on ends and more on means, not means as an end but means as "pure means". The dynamics of the negotiated practices are interdisciplinary, procedural and elastic but also encouraging towards the development of specific disciplinary means that open, hold and further promote flexible reciprocity between means of production and the production of means that opportune the movement through and between territorial limits. This chapter promotes architectural, urban and landscape borderlands as affirmative conditions at scales that range between body and world.

Keywords Borderland • Dispositif • Everyman's land • Globalisation • Intersubjective procedure • Metropolitan landscape • No-man's-land • Private space • Public space • Social contract • Sovereignty • Territoriality • Territory • Urban design

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It seems to me that the governance and organisation of our landscape is caught in a bind between overly simplistic paradigms of either high- or low-density urbanities: the models establish a dialectical relation between larger urbanities containing pockets (archipelagos) of landscape and smaller urbanities surrounded by landscape, frequently using the latter to model the edges of the former. In most urban paradigms mass and density become the key features for organising urban ecology (Rossi 1984, p. 65). I challenge these reductive tendencies by shifting the territorial paradigm away from one of centre and edges to the notion of edges as being the recurrent condition in a continuous and open landscape of different preoccupations.

Throughout this chapter I use the term metropolitan landscape. I use it to give a sense of the urban to questions of landscape and that of landscape to questions of urbanity. The [*loving*] metropolitan landscape does not differentiate the architectural impulse, the impulse to construct, which brings geometry (precise and inexact rulings) to all conditions of landscape, be they agrarian or urban.

Echoing Giorgio Agamben, I suggest using the term metropolitan "to designate the new urban (and agrarian) fabric that emerges in parallel with the processes of transformation that Michel Foucault defined as the shift from the territorial power of the ancient regime, of sovereignty, to modern biopower, that is in its essence governmental" (Agamben 2007). In Agamben's model, the relations between landscape and urbanism are conditioned by three types of *dispositifs* (apparatuses): first, reality as humans and living beings as a developing series of dispositions between one and others; second, "the *dispositifs* (apparatuses) that continuously capture and take hold of them" (Agamben 2007); and "the third fundamental element that defines a *dispositif* is the series of processes of subjectivation that result from the relation, the *corpo a corpo*, between individuals and *dispositifs*" (Agamben 2007).

Agamben and Foucault both remind us that there is no apparatus, or disposition, that does not involve the twofold processes of subjectivation: those processes which, on one hand, "lead an individual to assume and become attached to an individuality and singularity" but on the other also lead to a "subjugation to an external power" (Agamben 2007). I introduce the notion of *loving* into the metropolitan landscape to affect both the dynamics of subjectivation and the apparatuses that are implicated in establishing our dispositions. I suggest the philosophy of loving can counter both impulses of subjectivation: the truly loving relationship is neither too self-centred nor too compliant to the systems that establish the relations between people and between people and systems. I take the impetus from Agamben's observations on the etymology of metropolis. The term invokes the distance and relation between mother and offspring and home and another place. The term invokes a *dishomogeneity* at the heart of our urban apparatus. The care of the mother is not that which tries to make one the same as the other. The care of the mother simply tries to make the differences between people and between places equally loving.

In the relationship between city and landscape, I promote the *loving* process as reciprocal; an enquiry into one should elicit love and care for the other. Alain Badiou says, "What kind of world does one see when one experiences it from the point of view of two and not one? What is the world like when it is experienced, developed and lived from the point of view of difference and not identity? This is what

I believe love to be. It is the project from the moment our lives are challenged by the perspective of difference" (Badiou and Trong 2012, pp. 22–23). To elicit the love and care of people for city and landscape together in all their differences is the project that this chapter promotes. It does not suggest that one should be placed over the other. It moves away from the conventions of convenience that wish to compartmentalise, hold differences still and manage the status quo. Rather, I promote a turn towards difference, the difference that animates existence. This chapter suggests that the fecundity which ensues from viewing the world from a multiple rather than single perspective can inform and be absorbed into our processes for organising relations in the metropolitan landscape.

Taking such a turn involves disputing some of the conventions of urban design. For example, this chapter suggests that it is worth reassessing the old dialectical division between public and private space. This is not to suggest that there are no such things as public and private space. I write from the premise that there is and ought to be private space. Everyone needs a right to retreat into temporary isolation. Likewise, I think there is an obligation to participate collectively in the world. However, I suggest it is far too simplistic to presume that all else that is not private space is public space and vice versa. It may be, in Europe at least, that we imagine public space to be the generality of the world and for private space to be some part of it to which everyone has entitlement. This doesn't sound like a bad arrangement. After all, even if the world has been territorialised by national and sovereign forces, the conceit and legacy of the Enlightenment is that we presume this to be done on our, the public's, behalf.

However, such an enlightened view of the openness and continuity of the world is certainly not the arrangement that we currently have in our everyday experience of the relationships between landscape and architecture. Public space has been carved up by an array of claims, organised, for example, as arrangements or tensions between sovereign, government, political, economic, technological, institutional, corporate, *community* and individual interests.[1] It is worth noting that as a global public, the world is very young. It is perhaps still premature whether or not we can even be called a global public. We have not yet learned to live together across bigger territorial dimensions. As Karl Popper has suggested, although we live in an *open society*, we have not yet developed appropriate rules for open coexistence, and generally we are still practising old tribal territorial paradigms at increasingly larger scales (Popper 2011). I argue that it is not simply the fate of the city that is in question under the strain of global scale public-private dialectical tension. It is the fate of the metropolitan landscape. The metropolitan landscape has local and global scales of operation. If we are to accept the ancient formulation that the landscape must feed the city as much as the city feeds the landscape,[2] then, we need to renegotiate the relations based on a deeper understanding of how specific contextual histories and inherent potentiality may inform, and where necessary resist, the territorial claims of cultural and commodity production driven by the homogenising national, trans- and supranational forces of what either Felix Guattari calls Integrated World Capitalism (IWC) (Guattari 2000) or what Hardt and Negri call Empire (Hardt and Negri 2001).

The territoriality of any metropolitan arrangement cannot be accurately described only by the public-private spatial dialectic. For example, as beautiful and informative as they are, neither Nolli's Plan of Rome[3] nor any post-structuralist interpretation of urbanity, for example, Stan Allen's interpretation of Piranesi's Campo Marzio (Allen 1989), fully or adequately describe the complexities of urban space. The figuration and configuration of landscapes upon which urbanities are established are as multifarious and inexact as the political and philosophical impulses that drive the various geometries of rationalisation in the first instance. Descriptions of all the possible histories, dramas and ongoing narratives, for example, of Rome's urban contexts, either in terms born of public-private or parts-to-whole formal and spatial dialectics, are reductions that may unwittingly cloud specific complexities of architectural and landscape contexts by appealing to propensities either to oversimplify questions of territoriality on one hand or sublimate territorial issues on the other by privileging the autonomous-synthetic dialectical abstraction of architectural figures (in either instance and generally through the reading and writing of planometric borders and frames).[4] The limits and borders of the architectural figure, in my view, cannot be procedurally autonomous from broader politico-philosophical territorial questions.

Therefore, as well as proposing an understanding of our urban contexts as a simultaneously detailed and broader view of the metropolitan landscape, which necessarily involves scale shifts between body-, building-, city- and landscape-dimension practices and experience, this chapter opens up particular questions on the nature of borders. The borders between territories, even those that we might imagine between public and private space, have both material and ideological attributes. The border acts physically to limit and ideologically to represent the dialectics of division, for example, between inside and outside, inclusion and exclusion, the contained and uncontained and what is identifiable and what is *other*. Whether we do or like to think it this way or not, the architectural-landscape border is also a political and philosophical border where the material always operates in tension with the ideal.

This chapter argues that a series of exchanges between the material and ideal ought to be promoted from the outset of enquiry, even if the everyday practitioners of the exchange are not so well versed in architectural, political or philosophical modalities. To inform the procedures for such exchange in the architectural-metropolitan enquiry, in both political and architectural practices, this chapter calls mainly upon on two political philosophers to give particular assistance: Jurgen Habermas and Giorgio Agamben. Habermas' pragmatic critical theory presents an ideal notion of reason, and for him the job of philosophy is to provide negotiating techniques within practical systems of politics – which for this chapter takes us into the borderlands of the metropolitan landscape. Whereas Agamben's phenomenological roots acknowledge that the material condition of existence is politically contextual, his philosophy operates from the ideal of the political activist that denounces asymmetrical political privilege – which for this chapter opens the metropolitan landscape as an immense field of

possibilities for architecture, landscape architecture and urban design, as activists, at the varying and interchanging scales of body, building, city and landscape.

Although they operate from different priorities, Habermas and Agamben share concerns for the politically marginalised, the *other*, and develop politico-philosophical insights, which I bring into my consideration of the metropolitan landscape. For Habermas and Agamben, the marginalised, the *other* that appears from beyond known territorial limits, stands for pure difference, the unknown and unsettling influence on any politico-philosophical stasis; yet, due to the introduction of a different point of view, such an *other* provides a vantage point from which to see the strengths and weaknesses of the border and the open or closed views of the political figuration of the landscape. Habermas' and Agamben's coupled theorisation of the *other* provides an antidote to the "contractual origin of state power and, along with it, every attempt to ground political communities in something like a 'belonging'" (Agamben 1998, p. 181). The *other* operates in the borderland. One might say the *other*, necessarily, is the operator par excellence of the borderland, the political no-man's-land, but for me such a vantage point provides insight into how also to see it as everyman's land.

How do we operate in everyman's land? Habermas' and Agamben's deliberations on the *other* give us insight into the material and ideological territorial dimensions and limits of borderland. The spatial practice of architecture, landscape and urban design is necessarily a territorial practice. Therefore, this chapter argues that territorial practice requires a keen understanding of border and borderland. Hence, the border as line, limit or edge is promoted through this chapter to be thickened to that of borderland: materially, as architectural/landscape figures that operate over to include the full extent of the metropolitan landscape and ideologically, as elastic, deliberative and nonexclusive political procedures. I am interested in political difference as much as political interaction.

Homi Bhabha's invocation of Heidegger may be helpful in providing a politic that the chapter considers appropriate: "A boundary is not that at which something stops… [it] is that from which something begins its presencing".[5] However, this is not to suggest that all new presences should be rationalised according to the limitations of a dominant host territory. We do not need to subject these presences to finite processes of identification. We must let others be. As Michel Serres (1989) forewarns us, we must be careful not to try and rationalise everything and make known to us all that there is. Enlightenment only operates when we retain some dark. We must have some territories, some things, which remain a mystery. Borderlands include territory left resolutely apart as much as areas of overlap and breach. Therefore, this chapter promotes an enlightened openness to questions of territoriality and outlines a series of deliberative procedures of political and philosophical exchange and architectural figuration and reconfiguration, without attempting the complete and permanent illumination and rationalisation of the public-private equation with their consequent fixed and sharply defined expression and borders in the metropolitan landscape.

4.1 The [*Loving*] Metropolitan Landscape

Before moving on to specific observations, I would like to bring from Agamben and Habermas to my thoughts on the [*loving*] metropolitan landscape and hence procedures for architectural, landscape and urban design; I would first like to reflect a little on Immanuel Kant's opening response to his own question of *What is Enlightenment*? This is an important text for any trajectory of progress. Although it retains old Platonic notions of the relation between knowledge and ignorance and light and dark, which can be hierarchical and elitist, it can still be pertinent if we remind ourselves of the key generator of its motor: it is a model of change and how to overcome the difficulties of change. In the case of enquiries into architecture, landscape and urban design, this involves a movement towards mature views of the metropolitan landscape and a movement away from systems of governance for cities and landscapes that were developed from a basis that may once have been seen to be important but which now can perhaps be seen to be founded on immature understandings of political relations, particularly contemporary global political relations.

As previously mentioned, we have yet to properly work out how to co-operate globally without first referring to old nation-state political paradigms. Since the formation of the European Union, if not explicitly, we have tacitly been moving away from Hegel's politico-philosophical paradigm that promotes relations between individual, family, community, town, city, region and nation-state as a kind of *matryoshka*[6] principle, where the smallest relation is encapsulated by a progressively bigger version of the same political relation.[7] We are no longer following the nation-state paradigm, but frequently we seem to follow urban paradigms that still retain this organisational principle. This chapter does not attempt a grand theory of the relation between the one and many. Rather, it takes a view from the position of one as part of the many, but also as one of part of the many, fewer than the multitude, who have an obligation to consider carefully the areas in which they specifically work. I approach this with humility but not with fear or anguish.[8]

Kant, prior to Hegel's movement towards a nation-state dominant programme, provided an urgency to break prefigured encapsulation at all scales of political and epistemological relation:

> Enlightenment is man's emergence from his self-incurred immaturity. Immaturity is the inability to use one's own understanding without the guidance of another. This immaturity is self-incurred if its cause is not lack of understanding, but lack of resolution and courage to use it without the guidance of another. The motto of enlightenment is therefore: Sapere aude! Have courage to use your own understanding!
>
> Laziness and cowardice are the reasons why such a large proportion of men, even when nature has long emancipated them from alien guidance (*naturaliter maiorennes*), nevertheless gladly remain immature for life. For the same reasons, it is all too easy for others to set themselves up as their guardians. (Kant 1784)

Kant implored us to resist the convenience of letting others do our thinking. "Dare to know," he says. He also suggests that our enlightenment depends upon an aggregation of views, some mature but more importantly as an aggregation of developing views. Enlightenment is an ongoing process. It is a process of maturation.

Now, even if we are steadily moving away from nation-state politics, we have to ask if our systems of governance are mature enough or are maturing appropriately? Have they successfully divested themselves of old and inappropriate habits? Habermas and Agamben suggest they have not. They each suggest we have not fully divested ourselves of the self-centred impulse.

I will look first at Agamben. He gives us an excoriating critique of the principle of sovereignty that he suggests still guides most of European legislative force. If Agamben is correct, and I think he is, then, I argue it also operates at the heart of the municipal agencies that determine, for example, the zoning principles of Urban Planning that seek categorically to organise and distribute like and unlike civic functions within very crude and prescriptive demarcations of public and private realm. As we know, frequently such zoning is driven by more conservative (known) rather than progressive (unknown) values. However, what makes the principles of Urban Planning so dangerous as a conservative system, whether they follow simplistic zoning principles or more complicated organisational principles, for example, derived from discourses on place making, is that they operate with the force of law. Kant might suggest such conservative processes operate to a kind of *convenient immaturity* (Kant 1784). Rather than learning and modifying, conservative convenience avoids risk. Rather than risk being stupefied by the difficulties and brightness of yet unknown visions across the complex range of scales in the metropolitan landscape (body, building, city and landscape), a recourse to managerial bureaucracy provides the reassurance of what is already known and more easily organised: relentless tessellation of economic zoning occasionally punctuated by social problem-solving civic amenities and self-interested pride-generating iconic monuments. Love cannot be so risk averse. A loving metropolitan landscape would not provide inanity as life enhancement (Badiou and Trong 2012, pp. 6–7).

Agamben is very direct in his critique of this conservatism. He suggests that all legal and legislative processes are flawed as carriers of value. Agamben has analysed how the logicality (or reason) of law has developed in relation to power; he suggests not only has law harnessed power but it has also become the fundamental mechanism of sovereignty. In other words, legislative procedures tend to reproduce themselves as a sovereign force and rely on this for the affectivity for what they legislate. The tendency is for the affectivity of the system to substitute for the rightfulness of what is legislated. Agamben states, “Sovereignty belongs to law, which today seems inseparable from our conception of democracy and the legal State” (Agamben 1998, p. 30). Analysis of the coupling of law and power reveals the inner workings of law to be duplicitous. In simple terms, the duplicity arises from a coupling between the privilege held by the legislators and the values held by the legislators. Law constantly flips from being merely a system that organises value to one that promotes a particular value system; thereby, legislatures, by default, make it difficult for other values to enter their systems.

Agamben’s critique of sovereignty can be summarised through two significant observations he makes concerning the corrupting influence of power relations on (1) our philosophical/epistemological systems and (2) our political systems; to understand each is to understand also how each intertwines and corrupts the other. These observations are immensely important in considering how the processes of

architecture, landscape and urban design, on one hand, are frequently complicit in reinforcing the workings of the legislative apparatus and, on the other, well placed to challenge such complicity.

Concerning (1) our philosophical and epistemological systems, Agamben reminds us of Aristotle's observations. Potency (power) is essential and integral to our being but is not the sum total of our being. Aristotle (1956) (metaphysics) arrives at the formulation that our being can be more accurately described as the relation between actuality and potentiality, that is, between what is and what might be. Potency is the power to shape what might be. Agamben's point is that civilisations, in their attempts to manage the world, have placed too much emphasis on potency rather than potentiality. The fine-tuning of an instrument, an apparatus, can lead to instrumentality: where means are prescribed by ends and ends foretold and assured by means. Power does not tend to give up its own apparatus of power. Instead, it tends to attempt ever more efficient delivery of its ends, which includes and frequently prioritises the maintenance of the apparatus.

Concerning (2) our political systems, Agamben suggests that there is a *state of exception* (*ex-capere*) that sits at the core of sovereignty. It operates in two ways. First, power systems can only include what they can legislate for.[9] Therefore, rather than opening themselves up to what is unknown, experimental and challenging, legislative (power) systems tend to exclude from their systems of approval what they do not know how to control.[10] As a consequence, opportunities to invent and/or implement new paradigms, for example, the [*loving*] metropolitan landscape, are minimised. Furthermore, any impetus is frequently treated with suspicion and, even if given some room to manoeuvre, burdened by caveats of conservative restrictions. Second, sovereignty presumes everything to be bound by the rule of law. A meta-governance encapsulates and circumscribes all specific systems of control; in other words, the rule of law is autonomous to and greater than specific systems of control. This can be understood through the formulation that there is nothing beyond the law (except chaos). Since ancient times, but more recently as framed by Robespierre, this is the fundamental structure of the legal system in Europe.[11]

The coupling of these two ways in which sovereignty operates is what makes our legal and legislative processes appear more as apparatuses of enforcement and conformity rather than as procedures of emancipation and progression. As Agamben puts it: "the rule, suspending itself, gives rise to the exception and, maintaining itself in relation to the exception, first constitutes itself as a rule. The force of law consists in this capacity to maintain itself in relation to an exteriority" (Agamben 1998, p. 18). Agamben gives us some pointers to how we can reorganise our systems and hence our procedures for developing architecture, landscape and urban design. He opens *ways* and *means* for the consideration and production of the metropolitan landscape (Agamben 2000). We will come to these presently, but before this I would like to turn to some thoughts of Habermas on the procedures of legislation. They are somewhat less radical in their critique than Agamben but offer some practical guidance on how to operate political procedures sympathetic to the introduction of unknown and potentially very different points of view. They operate, and potentially further stimulate, a progressive and caring *governmentality*.[12]

Habermas, as critical theorist, promotes a very specific character of *communitarian* political thinking. It requires a response to the conditions of what he calls *popular sovereignty* that exists in liberal political systems. He builds a *proceduralist* method through a reconstituted understanding of the public-private dialectic that drives liberal political systems in the contemporary economically privileged countries of the West:

> The dispute between the two received paradigms—whether the autonomy of legal persons is better secured through individual liberties for private competition or through publicly guaranteed entitlements for clients of welfare bureaucracies—is superseded by a *proceduralist* conception of law. According to this conception, the democratic process must secure private and public autonomy at the same time: the individual rights that are meant to guarantee to [people] the autonomy to pursue their lives in the private sphere cannot even be adequately formulated unless the affected persons themselves first articulate and justify in public debate those aspects that are relevant to equal or unequal treatment in typical cases. The private autonomy of equally entitled citizens can be secured only insofar as citizens actively exercise their civic autonomy. (Habermas et al. 2002, p. 264)[13]

As for Agamben, Habermas builds his understanding by observing those, and how we treat those, on the political margins. He accommodates the *other* through a concern for the global politics of human rights. Habermas goes beyond Rousseau's ideologically liberal notion of "the will of the united people" (Habermas et al. 2002, p. 250).[14] Habermas acknowledges an already "decentred society" (Habermas et al. 2002, p. 251). This is theorised in response to the need to form appropriate political processes that deal with the progressive pluralist shift away from culturally homogeneous populations that the movements of globalisation energise (Habermas et al. 2002, p. 117). Therefore, in contrast to a theory of democracy that has an agreed statement of the collective will as the point of political discourse, he takes account of the tendency with ever increasing pluralism that there is decreasing likeliness of achieving something that can be totalled as representing a collective will. Therefore, the only way left to consider *popular sovereignty* is in "intersubjective terms" (Habermas et al. 2002, p. 250). Thus, rather than the traditional view of a democratic process that accepts the rule of majority, Habermas proposes a political procedure in political discourse that seeks consensus but which also requires accounting for areas of non-consensus.

In the above quotation (n.28), Habermas is specifically discussing the equal rights of women as an example of the everyday *other* in our apparently liberal systems. In the quotation I have placed *people* as a substitute for women; the subject could equally refer to any political minority or autonomous civic/agrarian group, for example, architects, shopkeepers, nurses, firemen, livestockists and farmers. Habermas uses the treatment of feminist politics of equality to illustrate the limitations of a politics that deals exclusively with the rights of the individual and disregards "how the individual rights of private citizens are related to the public autonomy of citizens engaged in law making" (Habermas et al. 2002, p. 262). Echoing Agamben, the particular problem Habermas highlights is the fact that women have been given equality in the workplace only in the limited ways a politics of *normalising* intervention can achieve. Women have been overgeneralised as a working classification. Special regulations have been developed to deal with their general

differences, for example, for pregnancy and childcare, and they have been given generalist gender-specific employment roles. Rather than having the effect of giving women equal rights, these special provisions make them more evidently unequal and further limit their potential to be different. Business models and the employment models are in constant tension. The compounding of such issues might create an increase of women in work, but they are more noticeably in the lower wage bracket areas of employment.[15] The regulation of businesses and the policies of general welfare and labour-force equalities and entitlements respond to each other but with priorities shifting to one side or other of the argument, leaning either towards the market or towards the community.[16]

Habermas wants to break this dialectic of either/or. He illuminates two things. First, he highlights that the benefits of coexistence in modern society can be obtained only either by competing in the market place or by entitlements of public welfare. The existing political structures are unable to deal with more sophisticated political arguments. By restricting the means to benefit in political life to two opposing systems, there is a tendency to simplify, categorise and normalise the criteria through which the would-be beneficiaries operate. To combat these tendencies, Habermas suggests we must tolerate and even go as far to ensure the provision of political platforms for those views that might initially seem radical. More, to bring political dynamic to such a static system, Habermas suggests, like Agamben, radicalisation of the system itself is needed. Second, the example of women highlights that the process of obtaining women's equality has just begun. Habermas urges that the questions must constantly be re-articulated by those affected. Within the existing political system, there are now two aspects of affectedness: those that initiated the concern and remain concerned and those now created as the newly affected by the first round of negotiations. Habermas' proceduralism is always dynamically dialectical. Habermas suggests a type of consensus that operates as a progressive procedure of *overlapping consensus*.

For Habermas, temporary overlapping consensus invokes the level of sophistication necessary for reaching practical consensus. My interpretation of his politics, as a paradigm for the operations of architecture, landscape and urban design in the [*loving*] metropolitan landscape, suggests an affirmative view of borderland. His political model suggests all political discourses happen (or political discourse happens) in borderlands. The place of political discourse is a borderland. A type of borderland is a temporarily defined territory. Borderlands have the traditional value of territory in that they operate between other territories; however, rather than the territory being circumscribed and fixed by limits, their territoriality is characterised more by the shifting proximity of relations of operation. These can operate at the scale of body, building, city and landscape. Figures, fields and their limits, be they bodily or architectural, have less to do with insides and outsides, inclusion and exclusion, and more to do with the manifold of operations. In other words, they are fields and spaces of hybrid activities that, when they are configured, we might expect will account for the movement of values and the varying share and non-share in such values. There will be a mix of the fixed and the non-fixed. Such borderlands work on the basis that in political discourse, and hence also the architecture of field and figure, the *reasonable* is favoured over the *truth*.

The elevation of the reasonable sounds like some form of sophism, but the fundamental dissimilarity with sophism lies in the stance taken in the circumstances of political difference. For Habermas, consensus is the unlikely-to-be-obtained objective, whereas sophism uses sophistry to persuade and conclude.[17] In other words, proper political debate for Habermas is only possible through a genuine mutual desire to be open to the views of the *other*, perhaps to reach some form of consensus, which could be an agreement to remain different rather than to convert to a particular persuasion. Therefore, the procedures necessary for a movement towards consensus demand two things. First, that morality, the terrain of *truth concepts*, must neither predetermine what is deemed reasonable nor prefigure all discourse through specific moral imperatives. Second, reason must be given autonomy as a political process. This autonomy of reason is what Habermas calls "practical reason" (Habermas et al. 2002, pp. 93, 99). It differs from the practical reason of empiricism, which seeks to make specific concepts practically understood in objective terms. Rather, it is nearer to Aristotle and Kant, and even Gilles Delueze's "transcendental empiricism" (Deleuze 2001), which permits reason to have autonomous logical procedures: a series of things can make sense in the context of their own series without being fixed by an objective or a preconceived overarching sense of logic (Habermas et al. 2002, p. 12). The borderlands of the [*loving*] metropolitan landscape can also operate simultaneously within and without the systems of governance.

Habermas' *practical reason* avoids the tendency to determine political relations entirely through maxims of prudence, but it accepts there is a compulsion between rational motives and morality. To reiterate, his way of overcoming the self-centredness of nation-state politics and the dialectics between public and private interests (in his model brought to light through the tensions between the welfare state and the free market) is to make all political procedures operate as *intersubjective procedures*. In other words, neither rationality nor a singular morality, as the predominant position in either one or many, can exclusively determine the basis upon which all subsequent action is determined reasonable. Any exclusivity of reason cannot become the basis for determining the rule of law. Rather than predetermining the priority of rationality or morality, it is accepted from the outset of political exchange that there exists an interrelationship in various proportions of rationality and morality in each of the participants and at the varying scale of fields of political operation (Habermas et al. 2002, pp. 93–94).

Thus, not only does political discourse have to be more accommodating and therefore deliberative in character to allow for the concomitant need for further rounds of negotiation in the political process but also the legal process and the paradigms of territoriality it espouses have to account for this more elastic process. Thus, politics needs to overlap with law in a reciprocally elastic condition. The territoriality of the metropolitan landscape would evidence such temporal exchanges. Already we can see that Habermas' proceduralism is not another version of the *matryoshka* principle. However, neither is it a series of gradually growing bottom-up processes resisting top-down impositions, although practically it can have this affect. Intersubjectivity operates at all scales and in different ways and, in the [*loving*] metropolitan landscape, at all the varying and interchanging scales of bodies, buildings, cities and landscapes.

Simplifying, Habermas's political dynamic can be characterised by the movement between five principles. The first principle rejects solipsism and the notion of individualist politics. The second principle suggests that progress in areas of disagreement can be made not only on the basis that there will be some areas of common interest but simultaneously there will also be areas left alone, resolutely different. This principle also requires that the magnitude of each area of overlap and distinction must never be predetermined. The third principle demands that this is a recurring procedure. A fourth principle suggests that politics as defined through this procedure holds sway over any other value system.[18] The fifth principle is a natural corollary of the first four. It is coincident with Agamben's observations that no matter how we move our political models, if we do not also reconsider the fundamental privilege of law and legislative processes, we are in danger of repeating the same old paradigms of a closed tribal society: Habermas' fifth principle makes the appeal for law and all its legislative work to operate through elastic and deliberative political procedures.

4.2 Conclusion

In conclusion, I would like to return to Agamben and consider his suggestion of a politics of Pure Means (Agamben 2000) alongside the five principles I have just outlined from Habermas. I am suggesting that the procedures of architecture, landscape and urban design, as significant operations in the [*loving*] metropolitan landscape, can be as elastic and deliberative as Habermas proposes and more focussed on means rather than ends as Agamben suggests. I would like to elaborate a few of the means that Agamben suggests can act endlessly. The project of the [*loving*] metropolitan landscape touches every aspect of life, whether urban or agrarian, public or private, and at various scales, for example, body, building, city and landscape. Perhaps it is needless to say, but it is impossible to cover the full ontology of the [*loving*] metropolitan landscape, either here, anywhere else or in any time. However, the point is that we can attune our sensibility to an ontology that is open to new experience and understanding. If I look briefly at three traditional classifications for modes of being that encompass much of individual and collective existence, I can further outline something of the character, sensibility and scale of figures and fields that act as endless means for architects, landscape architects, urban designers, urban planners and all spatial practitioners of the [*loving*] metropolitan landscape.

Work, politics and intellectual reflection are ancient categories of existence, but they also echo some of the key categories that organise the metropolitan landscape: work can also refer to places of work and invoke the other terms of function and programme that Urban Planning frequently submits to zoning principles; politics refers to the place of political interface, ranging in scale from chamber and room, community halls and town halls to regional, national and international parliaments; and intellectual life covers all traditions, conventions and places of epistemology,

for example, schools, colleges, universities, libraries, art galleries and museums.[19] Work, politics and intellectual reflection operate (at least) triangularly to invigorate and cut through the mind-body dialectic: the metropolitan landscape is a working landscape – Hannah Arendt suggests that work "fabricates the sheer unending variety of things whose sum total constitutes the human artifice" (Arendt 1998, p. 136); it is also a political landscape, and for this chapter I choose to navigate this particular human artifice by a care for the politic of the *other*; and it is configured not only to provide according to the human artifice of the social contract, it also operates in concert with the laws of nature, as it were, according to the bonds of the *natural contract*.[20]

The [*loving*] metropolitan landscape, as I stated from the outset, elicits the love and care for the world understood by one who experiences it from the point of view of (at least) two and not simply one. I am proposing a turn towards the differences that animate existence. Therefore, we can see that the practitioners of the [*loving*] metropolitan landscape are alert to the ever-changing relations between social and natural laws and the ever-changing relations between work, politics and intellectual reflection. In the [*loving*] metropolitan landscape, work, politics and intellectual reflection are three parts of the same existential impetus: first, intellectual reflection carefully and lovingly proposes arrangements of working and political relations in the metropolitan landscape by, second, being open to all possible formations of virtue (social and natural) and, third, by consideration and practice of all possible and virtuous modes of production and expression.

Agamben and Habermas frame the work, politics and intellectual reflection of the marginal as virtues. The practitioners of the [*loving*] metropolitan landscape are open to all formulations of virtue. The producers in borderlands are at the vanguard of Agamben's and Habermas' reconstructed notions of empowerment. It is the productivity of those in borderlands who seem recurrently to stretch the limits, not only of our legislation but also of our notions of culture and virtue. Those who move through borderlands are not pathetic creatures. They are not new to the world; as much as the history of the world might be told through those that dwell in fixed places, there are parallel, more complex, but less frequently told and less well-understood, narratives of dynamic places from the varied perspectives of those that move from one territory to another.[21] My argument suggests that the ontological impulses that provide the vantage point of the *other* are shared by creative practitioners and, through nurturing, can also provide something for the ontology of *loving* in the metropolitan landscape.

We can learn from those that operate at the limits of conventional territoriality: the territory they create through their ontology is created afresh, regularly pushed and pulled rather than reaffirmed and reinforced against variance. Borderlands have a topography that can only be figured once the presumed equivalence between dwelling, belonging and interiority has also been re-evaluated. In contrast to the model of the world that prioritises belonging in association with territory, native and nation-state, the no-man's-land and everyman's land of Habermas' and Agamben's borderlands become the essential political space, where difference, interlocution

and exchange are given priority over conservative convention, law and legislation. In such a space the dweller and the *other* come together to realise that they are one and the same in their basic relationship to one another. They are different. No one has automatic primacy to claims beyond their own private space.

The world is continuous. The conservative conventions of political self-interests present the world in ways so as to give the illusion of insides and outsides. The politics of the [*loving*] metropolitan landscape begins by the desire to energise difference, not by attempting either to eliminate difference or prefigure the territoriality of difference as certain and apart. Politics, as the careful and loving action of production and intellectual pursuit, defies conventional political and territorial paradigms and is concerned to avoid the instrumentality of apparatuses of governance. The shape and form of practices within borderlands can only ever be understood as figures in suspended animation. Stillness is only a temporary condition of movement. Therefore, rather than looking to practices of fixity (legislation and law) for political and urban paradigms, Agamben suggests we might look to categories of movement. Agamben suggests that genuine political paradigms should be sought in experiences and phenomena that usually are not considered political. Agamben suggests we look to the animation of gestures.[22]

A gesture is a rudimentary but also fundamental mode of action and communication. As has already been outlined, work and intellectual life have been so contaminated by our systems of governance that work and intellectual life already seem to be one and the same as political life. Therefore, Agamben suggests we look to those ontological impulses that can energise and overlap with work, political and intellectual life, for example, conversation, food, drink, dance, singing, literature, theatre, poetry, play, touch, smell, sight, sound, taste and the everyday sensations and practices that mediate our relationship to all things. Agamben suggests the political arena should be seen as the sphere of gestures or pure means, that is, those means that emancipate themselves from their relation to an end whilst still remaining means (Agamben 2000). The examples listed above are some of the means by which the animation of life, working, political and intellectual life, become palpably clear. These ontological impulses do not predict their end; they may be cyclical and rhythmical, but they never repeat precisely as they were before. They are moderated in the course of action.

This *means without end* is the same impulse that drives the occupier of borderlands. The politics of the marginal may begin as problems to be solved, but the marginal, in their pre-political condition in borderlands, shares the same non-political categories as anyone for their means of moving beyond the limits of their own being. Without recourse to known operations, they can only first communicate through the fundamental language of gestures. The gesture of being open to receive others is the prerequisite of any political process. To practise the means of open gestures is the best that they and everyone can do.

Returning now to how a politics of pure means might work through the five deliberative principles I previously outlined, I would suggest the following guidelines for the [*loving*] metropolitan landscape. The first principle promotes *gestural interplay* as a first move in political negotiations. We can record these in interesting ways.

The second principle suggests we cannot expect everything to be open. We might expect three *characters of openness*: the suspended animation of shared and entwined gestures, the suspended animation of some gestures open but as yet without any reciprocal gesture of interaction and the suspended animation of some gestures that are not so much closed as not yet open (discreet, private and intimates spaces) – in the open field of the [*loving*] metropolitan landscape, it is perfectly natural to have very private areas that can only be entered by specific invitation. This principle also suggests that the proportion of open to not-yet-open territories must never be predetermined. Proportion is a political as well as mathematical equation: the share of space (*proportion*) is only ever a temporarily held situation. The third principle demands that this *move towards the ontology of the open* is a recurring procedure. A fourth principle determines that politics as defined through this *deliberative procedure* holds sway over any other value system. The fifth principle is a natural corollary of the first four. It is coincident with Agamben's observations that no matter how we move our political models, if we do not also reconsider the fundamental privilege of law and legislative processes, we are in danger of repeating the same old paradigms of a closed tribal society: the fifth principle makes the appeal for law and all its legislative work to move towards the ontology of the open and meanwhile moderate its current operations through more elastic and deliberative political procedures. Rather than reinforcing our systems of power and limiting productive forces, the impulse to govern can be informed by the impulse to construct: in the [*loving*] metropolitan landscape, we can *turn governance towards the potentiality* for raising new methods and methodologies for producing values and things of value and refigure the field for architecture, landscape and urban design.

Notes

1. I place the term community in inverted commas to highlight that I think this term to be problematic. Although worthy of greater discussion, for now, I simply make the point that this term should never be used without qualification and elaboration of the conditions of its operation.
2. The history of this relation, which can be seen as a response to Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, is characterised by Marx in the *Grundrisse* when he suggests, paraphrasing, that initially the rustics made a meal for the city dwellers, but eventually, under the force of Capitalist exploitation, the city dwellers made a meal of the rustics (Marx 1978, p. 262).
3. See http://nolli.uoregon.edu/
4. One is tempted to quote Korzybski via Bateson here to forewarn against the tendency to see the stylistic issue as the content issue: "The map is not the territory" (Bateson 2000, p. 455).
5. Heidegger's *Building, Dwelling, Thinking* (2001) quoted as the first lines of the Introduction (Bhabha 2005, p. 1).
6. A Russian (nesting) doll.

7. For a fuller elaboration of Hegel's political philosophy, see Hegel (2005).
8. I make tacit reference to Paolo Virno's (2004) *A Grammar of The Multitude*. This chapter does not directly take account of Virno's thesis, but I would like to open it for future consideration.
9. "Sovereignty only rules over what it is capable of interiorising." Deleuze and Guattari, *Thousand Plateaus*, quoted by Agamben (1998, p. 18).
10. This is also the observation Foucault (2001) makes in *Madness and Civilisation*.
11. As Robespierre found to the cost of his life, his role was judged through the principle that nothing, not even he, was beyond the reach of law.
12. I use here Foucault's idea of governmentality, which is his term for the conservative processes of governance that promulgate the conservative, normalising, bureaucratic and managerial impetus as the mentality of governance.
13. My italics.
14. Rousseau claims the *Social Contract* provides the answer to the fundamental problem of how individuals can remain free to act as individuals whilst binding themselves to a collective system. The Social Contract defines "a form of association which will defend and protect, with the whole of its joint strength, the person and property of each associate, and under which each of them, uniting himself to all, will obey himself alone, and remain free as before" (Rousseau 2008, pp. 54–55). Rousseau marks a difference between the *will of everyone* and the *general will*. The *will of the united people* is when the will of everyone becomes the general will. The general will is capable of error, basically because it is concerned with common interest and its very formulation can be hijacked and steered by powerful factions to suit their own individual or *partial society* wills. The will of everyone is the sum of every individual will, freely determined. The will of the united people then is the sum of all freely determined individual wills. Understanding the realities of political divergences and allegiances, Rousseau provides practical advice for steering groups with only local consensus towards the ideological condition of a united will: he suggests, "if there are partial associations, their number should be increased and inequalities between them prevented" (Rousseau 2008, pp. 66–67). This seems quite postmodern. He suggests something similar to Habermas: a dynamic dialectical relation between fragmentation and association. However, Habermas' political *elasticity* begins from this as a principle rather than only as a practical moment on the trajectory towards an ideological whole.
15. During the current Euro-wide recession, it seems as though it is women who are most vulnerable to the fluctuations in employment because their differences place them at the margins of rather than in the midst of the *normalised* labour force and community: "Last month, there were 1.13 million unemployed women in Britain, a 19.1 % increase since 2009, and the highest figure for 25 years. (In the same period, male unemployment has risen by a mere 0.32 %). According to data collected by the Fawcett Society, in the last quarter 81 % of those losing their jobs were women; in some local councils 100 % of those fired were female and, as ever, the poorest are hit most: black and minority ethnic women and those in the north-east are the first to go, and in the greatest numbers.

Many women are leaving work due to the cuts in child tax credit and child benefit. Unable to pay for childcare, they cannot afford to work, which is senseless and destructive, and will keep alive the dogma that women should not work into the next generation and beyond. A survey conducted by the charity Working Mums last year found that 24 % of mothers have left employment and 16 % have reduced their hours to care for their children; this is regressive, poverty in poverty, depression into depression" (Gold 2012).

16. Labour force and community are frequently synonymous in Marxist/Frankfurt School political discourses.
17. See Plato, The Sophist.
18. Habermas *cautiously* distinguishes between three types of political disagreement which motivate adaptation of a political position: "(a) The definition of the domain of political matters, (b) the ranking and reasonable balancing of political values, and finally and most importantly (c) the priority of political over nonpolitical values" (Habermas et al. 2002, p. 91).
19. I am speaking of them principally through an understanding of Agamben, but I also have in mind Virno's invocation of them with reference to Aristotle and Hannah Arendt (Virno 2004, pp. 49–71).
20. I refer here to Michel Serres, but rather than elaborate this point, for now I simply allude to a further line of enquiry necessary in coming to terms more fully with the [*loving*] metropolitan landscape: nature will have its say whether we like it or not, and we must learn to listen to it more carefully (Serres 2008).
21. How many stories of the borderland might exist in a city but are overlooked by the impulse to legislate? See Aldo Rossi's drawing of Chicago, describing German, Czechoslovakian, Polish, Lithuanian, Italian, Jewish, Black and mixed populations in relation to park, industrial and railroad zones. What alternative drawings could have emerged from this very fascinating drawing (Rossi 1984, p. 67, Fig. 40)?
22. For a fuller elaboration of gesture and the politics of gesture, see Wiszniewski (2007).

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Chapter 5
Opening Up Relations Again Between Form and the World: The City and the 'Becoming' of Forms: Design as the Outcome of a Dynamic Figuration

Lidia Decandia

Abstract There is no single way to define the concept of public space but many ways of materialising, in forms, a place of encounter between people. The idea of public space actually changes from one culture to another. It develops and alters constantly during the life of the forms themselves. None of the methods by which the idea of public space has materialised in a form have ever crystallised into something fixed and unchangeable, supported by eternal laws, but, on the contrary, were always subjected to the influx of time and had to count on it and live in it. Looking at the history of the city, we might say that each public space form that emerged was destined to disappear and make space, in a movement that continuously, dynamically transformed, for the emergence of new forms. Always and constantly at the mercy of chaos, of the precarious, fragile nature of time and death which devours, corrupts and consumes, man is constantly required to 'refound' his way of giving shape to the space of encounter between people, in the awareness that no form may ever be definitive. This chapter departs from these preliminary remarks to inquire into the sense of the project for public space in the contemporary city. While acknowledging the continuous 'becoming' of the forms through which the idea of public space has been expressed throughout time, the author invites the reader not to feel bewildered by the changes underway.

The idea the author intends to put to the test is that in order to accept the challenges posed by contemporary life, instead of continuing to look at the territory and city, regretting the breakdown of order and beauty that no longer exist, we should try to widen the borders of our view, to see whether it might be possible to find, behind the absurdity of those flows that appear to waver with no destination, fractures and clues, whispering of new spaces of interaction and relations that still today await their expression in forms.

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> I. In the dark, in the grip of fear, a child reassures us by
> singing. He walks, stops in time with the song.
> Lost, he finds shelter somehow or finds his way as best
> he can with his song. As if it were the outline, amid the chaos,
> of a stable, calm centre, stabilising and calming (…).
>
> II. Now, though, we're at home. But our home did not
> exist before us: we had to trace a circle round its fragile,
> insecure centre and organise a limited space (…) Here
> the forces of chaos are
> held outside as much as possible,
> while the internal space protects the budding forces
> of a task to be done, a work to be created (…). Now,
> vocal, resonant components are of great importance (…). A
> child sings summoning up the energy needed for
> the work he has to do (…). A housewife hums and turns on
> the radio, while lining up the anti-chaos forces of her work (…).
>
> III. Now, at las't, the circle begins to open, they
> open it, they let someone in, someone is called, or
> we go out, we launch ourselves outside. The circle is not
> opened from the side where the ancient forces of chaos swarm,
> but at another point, created by the circle itself. As if the circle
> itself tended to open itself up to a future, on the grounds of the
> efforts of the work it is protecting. And this time, to reach
> forces of the future, cosmic forces. We launch ourselves, risk 'improvising'.
> But to improvise is to reach the World
> or mingle with it. We leave home to the sound
> of a tune (…)
>
> G. Deleuze, *A Thousand Plateaus*

5.1 Simulacra to Protect Ourselves from the Chaos

In the face of the changes underway emerging, the old categories by which we have read and interpreted the territory no longer seem sufficient to interpret the phenomenon of the city. Permeated by perspective visual thought and accustomed to reading the city like a text that can be subjected to a single gaze, our culture no longer manages to grasp the sense of this new, absurd, elusive geography. As contemporary life develops, the filters and perceptive grids with which we have attempted to give order to the world do not help us to understand and harness something that surpasses the idea of space and, above all, the notion of city we have become used to.

It is difficult not to feel a sensation of loss and disorientation when confronted with a landscape that seems to be breaking up, where the familiarity and solidity granted it by our habitual gaze is shocked by presences that go beyond our capacity for understanding, appal us and leave us breathless. It is difficult not to feel lost in the face of phenomena emerging which even cause us to 'stammer', as we no longer manage to express the way these new emerging realities are developing.

We feel sucked up, swallowed, entangled and baffled by this absence of form, up against this ambivalent, unpredictable magma approaching us outside our pre-established patterns and criteria. With this 'excessive, uncontrollable' presence ahead, which sometimes makes us 'retreat in dismay' and from which 'we would prefer to avert our gaze' for it shocks and frightens us and threatens our identity, it is our actual subjectiveness that enters a crisis.

The emergence of this spatial multiplicity that cannot be traced back to a known form and is difficult to depict disorganises our perceptive field and glistens everywhere, causing our visual viewpoint to break into fragments. Our gaze loses its bearings and is bewildered, submerged by an excess of stimulation it was not ready for and it is unable to master. The visual field is lacerated in its coherence, disconnected and disrupted by gaps and indecipherable zones.

And this, then, is when, precisely to elude the feeling of anguish and disorientation that invades us when faced with the unprecedented, the unforeseen imposing its presence along the wayside – impossible for us to master with the instruments the conscience can filter – we try to find refuge in something we already know, to fit things into the foreseeable and deny reality and to destroy what our sight does not master. Instead of looking for new figures to give shape to these dynamic, vital realities that involve us and close in on us, evading any kind of portrayal, we prefer, on a drawing board, to reassemble the broken limbs of a dead body that no longer exists. We carry on constructing, with those old patterns we inherited from the past, maps and pictures of cities lacking life, frozen in an instant, to then place them down on dumb territories we are incapable of listening to.

The simulacra of cities built in China, the Disneylands that multiply on European territories and the holiday villages but also the reconstructed, vitrified and 'beautified' historic centres tell these stories of representation, reassembly and death. They are simulacral creations of cities or chunks of territory to which we entrust the task of covering reality with spaces responding to known, stable rules, to not enter into contact with that unpredictable world that is approaching us but above all to not enter into relations with that powerful time of life and death that is closing in on us. 'Time' that devours and consumes all things, preventing us from achieving quietness and final order. 'Time' which forces us, indeed so as to grant itself meaning, to continuously re-establish a new relationship with the world and to weave a vital, dynamic relationship with our life environment.

5.2 Transforming the Chaos into Cosmos

And yet this sense of bewilderment in the face of the unknown is not new. And it is precisely to respond to this feeling of confusion that man has always reacted by engaging in a process of signification by which to transform the unknown chaos into a cosmos. As stories and myths tell us, man has always needed to 'put the world in order' and weave the shapeless into meanings, giving shape to space.[1] A space in which he can condense and achieve in a corner of the world a wider order of meanings in which he can recognise and identify himself.

In some respects we might therefore say that the form man gives to space constitutes a sort of larger body that separates us from the indistinctness of the environment but at the same time puts us into a relationship with it: a kind of cultural and sensorial filter mediating our relations with the wealth and complexity of being, with the abundance of reality (Feyerabend 1999). We might lose ourselves in such abundance if we were not capable of bringing together and concretising – first in a form, 'a sort of filigree able to resist the bite of termites' (Calvino 1972), and second in an order rich in meanings – the dispersed elements that continuously follow on from each other in the indistinctness of the natural world, creating a sort of protective shield that allows us not to be overwhelmed by what we cannot manage to grasp.

And yet this act of distinction, separation, concretisation and shape giving has never been a natural act but an act full of consequences, permeated by dangers. In a certain sense it meant forever breaking up a pre-existing equilibrium to construct a new order. From the founding of a city to the construction of a bridge and from putting down foundations for the construction of a house to the point of simply moving house, such tasks have always been felt as threatening, for which it was always necessary to seek divine ratification and augural responses to guarantee validity of the new order sought or imposed (Eliade 1965).

As the myths of the founding of cities remind us, the choice of sites, the singling out of the centre and the borders with which to give shape to space could only occur if we were capable of creating harmony between these and a wider order of the universe. This correspondence between order of space and order of the cosmos could never be given once and for all, however, but had to continuously be restated through rites and periodic festivals that reactualised, dramatising it, the process of refoundation of the cosmos (Rykwert 1976).

For city forms actually referred constantly back via the stratified thickness of the symbol to a different reality, to an unreachable world, a placenta of shadow never completely revealed, to an immense 'latent content of past, future and elsewhere' (Merleau Ponty 1964b, p. 133), to be deciphered, which always surpassed the univocal nature of the sign.

The form and figure of the city, never presenting itself as comprehensive and all engaging, never expending itself in the clarity and transparency of its spaces, but always linking itself in relations with entities different from itself, wove a continuous relationship with the shadow and the reject that surpassed all possibilities of signification. In some respects we could say that the form of the city constituted a

filter through which reality itself could be grasped. Through the form given to space, man could have access, concretise and give expression to the multiplicity of existence, in the awareness, however, that none of these forms would ever be able to deplete the incommensurability of the world. No form could ever, in fact, reveal everything, give shape to the shapeless and create the multiplicity of possible realities, since it was itself only a 'possible' reality. Not by chance is the list of city forms endless. Yet indeed through each of these forms, each society and each culture have made possible and conveyed their relationship with the inexpressible.

And it is with this unattainable reality that man has had to continuously create relations. Each time he has had to appeal to this inexhaustible reserve to "refound" his own being in the world and give shape to the city and concretise, in the architecture of his spaces, the different worlds of meaning produced during the metamorphosis of becoming.

None of the forms produced in the course of history, indeed as an expression of a continually changing relationship, ever crystallised into something fixed and unchangeable, supported by eternal laws, but, on the contrary, were always subjected to the influx of time and had to count on it and live in it. Looking at the history of the city, we might say that each form that emerged was destined to disappear and make space, in a movement that continuously, dynamically transformed, for the emergence of new forms.

Paraphrasing Deleuze, we could say that in the dynamic processes that have generated the evolution of the city 'chaos has always lived with the cosmos, perennially depriving it of any substance, taking away its internal unity and cohesion' (Tarizzo in Deleuze 1988, XXVII). In the same way it is indeed from shapelessness that, through the various processes of signification, islands of order and regularity have taken shape in a constant process of perpetual formation without end.

In this continuous process of dynamic figuration by which man has given sense to his being in the world and to his relations with nature and the cosmos, the form given, in its eternal changing, has nevertheless had a decisive role. It has enabled him not to be lost in that sea of insignificance and above all to construct dwellings and territories, ritornelli in which to recognise himself. Each time, with incessant deterritorialisation/territorialisation movement and a continuous proliferation of meanings, able to operate not by repetition but by continuous sliding of sense, man has continued to develop landscapes and compose environments capable of taking possession of the world, expressing reality without thoroughly depleting it.

If form is therefore so important for our being in the world, precisely in that it enables us to express our relationship with it through continuous inventive sliding, and therefore to construct territories, islands of order where we can protect ourselves from the chaos threatening us, even in the awareness that none of these islands may ever be definitive, we must then also carry out a new process of becoming part of and cosmicising contemporary reality.

To restore meaning to this shapeless magma we feel we are immersed in, we must find new anchors that will enable us not to drown in the indistinctness of insignificance. But to do this it is not enough for us to replicate lost orders or

superimpose an 'external machinic order' separate from the present then placed on the territory. We must depart instead from that unattainable, inexhaustible reality, from the chaos that cohabits with the cosmos that man has always had to contend with. And which, indeed for this reason, still today constitutes the reserve of meaning from which each act of creation proceeds (Deleuze 1966).

5.3 Perforating the Skin of Things

This is exactly why we need to succeed in going beyond the form of exteriors, to widen the boundaries of our sight, perforate the simulacra and go back beyond the visible existence of form, to what are the actual conditions of its existence (Di Giacomo 2003, p. 68).

External form, the city's wrapping that we know, does not tell us all that the city might be. As Merleau-Ponty would say, perhaps we need then 'to break precisely this shell of space' (Merleau Ponty 1964a, p. 47): 'Break the adherence of things to the wrapper (…) Perforate the skin of things, to see how things become things and the world becomes world' (Merleau Ponty 1964a, p. 49).

5.4 Starting Again from the City That Belongs to Us

To construct a new form of belonging and cosmicisation of the contemporary universe, rather than turn with nostalgia to the forms of the past, we must therefore start with the multiple life that characterises the urban condition belonging to us, an urban condition that cannot be reduced to the classic city-country dichotomies where nature and culture seem to be profoundly mixed in a new 'artificial' construction, and begin an authentic exploration of the life that populates this original urban landscape.

A landscape made of fluffy filaments, of gaps and filled parts and of concretions of pieces of ancient cities and deserted, silent spaces are pieces that draw near to each other producing a complex polyphonic score of diversified situations that proceed at different rhythms and paces. A landscape in which the external forms, no longer having a concrete relationship with the life that produced them, seem to us almost like authentic inorganic sculptures that contemporary man is recovering possession of, reusing, modifying and renewing the immobile containers from the inside and giving new immaterial meanings to the deserted, silent spaces, weaving once more, with invisible threads, new relations between the parts.

To start again from this condition means nevertheless to know we are not dealing with a blank slate on which to reproduce or invent forms but, if anything, with a highly diversified space, continuously in motion, with various layers and levels, in which invisible 'wiring' propels energies and forces that are not seen but work uninterruptedly to produce incessant change.

And it is indeed this latency that we have to deal with. Paraphrasing Deleuze, we might say that to give shape to this contemporary magma, preparatory, silent work is needed to be able to break with supreme optical organisation, clear away and clean up the given clichés of shapes to enter into contact with and reveal 'the body that is beneath the organism, that makes organisms and their elements break up or explode' (Deleuze 1988, p. 232), which 'forces them to suffer spasms, puts them into relations with forces, be they internal, that raise them up, or external, that pass through them, or eternal, of time unchanging, variables of time that flows on' (ibid.).

We therefore need to perforate surfaces to enter into contact with this latent repository. We must work with what exists and move into the transformation processes that are stirring and struggling under the skin of the contemporary city to give it shape.

It is not a matter of reading reality, but rather of expressing this reality, nor of reproducing or inventing new forms of possible cities, frozen in the instantaneousness of the present, to superimpose on a territory without life or history, but rather of 'becoming aware of being there', of 'grasping forces (…) making visible forces that are not seen' (Deleuze 1988, p. 117) and 'making time and the strength of time visible' (p. 125) and painting the unexpressed picture that has not yet managed to come to light.

5.5 Exploring the Invisible That Makes the Visible Be

> Under the viaducts, at the edges of motorways, between abandoned warehouses, in residential areas, in the spaces between all the things the city contains, a world of autonomous figures or parasites is appearing that reinvents buildings and spaces, serves as a background to new habits and creates original emotions and perceptions, changing the relations between full and empty, dark and light, noise and silence, and creating a new kind of aesthetic difficult to contain in a description as it is made up of changing things, meanings in motion.
>
> Ferlenga 2002, *Invisible Depths*

> Does the Kabbalah not perhaps say that when the Messiah comes we will be able to read white writing, too, that white fire that is between the black letters?
>
> Ferlenga 2002, *Invisible depths*

Being aware that shapes, as we perceive them, are not something given, but simply the outcome of a process of continuous formation, leads us to look with new eyes at our present life, too.

This forces us, rather than have us carry on complaining about the processes of disintegration of old forms, to widen the boundaries of our sight, extend our actual concept of reality to begin to explore whether, on the fringe of the old forms, in the interstices and rejected zones, something new might not be moving and glimmering.

Being aware that reality is much more than it seems and that 'it is much richer and less controllable than the forms of objectiveness to which we try to reduce it and thin it down' (Berto 1999, p. 160) leads us to understand that perhaps, sometimes, it is precisely those patterns by which we have tried to interpret the world that risk turning into a sort of 'protection of the gaze' (ibid.). Protection is able to hide something that might break out and surpass our capacity to define it, upsetting the completeness

of what we already know. A way to exclude, from our reassuring horizons, something that does not let itself be grasped by our words and that by holding us in check 'oppresses us and leaves us breathless' (Berto 1999, p. 160), a way of reporting and fitting into the foreseeable what our sight does not master.

Indeed our taking refuge in the horizons of the already known may however prevent us from seeing and grasping the signs of something we do not know. It could happen that looking through our familiar spyglass defends us from being looked at. As Lacan would say, 'sometimes, as my eyes are looking at things, they do not see the things that are looking at them: the gaze of things, the impossibility to grasp their gleam, remains hidden from those very eyes that are engaged in seeing them and outlining their image' (Lacan quoted in Berto 1999, p. 45).

We must therefore begin first of all to 'reject everything that prevents us from seeing, all the ideas we have received, the pre-established images that continue to clutter our visual field and our capacity to understand' (Calvino quoted in Ferlenga 2002, p. 140), taking care that the idea of city and territory – well delimited and identifiable – that has up to now permeated our culture and steered our knowledge does not interfere with the possibility of understanding the new developments and rapid transformations that are suddenly taking place on territorial phenomena.

Sometimes, as Miller maintained (quoted in Secchi 2000, p. 19), disorder can, in actual fact, simply be order that is not understood.

And so perhaps, together with our desire and need to construct and inhabit a significant, reassuring space, we need to keep ourselves open to what remains outside our gaze; we need to learn to stay at the edge of that frame which is guiding us but can sometimes imprison our sight. We need to learn to lose ourselves and to continue to keep alive the temptation to expose ourselves to the unfamiliar outside. Towards that otherness that continually recalls us and never lets us immobilise in the 'already seen and known', in the norm given once and for all, life that is in endless motion, a reality that is much more alive and complex than any pattern to which we try to reduce it, a rich and varied landscape that cannot be frozen in a single configuration.

We should perhaps learn to let go of our grip on habits we have acquired and normalised and relinquish the hierarchy of pre-established meanings to open ourselves up to what is beyond the scene and cannot be structured but which, in its elusiveness and opacity, imposes its presence on us. Lean towards the unusual, to the encounter with what home, with its calm, its rules and habits cannot enfold.

Without giving up living in the space and forms we already know – it would be another way to lose ourselves – but perhaps remaining just on the fringe of that scene, we must begin to:

> take notice of its edges, the erosion of meanings, the gaps in the order, moments where images and words thin out, do not fit together: grasp in your own seeing – and being seen – the shadows and lights too strong to be defined, the points of disintegration, the glimmering, the changes in form, in which the withdrawal of the gaze and the appearance of an otherness in which we are involved can be glimpsed (Berto 1999, p. 131).

Stop immobilising reality to dominate it, but if anything start paying attention again: to the multiplicity of rejects, differences and apparitions; to the events that appear and disappear in them; and to the multiplicity of times that cannot be held with

pincers, fixed by measurements and distances. Glimpse in the folds of this reality the distinctiveness of the movements and features that animate it (Villani 2006, p. 199).

Rather than fitting the unforeseen into the already known, we should:

> transform what takes into what is taken, what looks into what is looked at (…), prepare ourselves for a path along which we will take our distance again and again – one might say – from everything that has become crystallised in the obvious and habitual (Berto 1999, p. 213),

> reach out towards the arrival of what cannot be foreseen, keeping alive our capacity to wonder and marvel at what "overwhelms each thought that tries to grasp it, such as what runs into us before we have imagined it, like an impact, a shock" (p. 199).

5.6 Coming into Contact with the Flesh of Territories

Thus, we can no longer be satisfied with seeing just what can be seen by staring and at a distance, but we must draw closer to things again. Enter into the territory: rediscover its variegated density, populated by multiplicities, a density that cannot be understood from afar, leaning on those towers from which we thought we could know the world, but may be grasped only if we manage to immerse ourselves in the living body of its flesh – flesh that we must begin to learn to 'feel', reuniting touch and sight, rediscovering knowledge in an erotic sense, replacing the horizon with the earth and retrieving that tactile function and haptic sense[2] that optical vision had forced us to abandon with the establishment of perspective logic.

That tactile sight that forces us to go beyond flat forms, images of surfaces, to which we believed we could reduce territories and cities, invites us to follow the progress of its folds, descend into its cracks and shady cavities, into the rejected zones of its lacerated flesh and to immerse ourselves in the concreteness of its internal fragmentation, follow its dense roughness, considering each situation case by case and going deeper to see on each occasion what is happening in the weave and complexities of the real.

Apart from giving up believing, it is enough to look at the world to understand it, perhaps we should also go back to 'touching' the territory to begin to feel it again; we should draw close to its most opaque side, the extreme limit of what can be represented, to show curiosity for what, apparently still devoid of shape and meaning, is usually placed in the limbo of things unborn and understand what the city is saying without being able to communicate it and what it is showing without displaying an image of it.

This is why we must learn again to open our ears in order to begin listening again. Use the ears as a refined, vibratory instrument for access to the world to hear what the territories mean to say with their silence, to grasp those vibrations of meaning not yet accessible.

Listening means going beyond that modality of knowledge that passes through visual identification by the eye of figures with solid, clear outlines, overreaching the ideal, 'always still' sight of our tradition to give back dignity and presence: to what does not show itself in complete clarity and to what is not immediately accessible but refers to a presence that reveals itself only via the fringe of resonance, of continuously deferred reverberation.[3]

5.7 Producing Relational-Genetic Spaces

> From roots juices flow to the artist that penetrate his person, his sight. The artist is therefore in the condition of the trunk.
>
> Tormented and moved by the presence of that flow, he transmits what he has seen into his work. And as a tree's foliage visibly unfolds in every direction in time and space, the same happens in his work.
>
> Of course no-one would want to claim that the tree forms its foliage on the model of the roots; there is no-one who would not realise that a mirror-like relationship between above and below cannot exist. It is clear that different functions must, in different elemental spheres, give rise to things that are notably diverse.
>
> But indeed the intention was to prevent the artist from such deviations from the model, made necessary by the figurative means themselves, and zeal has pressed ahead to the point of blaming him with impotence and premeditated falsification.
>
> And to think that in the place assigned to him, that of the trunk, he does no more than collect and transmit what comes from the depths: neither servant, nor master, he is just a mediator. He thus occupies a truly modest position: the beauty of the foliage is not him. This has just passed through him.
>
> Klee, *Writings on Form and Design Theory*

> In order to actualise, the virtual (…) must create (…) its lines of actualisation (…) while the real is created as an image of and resemblance to the possible, the actual on the contrary does not resemble the virtuality it incarnates. The difference is the principal element of the process of actualisation.
>
> Deleuze, *Bergsonism and Other Essays*

To extend the actual notion of 'real' in this way, reconsidering the dimensions of the invisible, leads us obviously to reconsider the idea itself of design.

In challenging the idea that the future be detached from the present and that design be thought of as the realm of a static, already constituted 'possible', which – like a utopian model – lacks only existence to 'be', we must then substitute the idea of design meant rather as life that develops from and within a territory that is not a blank slate devoid of any content.

Thrusting the body into the modelling forces that configure the present, and the accurate reading of those situations, of those filigrees and events that appear and disappear, of those rejected zones that open up in the folds of the territory, may help us to notice the existence of some glimmering to which to give shape. It may indicate to us that it already contains latent virtuality in itself, unexpressed potential which awaits a voice and has to be expressed, and that repositories exist in which to immerse roots and from which to feed, but also far-off lights to be attracted by, a meek humming to which to lend an ear to be able to grow and go far and obscure sides, shadows, conflicts and contradictions we need to take care of. And it is indeed on this huge, living reality that design must feed and thrust down its roots.

If, paraphrasing Klee, design 'makes visible and does not reproduce the visible' (Klee 1956, p. 76), then the distant, perpendicular, timeless gaze of the utopia must

be replaced, the gaze that colonises the future, rationalising that same hope in a pre-established order and singling out a pure place sheltered from time (Zambrano 1977) – the gaze of prophecy.

That sweeping gaze, far-sighted and deep, immersed in time that does not provide prescriptions or give pre-established solutions but recognises, in the signals of the present, the arrival of what is already being created and, like the trunk in Klee's metaphor, gathers and transmits what comes from the depths, to indicate a pathway to follow, to construct spheres of experimentation and contexts so that the seeds, the latent virtuality, fed by juices from the roots, can actualise and flower.

To flower like fruit of the tree's foliage which, as it buds, does not replicate the model of the roots, or even less reproduce the image of a 'possible' already given which is simply being created, but rather grows and develops via further passages, ramifications and inventions, by the creation of differences, according to lines impossible to predetermine and prefigure a priori (Deleuze 1966; Diodato 2005).

And in this sense then, design can no longer be thought of as a simple, closed, fixed form, already given in an image, which builds itself up creating a preformed reality, pre-existing itself, but rather as a 'relational field',[4] an interactive environment (Diodato 2005), a dynamic, evolving figure that lives in time, capable of opening itself up, actualising and spatialising through further interactive passages of creative invention and reconfiguration.

Perhaps we should think of a kind of work from the inside, on the physiology of territorial organisms, rather than of the creation of a form. Detailed work by which to construct new forms of 'immaterial' organisation capable of revealing 'the hidden power of the real' (Quéau quoted in Diodato 2005, p. 16) and intercepting all the weak memories and energies spread throughout the territory.

Perhaps it is indeed a case of giving up configuring a form progressively detached from the organic contents of the life that produces it. Not superimpose on reality, therefore, but work instead to reopen immediate relations between form and the world; create the conditions so that the qualities inherent in this dispersed urban condition, introflexed and immaterial, may find a way of coming to the light, actualising and expressing themselves in a manner that is not pre-established. Stop, therefore, dealing with the exclusive figurability of form and 'second instead the "creative confession" of form *in fieri*' (Cerchi 1978, p. 86), producing unfinished devices, open and able to 'constantly reactualise the immediate, living order of things, to contain becomings within it' (ibid.). No longer simulacral essences then, finished, withdrawn monuments, crumpled up into themselves, but rather 'relational-genetic spaces' (Branzi 2006), structures that do not simulate reality but rather introduce themselves unrestrictedly into it. We might call them lazy 'imaginal' machines, unfinished and imperfect, open, hospitable and amenable, capable of generating new experiences and 'created to urge us to create' and to inspire, through work on the living memory and the dimensions of the imagination, new forms of creative and expressive repossession of the territory.

Notes

1. Just as a child that, in order to grow, needs to separate itself from its mother and be different from her, thus man needs in a certain sense to break away from his own environment to give it shape and weave meaning into it (Rykwert 1976). Man could not live in an amorphous space but needs to construct a significant space in which to recognise and identify himself (Eliade 1965; Deleuze and Guattari 1980), a space in which to condense and achieve in a corner of the world a wider order of meanings. In this 'tidying up the world', man builds up a sort of sense of belonging, making the world something familiar in which to identify himself. Giving shape to space, man becomes rooted in the world and to some extent founds it, in the sense that he makes it his own, internalising it and at the same time colonising it, projecting a part of himself onto it (De Martino 1973, 1977). 'In this way – as Pasquinelli states – the world is reabsorbed within a project of enhancement that releases it from its givenness and transforms it into a tidy cosmos. In a certain sense we might say that the space to which man gives shape is what holds together subject and world and constitutes the original foundations of a relationship that redeems both from their inevitable contingency, making one the guarantor of the other' (Pasquinelli 1995, p. 302). Feeling at home means feeling good, at one's ease in a known, familiar space, in which to recognise and identify oneself.
2. The notion of sight that became established in the 1400s with perspective powerfully conditioned our way of looking at the territory. This type of vision presupposed that the entire task of knowledge was entrusted to a blind spot: an immobile mechanical eye which, in an inert, passive way, without emotion or any effort to understand, aimed at the portion of the world to show in the picture from a distance, strangely without following, touching or caressing things. It was a blind spot, without life or history, that belonged to a sort of 'Cartesian' subject, situated in an exceptional point above and beyond what was happening. This eye, which installed itself facing the world and corresponded to the point of convergence of a series of straight lines coming from the object and enabling the image of it to be constructed, was, in fact, paradoxically an eye that did not see. As Merleau-Ponty says, this eye is an eye that in actual fact paradoxically relinquishes 'what belongs to sight' (Merleau Ponty 1964a, p. 29). Instead of 'inhabiting the visible, it actually decides to construct it according to the model created of it' (ibid.). Within this construction the eye does not relate to the light in its density and thickness encountering bodies, but light itself, instead of being considered in its carnality, is reduced to the straight line in which it propagates. As Deleuze would say, 'in this kind of sight the highest degree of subordination of the hand to the eye occurs: sight becomes internal and the hand is reduced to a finger, namely it intervenes only to choose the units corresponding with pure forms. The more the hand is subordinated in this way, the more sight develops an "ideal" optical space and tends to grasp its own forms following an optical code' (Deleuze 1988, p. 227). This subordination of the hand to the eye can, as Deleuze himself

maintains, make room for 'authentic insubordination of the hand (…): the picture remains a visual reality, but this time it is a space without shape and movement without pause that force themselves on sight and can be followed only with difficulty' (ibid.). This dualism of the optical and the tactile may be surpassed with the idea of a third type of sight that Deleuze, referring to Riegl, defines as haptic. As he himself states, 'we will speak of haptic each time there is no strict subordination in one direction or another, nor loose subordination nor virtual connection, but when seeing itself discovers a tactile function in itself that is adequate for it and belongs to it alone, separate from its optical function' (Deleuze 1988, p. 228).

3. On re-evaluating listening as an important tool of knowledge compared with the visual approach traditionally privileged by our western culture cf. Nancy (2002), Cavarero (2003). Branzi's (2006) remarks are interesting on this subject, precisely as concerns the role of the ear in understanding changes in urban structure.
4. The notion of 'relational field', taken in the first place from Maxwell, who applied it in the field of physics, was used by Pizziolo and Micarelli as a new interpretative key to reconsider the actual idea of territorial design. The two authors, taking up the teaching – as they themselves state – of 'Wittgenstein, Klee, Bateson and Prigogine' (Pizziolo and Micarelli 2003, p. 368) in exploring and widening the concept of 'field', open up and pinpoint interesting research perspectives in the sphere of relational planning. As they state, 'the field does not exist as a place in its own right, as an empty space, a scenario' (p. 366) but only as a 'relational phenomenon within which not only pre-determined relations exist' (p. 363). It is thought of more in fact as a fertile context within which 'new relational potential can flourish' (ibid.). Nevertheless, in the thought of the two authors, the field is not something that can be imagined at a desk but must be sought where life is already active. We must actually learn to 'recognise relational fields, discover them as they show themselves, work on the field from the inside, both to promote all its hidden potential and to favour the pre-conditions of relational creativity' (p. 367). On this subject, the authors, through concentrated experimentation, have singled out promising pathways for reconsidering design for further explanation of the notion of "relational field" as it is understood and implemented by the two authors cf. Pizziolo and Micarelli (2003), in particular the chapter The R Field (pp. 355–393).

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Chapter 6
Despite the Absence of the Public Sphere: How Common Goods Can Generate Opportunities for the Design of Public Spaces

Davide Ponzini

Abstract Modern urban planning and design implicitly or explicitly assumed the existence of the public sphere in order to define its goals and means and to legitimise planning choices. Over the last decades, critical trends, such as social interest fragmentation, economic globalisation and institutional subsidiarity, have deeply transformed contemporary society, economy and public administration, inducing several criticisms towards the existence of one public sphere conceived in modern terms. Since the substance and quality of public space also depend on contextual conditions, including material and immaterial common goods, it seems useful to start from here: localised common goods can be produced and cared for, even in the absence of a clearly defined public sphere, involving interesting opportunities to design public spaces. Critically drawing on international cases of public space transformation, this chapter shows that it is possible to reinterpret contemporary design by considering the 'public' as a contingent and local formation, which is related to collective problems or development opportunities. In this sense, it is possible to conceive meaningful public space design by pragmatically exploring the relationship between common goods and spatial transformation, stimulating public and latent interests and actors and expecting to generate a partial and sometimes problematic 'public'.

Keywords Public sphere • Public space • Urban policy • Common goods • Cultural heritage • Pragmatic approach • Modern urban planning • Contemporary city • Incremental process

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6.1 Recent Transformations in Cities and in the Public Sphere

In many sectors of the world economy, important dynamics have occurred, following technical innovations in industry and communications, in the relocalisation of productive functions and relevant services. Authoritative scholars have shown, in contrast with those who imagined cities would disappear, that cities are playing new roles of focal importance in the integration of advanced production and the supply of highly specialised services. Cities, metropolitan areas and regions have become nodes of the material and immaterial flows characterising post-industrial markets (Sassen 1991; Amin 2000). Today, global cities compete with each other to capture footloose investments. Wealth generation is not based solely on material production factors but increasingly on immaterial ones, like innovation, culture and creativity (Sassen 1994; Scott 1997, 2000; Florida 2002, 2005).

In contemporary economy, the creation of media images for city and place marketing contribute to attracting economic and tourist flows and human and creative capital (Ashworth and Voogd 1990; Paddison 1993). The aesthetic quality and media visibility of urban places of a city are often interpreted as the city's distinctive elements in the process of homologation of urban and consumer spaces (Sorkin 1992; Evans 2003).

At the same time society is losing its typically modern connotations. Interest groups diversify, social ties become liquid, and the public party is increasingly unprepared to take on the risks and costs of collective life (Beck 1992; Bauman 2000). The result in terms of political representation and of representability of society is often defined with the term 'fragmentation'. These phenomena are clearly visible in many contemporary cities and regions and tell of distant social conditions often conflicting with what is narrated by the literature on global economic competition.

In democratic countries, the management of the course of social and economic transformation has passed through a significant destructuring process, giving rise to a considerable series of studies focused not so much on the action of the government or the single public sector, as on the complex network of governance relations; they weave with the private and non-profit sectors. This destructuring process is actually linked with important institutional subsidiarity phenomena, privatisation and non-profitisation of the public sector (Pierre 2011).

The concept of public sphere was proposed by Habermas (1965) as a space of encounter between middle-class and capitalist social groups in acquiring influence over state power. The public sphere concept was able to describe, perhaps in a somewhat idealised way, the political relationships between government and civil society or rather between a modern state and the emerging middle class in some European countries. This stylised socio-economic and political features might represent that limited modern phase, but they do not seem to coincide with the current ones nor they can be easily translated to contemporary urban politics. This position adopted a universalistic view of state power formations as consensus building via argumentation between groups in the public sphere, implicitly supporting its basic openness

towards different social groups and local government equally capable of representing themselves in the discussion. Following this trend, Habermas subsequently developed his famous social theory of communicative action (Habermas 1981).

6.2 Public Sphere and Contemporary City Planning

It is clear that although Habermas' view may have found confirmation in a certain historic and geographic context, it neglected local factors that were often decisive (Calhoun 1992), and it does not seem to have been able to represent complex, fragmented contemporary social reality. The influence this social theory implicitly or explicitly had on territorial planning, as the terminal part of a wider modernist cultural picture, should not, however, be underestimated (Palermo and Ponzini 2010).

Modern urban planning and urban design have often assumed a public sphere existed as a given fact, as did the capacity to build political consensus relating to the transformation of the city. From the modern viewpoint, the public sphere was a condition of legitimisation of urban planning. It seems this can be found in the main, more or less technocratic positions of rationalist planning (Friedmann 1987).

Communicative action perspectives also had an impact on planning that sought cooperative models (Innes 1995; Healey 1997), which in many respects risked proposing a homogenising and edifying vision, potentially underestimating the difficult conditions of planning in real contexts, and without exploring the political and sometimes radically conflictual dimensions of planning (Palermo 2008a).

It can be noted, for example, that in the Italian tradition the modern root of planning concentrated somewhat traditionally on prescribing and designing physico-functional interventions and interpreted them as legitimate techniques that enabled the public administration to give form and content to cities and territories in an autonomous, apolitical way as far as the interests contingently manifested in them were concerned (Astengo 1966). The importance of the encounter between the social and economic interests and the potential stimulus that can ensue was recognised by the so-called reformist urban planning (Campos Venuti 1991), which nevertheless did not universally practice such an option for dialogic inclusion of the interested parties in the argumentation. There are other Italian responses that suggested ways to tackle modern urban planning problems. The interpretation of the structural elements of the territory and possible relations between urban planning and design was understood as the exploration of the opportunities of transformation that a city is actually able to pursue (Secchi 1989, 2000). These perspectives considered urban planning a public choice that uses methods and instruments largely defined unilaterally by the public sector and ultimately legitimised by the pursuance of the collective interest defined in a political arena that is, however, hardly able to be described in terms of an inclusive public sphere.

In a clear break with the modern tradition, urban policy study in Italy emphasised and anticipated the importance of observing the actions of the administration and a

large group of actors that formally or informally tackle public problems (Dente 1985, 1990; Crosta 1995). Following this approach in subsequent years, new methods, applications and research experiments were developed, both transcending the positions of the international literature that was directed more at problem solving and stressing that the measure of success of public guidance lay indeed in the capacity to produce transformation effects (Palermo 1991, 1992; Balducci 1991). Urban planning has in this way been reinterpreted not so much as a formal arena of public intervention but as an articulate field of publicly perceived effects relating to the city (Crosta 1990). This has enabled, both in Italy and other parts of Europe, forms of public action to be analysed and experimented beyond the assumption of a public sphere legitimising them.

More radically criticising Habermas' view and its more or less explicit implications for modern city planning, some scholars have suggested a fluid, inconstant interpretation of the presence and representation of the social actors and implications as regards both physical and functional urban interventions (Bridge and Watson 2000; Rossi 2008).

In the current socio-economic and politico-institutional conditions, the absence of a public sphere conceived in modern terms, with its substance and communicative procedures, appears to clutter the field of urban and regional planning. At the same time, urban policies that pursue a public good understood in the modern, unitary and universal way do not appear to be easily observable. In many cases, these conditions ask radical questions of planning and the sense of design (Bianchetti 2008). The idea that the absence of a public sphere impairs the possibility of intervening publicly or observing and learning from contemporary urban planning and design does not seem, however, acceptable. Certainly, attention must be pragmatically paid not so much to action conceived and implemented by single public sector alone or to the creation and maintenance of urban goods and services formally recognised as public or universal, as to forms and projects capable of producing partial effects, which are collectively shared.

6.3 Common Goods and Public Space

The interventions and transformation processes of localised public goods and public spaces seem particularly interesting for reflecting on collective action in the absence of a public sphere as it was discussed above. The concept of common goods has been developed in the economic field (by, among others, Ostrom 1990; Ostrom et al. 2002). This concept is surely interesting for theoretical reasons, though there are some elements that have been developed and could be acknowledged more in the field of urban planning and design.

First of all, the method adopted by Ostrom seems useful for it does not ideologically make distinctions between public and private agents but empirically puts theories and explanations of collective behaviour to the test as concerns the use of goods that are subjected to the possibility of decay or dissipation in uncertain conditions. It may be added that the cases that were studied often showed a certain wealth of

multidimensional information in investigating complex processes. The type of goods and the situations investigated in this debate are sometimes spatially defined, and this dimension is decisive for the problems and collective opportunities dealt with. It is interesting to note that institutional organisation is not conceived as static but observed over time, paying particular attention to communication and exchange of information between the actors mobilised and, if it may be defined thus, politico-institutional building and self-organising with reference to the use of collective goods. Ostrom pays particular attention to communication, defining the choices for collective goods, even though it is not meant in a universal or symmetrical way among all the actors. Choices do not necessarily derive from agreement; there may be persisting conflicts or even absence of communication among actors using the same good.

In this sense, it might be said that in the study and management of common goods, there is an awareness of 'incrementality', of path dependency, contingency and local specificity of these processes, though faith in rationality seems nevertheless solid, albeit limited, as well as in the capacity of society to learn in linear or trial-and-error-type processes. Certainly, common goods have an interesting spatial reference, but are often understood as resources for economic development, stylised in general models. For the problems we wish to discuss, a more complex view of development processes is indispensable (though less easily formalised), in which economic, social, institutional and territorial transformations may be consciously harnessed.

Some Italian authors have developed a rich and pragmatic interpretation of this concept, showing that localised common goods concur in constituting the conditions for a large number of development processes (Donolo 2003). In other words, common goods may play a strategic role in local development and may be opportunities for guiding urban transformation processes creating economic, social and environmental value (Palermo 2008b). Moreover, the localised presence of common goods, or the need to guarantee some of them for a specific social party, can change the expectations and even the preferences of some actors. In Donolo's view (2004), some common goods require first of all adequate forms of regulation, even though a more varied set of instruments of public intervention are actually in use, and they sometimes seem decisive (Palermo and Ponzini 2010).

The issue of collective goods may be useful for overall observation of contemporary city design, particularly if reference is made to public spaces. Often the quality of urban spaces depends not just on their physical shape or functional profile but on contextual conditions, including the possession of material and immaterial common goods. Public spaces typically host a variety of activities and uses, operated by different groups. The copresence of these uses does not require there necessarily to be agreement between the groups, in many cases not even an explicit communication. Public space may be plural but does not need the universality of these uses to be publicly represented nor are they actually considered in the planning and transformation of such spaces or their relationship with certain localised common goods (Banerjee 2001). Some examples can be recalled relating to landscape (Maciocco 2008), infrastructure (Clementi 2002) and cultural goods (Ponzini 2008) but also to immaterial goods like urban safety or aesthetics (Ponzini and Nastasi 2011).

On the other hand, the partiality of the appropriation and design of common goods and spaces poses social questions that are very well known in the literature and sometimes unresolvable in common practices. We may recall how the property of infrastructure, the enhancement of landscape and environmental heritage or the attractiveness of cultural goods can lead to a rise in property values, and the private sector may thus be interested in promoting similar effects. Consequent processes of gentrification and expulsion of weaker populations have been known for some time (Zukin 1982; Smith 1996). Similarly, the raising of urban safety levels has in many contexts led to militarisation of public spaces and the expulsion of undesirable people.

The hypothesis of this chapter is that some localised common goods may be produced and maintained together with public space design, thus giving them a stimulus, even in the absence of a universal public sphere. Cases linked with the presence of cultural goods will be taken into consideration in particular, in order to observe the interaction between public and private interests, showing how project-oriented interventions and transformation processes do not prove to be inclusive and cannot be interpreted as moments of manifestation or construction of a universalistic public sphere. On the contrary, the 'public' that cares for common goods and transforms urban space proves to be a partial and problematic by-product of the actual planning process.

6.4 How Common Goods Can Contribute to Public Space Design: Two Case Studies

The two cases presented refer to projects and processes of public space transformation in the presence of particularly important common goods. The first case considers the transformation of an area adjacent to the Uffizi Gallery in Florence in conjunction with the realisation of the project to enlarge the gallery (Ponzini 2009a). The second refers to a historic district in the centre of Baltimore, where a group of cultural operators have promoted significant transformations in one decade (Ponzini 2009b). They are of course different experiments and contexts, but both show how, in the absence of a public choice representing the collectivity or a decisive intervention to care for common goods, the appropriation of these goods can give an impetus to urban transformation, even if only by virtue of the capture of their positive effects in the urban environment. This requires the implications of public space design to be partly reconsidered.

6.4.1 The New Uffizi in Florence

The new Uffizi in Florence is a case of private actors participating in the design of public spaces connected with the presence of important cultural heritage. The analysis shows how private interests devoted to enhancing property and retail values related to the renewal of the Uffizi Gallery were crucial in accelerating the redevelopment of a small area of the historic centre and the implementation of the project for the

new Uffizi. Because of the difficulty in combining the actions of different mobilised actors, the transformation was only partial.

The Uffizi Gallery is a symbol of Italian culture and heritage. Masterpieces of renowned Italian artists, such as Botticelli, Giotto, Caravaggio and Michelangelo, are exhibited in this gallery. The gallery and the Uffizi collections are supervised by a Special Superintendency of the Ministry for Cultural Heritage. In 1998, the Minister and the Mayor of Florence announced an international competition by invitation to design the new Uffizi Gallery exit into Piazza Castellani (it was the 'rear' of the museum, used as a parking lot for motorcycles), with the objective of doubling the space for exhibition area available for the gallery. The company Edizione Property Spa purchased the Capitol Cinema, a disused cinema in Piazza Castellani. In view of the new Uffizi exit, Florence City Council approved the construction project for redesigning this piazza.

Edizione Property Spa and Florence Town Council stipulated an agreement to renovate the Capitol Cinema. The Council granted Edizione Property a concession over the adjacent Loggia del Grano, and in turn, Edizione Property allowed the use of some spaces in the building, funding the reorganisation of Piazza Castellani. Edizione Property also committed itself to sponsoring the realisation of a part of Isozaki's intervention in the piazza, which was to become the new Uffizi exit. The following year, the Minister of the new centre-right government, in particular the Deputy Secretary, contested Isozaki's project, requesting radical variations and actually suspending the implementation, the reason being incompatibility with the urban context of the arcade designed for Piazza Castellani.

Once the Deputy Secretary, the main opponent of the new Uffizi project, had been relieved of his appointment, the process gained new impetus. In February 2003, the Mayor of Florence, together with Edizione Property and the Minister for Cultural Patrimony and Activities, came to an agreement on a draft project. They agreed upon completing the design and opening the public exit onto Piazza Castellani. Part of the private resources for this planning could be transferred from the sponsorships of Isozaki's project (MBAC 2004). During his official presentation of the project in 2004, the Mayor of Florence stated 'The Uffizi Gallery is a precious asset of the city of Florence and the whole world' and that 'thanks to the work carried out together with the Council Authorities, the Ministry and the Superintendency, following the principle of cooperation between various institutional levels, it has been possible to achieve a result of great importance for the future and for the enhancement of the Gallery'; 'If we have reached this solution, it is also thanks to the possibility arising from Florence City Council's undertaking to redevelop a historic area in the heart of the city, which had always been considered the rear of the Uffizi but will now come back to life: with the new Gallery exit, restoration of the Piazza […Castellani], and renovation of the largest building overlooking the Piazza, a former cinema that has been empty for years' (MBAC 2004, 13, translated by the author). Today, only a part of the works designed for the public space have been completed, allowing in particular a tourist flow of 7,000 people per day to leave the gallery and exit in the new piazza and access the Uffizi Center, Edizione Property's new retail space.

Clearly the stimulus given by private interests has enabled the public decisional deadlock to be broken, at least partially, and an important asset of Italy and the city of Florence to be renovated, increasing cultural offer and the presence of visitors. This has not, however, involved consensus building between the parties mobilised. It may be noted that not only were some populations excluded from the decisional process (e.g. Uffizi users, associations cooperating with the gallery and traders in the historic centre) but also how the different government levels agreed solely upon a part of public space design, namely, that directly affecting the interests of the private actor in capturing the appreciation effects of the new exit of the gallery.

This is obviously a complicated process, unable to completely lever the opportunities of economic and local development guaranteed by the localisation of important common goods. The effects are positive but partial and linked with an incremental process of public space transformation, which remains substantially unfinished.

6.4.2 The Mount Vernon Cultural District in Baltimore

The Mount Vernon district has a special meaning for Baltimore. It was the symbolic and cultural centre for the upper middle class between the second half of the 1800s and the Second World War. The first monument dedicated to George Washington was put up here. The first Roman Catholic Church of the United States, the Basilica of the Assumption, designed by Benjamin Henry Latrobe, was founded here. This was the site, in 1876, of the first research university of the United States, the Johns Hopkins University, together with the Peabody Conservatory and Library, the Walters Art Museum and numerous other cultural institutes. Between the two World Wars, suburbanisation hit Baltimore. Mount Vernon's decline led to the order to demolish some of the grand historic buildings. In 1966, Baltimore City set up the Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation, which named the district as the top historic area to which particular incentives would apply. Subsequently, the area was included in the National Register of Historical Places, facilitating the conservation of many historical buildings. Over the decades, cultural life continued in the district, while it was turning into a low-income residential area.

In the early 1990s, many districts of Baltimore were facing urban decline, as were a number of American cities: petty crime and dirty sidewalks, homeless people, deterioration of buildings and abandoned or not sufficiently maintained public spaces. In spite of high accessibility via public transport (Penn Station, subway, light rail and buses), the presence of cultural and educational institutes and the clear identity of the place and quality of the buildings, Mount Vernon, too, was in a crisis. Many cultural institutes did not feel they could pursue their cultural and economic mission in such an urban context: the image of Mount Vernon as a dilapidated, dangerous, dirty place did not attract tourists, and visitors who had a negative perception did not return or did not wander around or buy anything in the neighbourhood after going to the museum or theatre.

In 1996 a group of cultural institutes (Peabody Institute, Walters Art Museum, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Basilica of the Assumption of the Archdiocese of Baltimore), foundations (Goldseker Foundation, Annie E. Casey Foundation) and residents' and property owners' associations decided to join forces and set up the Mount Vernon Cultural District (MVCD) to promote the attractiveness of the district and face common problems and opportunities deriving from the significant group of investments in the cultural facilities that were foreseen for the following years (MVCD 1996). Cooperation was started up with the Baltimore City Planning Department, the Baltimore Development Corporation, the Downtown Partnership and others.

The MVCD Action Plan (1996) identified a cooperative strategy between the different actors to take advantage of a greater critical mass, political visibility and lobbying capacity. Moreover, it singled out the common objective of improving conditions and the perception of the district and its distinctive cultural and architectural features, making public spaces a sort of 'common campus' between the institutes, facilitating visitors' pathways through them. At the same time, the plan targeted problematic public spaces and buildings like the Mount Vernon Place, the Stafford and the Rochambeau Hotel.

In the period between 1996 and 2006, a number of institutes enlarged or improved their facilities, bearing in mind also the impact on the district's public spaces of some $276 million aggregate investment. For example, after taking part in the MVCD, in 1997, the Peabody Conservatory Institute purchased a building outside its original headquarters to create an office space, a cafeteria and a shop selling musical publications (Maestro's Café and Peabody Bookstore). In 2001, the conservatory began works to the tune of $26.8 million to improve the five buildings of its original headquarters and decided to open up the entrance on Mount Vernon Place to guarantee greater foot traffic and vitality. For the same reason, the stop was placed there for the shuttle linking the various Johns Hopkins University facilities. In 2005, the Peabody purchased the Stafford, one of the buildings the MVCD had identified as problematic, and renovated its 96 apartments, investing $8 million. This 1894 building was previously occupied by low-income people, often publicly subsidised under the Section 8 HUD Voucher programme. Today, the Stafford accommodates students of the Peabody and Johns Hopkins University. Similarly, the Archdiocese has restored and renovated the Basilica of the Assumption with an investment of $32 million. At the same time, the Archdiocese worked on another building that was problematic according to the MVCD. The Rochambeau Hotel, built in 1906, was a decaying building that accommodated a low-income population and was demolished in 2006 to make space for the John Paul II Prayer Garden. Some charity services for homeless people were also moved from this district, considering the fact that the presence of this population had a negative influence on the image and attractiveness of the district.

At the same time, collaborating with other local actors, the MVCD promoted cultural planning addressing the public spaces in terms of guided visits (e.g. MV cultural walk, MV churches tour), open-air concerts and performances (e.g. First Thursdays, Lazy Sunday), fairs and events (e.g. book festival, flower market,

Fig. 6.1 Now leasing luxury apartments in Mount Vernon (Picture by Davide Ponzini)

illumination of the Washington Monument) and other activities to increase the number of people present in Mount Vernon Place. Cultural places and historic and artistic buildings were put into the limelight and explicitly shared with visitors following a 5-year streetscape plan.

The first significant real estate investment in Mount Vernon after a few decades was the Gallery Tower in 1997. With a $10 million intervention, a long-abandoned tower building was converted into 144 luxury apartments. In 1999 the same company converted a historic building, the Standard Oil, into 202 luxury apartments, following the highest standards of conservation of its historic and aesthetic features (Fig. 6.1). Similarly, other developers have redeveloped an entire block, using cultural attractiveness of the district to advertise and market the residential units and the retail ones on street fronts, or they have converted other historic buildings into apartments.

The Mount Vernon Cultural District has had a series of actors joining together to revitalise the district, creating the image of a common campus between the cultural institutes and integrating on this spatial base a series of investments in facilities and public spaces, with cultural, infrastructure and urban policies lead by public, non-profit and private actors. This process has led to positive effects for the actors involved and other economic and social actors but has established clear trade-offs with respect to the conservation of historic buildings and the expulsion, though limited, of populations and users of this district. A limited number of receivers of the positive effects connected with the public space and the presence of localised

common goods have been involved in the process of choice of interventions, where the presence of public authorities was low.

6.5 Pragmatic Interpretations of Public Space Design

The examples show how the interaction among partial interests in the generation, care and use of localised common goods can stimulate public space transformation, even in the absence of one public sphere. In other words, the process of generation and care of localised common goods and public space design certainly do not reconstitute the entire public sphere but can be pragmatically interpreted as an exploration and prompting of latent local interests and actors and as a critical opportunity to generate a 'public' (Dewey 1927; Pasqui 2001).

It is clear that these processes and the design of physical, functional and urban transformation that steer them give rise to effects that are partial, incremental and sometimes uneven for the populations and users of the city. Social justice issues are evidently problematic (Fainstein 2010). Considering the socio-economic, political and institutional conditions in which these processes are set and the contingent elements they often show today, one may refer to inclusive processes as a remedy, perhaps in certain cases, but not in general (Palermo and Ponzini 2010). It should not be excluded that these projects can become the opportunity for creating arenas with greater inclusion of social parties that are poorly represented, making them finally become capable of autonomously negotiating projects and processes (Rossi 2008), but this seems very rare in the actual processes of planning and transformation of the contemporary city. Nevertheless, perhaps in a more modest and less generalisable way, it seems important to reinterpret the sense of those projects that insist on public spaces, considering the presence of important common goods as a potential trigger for public interaction. This requires a conception of design that is not limited to the configuration of the physical and functional space, but considers the practices for which the spaces are used, and the secondary effects of the economic, social and political dimensions, which profoundly influence the definition and realisation of the actual projects (Schön 1983).

The case studies clearly showed that the construction of organisational forms capable of transcending individual rationalities and concurring in the production and care of localised common goods and of steering the transformation of public spaces is clearly transitory and dependent on a set of contextual conditions. At the same time, projects that tackle complex urban problems and opportunities for transformation and development can be interpreted as experiments of management of common goods in relationship to spatial and urban conditions (Palermo 2009).These experiments derive from and mobilise public objectives but also partial and sometimes latent interests of nonpublic actors, who contribute constituting opportunities that can however be highly problematic. Exploring the links between common goods and public space in contingent and partial public arenas, without assuming

Fig. 6.2 Urbanisme? (Picture by Michele Nastasi)

the existence of a modern, universal (or even inclusive) public sphere, seems a great challenge for contemporary urban design.

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Part II
Territorial Project: Public Space Experiences

Chapter 7
Territorial Project as City Project

Gianfranco Sanna

Abstract In the light of the change of conditions that has involved the urban phenomenon and the concept of urbanity itself, the current 'post-metropolitan' situation raises some issues regarding the future prospects of the city and the deep meanings of its existence. The inadequacy is highlighted, in particular of the architectural and urban planning project to supply an operative picture of knowledge and experience fit for the new territorial dimension of the city. In envisaging the future of the city, this chapter focuses on the role of the territory, overrun in all its ramifications by the multitude of fragments generated by settlement unfolding. By beginning with the territory indeed, it is possible to provide, through careful, selective representation of its components, the constituent elements for organising original project-based actions able to give back civitas to places that have been fragmented and emptied of sense by the becoming of the city.

Keywords Territory • Urban design • Territorial project • Representation • Structure-territories • Process-oriented design • Public spaces

7.1 City and Territory

The disintegration of the limit that distinguished urban territory from extra-urban has pushed the city outside the field marked by the consolidated disciplinary experience of architecture and urban design. The urban can be recognised in new places, in the past the seat of extra-urban practices and functions: 'urban space is no longer that where the buildings follow each other in close order, so much as the place whose inhabitants have acquired a city mentality' (Corboz 1985).

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The phase of the metropolis that characterised the form and development of the city from the industrial revolution up to the First World War – albeit with different phases and timing by virtue of the level of industrial and economic development achieved by the various countries – divided the urban sphere into distinct sectors in terms of functions and activities. From these two macro-categories, came forth urban territory, divided into centre and periphery, and extra-urban territory, divided into its rural and natural spheres. This distinction that dominated urbanistics for two centuries, the 1800s and 1900s, characterising outcomes and processes, may now be defined as belonging to the past.

Fragmentation, isolation, discontinuity, heterogeneity, interruption, disproportion and dispersion are just some of the categories made obvious by the current urban condition. Beyond the apparent chaos,[1] the city requires an approach still linked with the dichotomy city-territory, city-country and centre-periphery to be cast off. An approach that various authors have demonstrated is ineffective and not equipped to govern logics imposing pressing times and modalities of growth and development,[2] more and more conditioned by the close relationship between production, exchange and market.

Even though research in the last 30 years has managed to produce a high level of reading and analysis of the contemporary condition, the operative results connected with a new vision of the project for the city and urban space actually prove inadequate. Disorientation arises, generated by the difficulty of controlling, steering and giving a sense to emerging forms, and of offering adequate responses to processes that do not only have spatial repercussions.

If, as Massimo Cacciari (2004) maintains, the city is everywhere and we inhabit territories whose metrics are no longer spatial but only temporal, and if the time of the metropolis dramatically contrasts with its spatial organisation, with its mass of containers and lack of correspondence between times of functions, work, relations and quality of architecture, in the 'delirium' of contemporary 'universal mobilisation', (Cacciari 1990) design for the city and territory signifies to seek a new order.[3] The quest for this order is, then, a responsibility of the project, which invents new harmony between time and space dimensions without re-proposing traditional urban forms.

If, in the light of the current situation in which the urban condition pervades the territory in its entirety – as Cacciari affirms, 'we inhabit indefinite territories', no longer cities – this condition poses complex doubts about the project for space and the possibility that it generates new urban behaviours and about the actual meaning of the term city.[4] This change in the city has largely involved the territory in its natural, environmental dimension, altering signs and meanings. Represented in its layers, the territory shows a variety of ages and appears as a 'huge palimpsest on which generation after generation has left discontinuous traces which look to us like fragments, often imperceptible and hard to recompose' (Secchi 1994). The action of the inhabitants, as Corboz maintains (1985), 'perpetually removes and rewrites the ancient origins of the earth'.

'But something remains constant in this continuous structuring, changes slowly, absorbing the rapid rewriting one after the other' (Secchi 1993). Actually, in the wildest forms of contemporary settlement involving the whole territory, 'the city

miraculously, in some way, resists'; in the metropolitan areas as in its territories, 'they are recreated like seeds. There is inertia in the city (…) in spite of the most innovative attacks, its memory endures' (Cacciari 1990).

It is indeed useful to start from this 'something that remains constant' to reconsider the future of the city. Having become a deposit for this original collation of urban facts, it is actually the territory that is the potential palimpsest for implementing and developing new urbanities, which, even if considered critical as difficult to control with urban planning instruments, do in fact offer the project the chance to take advantage of new opportunities for the city.

Notwithstanding the transformations generated by hyperconnections, artificial memories and generalised mediatisation (Choay 1995b), 'we see them accompany a new need of place, attention for the difference of places, and growing intolerance for the 'free' uniformity of space' (Cacciari 1990, p. 44). However, 'the maximum freedom of information flows must be accompanied by the *inventio* of new places, new remarkable features – new monuments. *Monumentum* is that which invites us, here and now, to think and meditate – which creates a break, a halt in the hazy flow of our hurry, and thus enables us to return to being ourselves' (Cacciari 2004, p. 44). If effectively grasped by project representation, these monuments may constitute the elements of a new order to which to anchor the indifferent urban overwriting in which 'the 'urbs' has become an indifferent moment of space' (Cacciari 1990, p. 41).

Contemporary territories involve contexts in which, despite the presence of important environmental resources, there is the need to create new urban conditions that will handle and counter phenomena like depopulation and social hardships. To this scenario belong the external territories Giovanni Maciocco speaks of (2008), subjected to various forms of a marginal, peripheral kind compared with the emerging dynamics of the contemporary city. They are territories that do not have the ability to stand up to these dynamics: 'disoriented', excluded territories that have lost the capacity to self-represent. Reterritorialisation processes of these areas are linked with actions to redirect them, which counter physical and social decline, a process that obscures the territories and the wealth of their history, sometimes in irreversible ways.

Nevertheless, these places express, in survival conditions, a strong desire and energy to not disappear and be overthrown, to build up self-organised urban strategies that will recognise their territorial role in the dynamics of globalisation. In them design favours attention to the development of urban conditions that will enable the local societies to appropriate innovations, to redevelop internally energies that are external to the context and to accommodate elements of rupture (sometimes necessary to foster a change) in a consolidated urban organisation.

7.2 Territory, Representation and Project

The representation of the territory contains an organisational skill which becomes explicit through the project. We may therefore maintain that the complexity of the territory, representation of its organisation and project action are closely

connected. The territory steers the different interpretative methods and imposes constraints on the creation of new images and representations of the city. Departing from a reading of the elements of reality – as this is able to notice the unusual spaces that often escape the contemporary gaze – it is possible to reveal new behaviours and spatialities being produced in territories that apparently lack qualities and the sense of what is associated with the concept of 'urbanity'. They are spaces which have not yet been absorbed by homologating urban dynamics but, on the contrary, show availability to the project, for within them intersections of different worlds are still conceivable and of practices and ideas that will nurture new images.

If we observe territories with this in mind, to represent the founding elements and, via the project, build new relations with them may be a way of structuring the universe of objects adrift placed in the field by the current urban condition. The complexity of the aspects that emerge from the territory requires a selective attitude, aware of the fact that reality cannot be perceived simultaneously in all its dimensions. Although the territory may be observed from several points of view, which reveal a copresence of different organisational methods, the project carries out a selection, favouring one aspect of reality over all the others.

This selective representation of the territory makes new meanings emerge from the context; 'under particular conditions of cooperative interaction it does not show a given world, but produces it' (Maciocco and Tagliagambe 1997). As emphasised by Pier Luigi Crosta (1998), knowledge is tied to action in the context: action is 'perceptibly guided in a way dependent on the subject of the perception'; therefore, 'perception is not simply part of the surrounding world and bound by it, but also contributes to the actual activation of this surrounding world' (Crosta 1998). The tendency towards action, fostered, on the one hand, by some recent planning positions (pragmatic, conversational, communicative, etc.) and, on the other, by approaches belonging to cognitive science,[5] recalls the need for rigorous knowledge of the context in which one is operating and the processes of encounter on the forms of relationship between knowledge and action.[6]

The ability to select from the territory the pillars of its organisation is favoured by an approach that goes beyond the dichotomy 'researcher' and subject of the research: during the course of the cognitive process, the designer places himself with awareness in a communicative, learning position, attempting to have some important points of view arise, chosen in respect of a variety of structures underpinning the territory (Serreli 2004). In this sense, to tend towards the exploration of new territories of the project, urban situations are considered important from which it is possible to have new ideas of city emerge and new proposals for settlement organisation. Some urban episodes are thus selected, which represent territories devalued of their dominant functions, situations with environmental and social decay and fragments characterised by the loss of quality of urban life (Fig. 7.1).

Nowadays, more than in the past, the territory appears as a place rich in recent and past foundations of which traces, relicts and fabric remain, causing a silent, external world to surface compared with the 'active', fluid one of contemporary times.[7] In this proliferation of signs, the task of the project is to choose from the

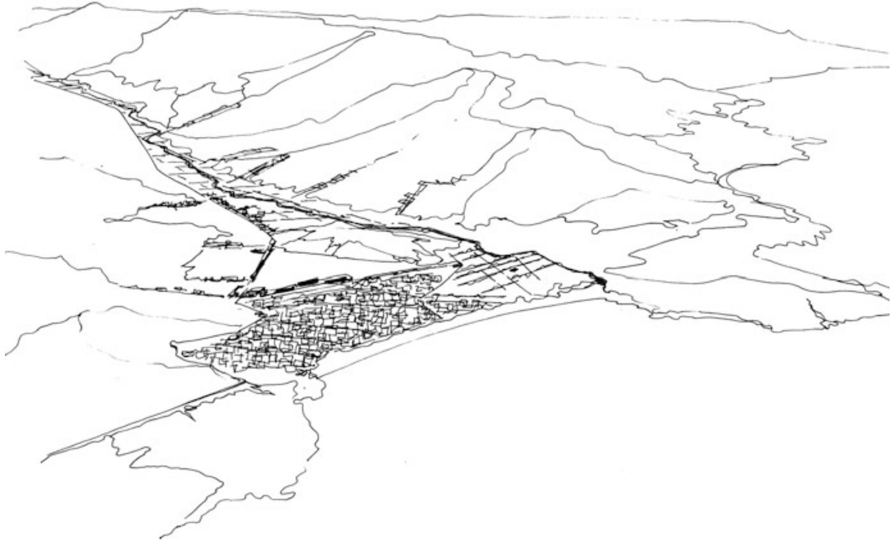

Fig. 7.1 Representation of the elements of the structure-territory of a coastal valley in Sardinia

various readings those with which it is possible to outline more future prospects for the territory. In this sense the project is the prerequisite of the cognitive process, in that it incorporates a discriminating capacity that builds up the background to problems and links up the relative information, in order to have the deep meanings of the territory emerge that will steer the evolution of urban space, representing them.

A representation that allows these aspects to emerge from the territory is often put into practice by Alvaro Siza, who highlights the ways in which the project manages to comprehend signs and meanings of the territory and innovate them, enriching them with contemporary content. Siza emphasises in his description of the intervention at Evora in the Quinta de Malagueira: 'what is imagined appears and rests on the undulating earth, like a heavy white sheet, which reveals a thousand things that no-one was noticing: emerging rocks, trees, walls, paths, wash-tubs and cisterns, water channels, constructions in ruins, animal skeletons. All this makes simple ideas grow old (…). Things in ruins give shape to new constructions, transfigure and change them, (…) the whole world and the entire world memory continually design the city' (Siza 1996, quoted by Angelillo 1996).

The urban project does not invent new cities but organises new textures on pre-existing wefts, recomposing urban fragments and residual places. According to Cacciari (2004), in its selective ability to recognise the new monuments of the city, the project abandons spaces with 'limited relativity' in metropolitan cities – which can be identified, for example, with the ikons and object-oriented approach of some recent architectures – to move towards spaces with 'general relativity' of the post-metropolitan territories, in which the whole lives through the quality of its parts.[8]

As regards the difficulty of representing the contemporary city due to its becoming a 'simulacrum' of a city (de Azua 2003; Maciocco and Serreli 2009), a text based on an order that is 'difficult to understand' (Corboz 1985), the territory still offers the possibility of being described and represented since by nature it is bound to processes and outcomes still authentic, essential and difficult to mystify. The powers that determine urban growth find it more and more difficult to become 'embodied' in a territorial order and give life to forms of cohabiting not necessarily spatially readable on the territory. It is understood that the system of urban planning policies and practices – to which the production of space is entrusted – finds it hard to intercept orders underlying physical spaces. 'Our urban life cannot but take place beyond every traditional limit, every border of the 'urbs.' It will never again be 'geometrically' circumscribable. It will never again be 'earthly'. Its dimension is mental' (Cacciari 1990, p. 44).

Thus, a reflection of Giordano Bruno's seems effective, writing in *De la Causa, Principio et Uno* (1584): 'We can state with certainty that the universe all the centre, or that the centre of the universe is everywhere and its circumference nowhere' (Aquilecchia 1973). We may maintain, borrowing this phrase from Bruno, that if the city is all the centre, the centre of city is everywhere and its limits nowhere.

The territory is the repository of a field of relations, a field of forces, which need to be represented and organised. This aspect has great importance so that the inhabitants of a territory can identify themselves with it. In this context the project does not solve local situations, connected solely with the physical context of proximity, but aims at building relations, cooperative networks between different subjects (individuals and organisations), who operate on the same territory and are projected onto it following different scales.

For the construction of scenarios of settlement transformation of dispersed and fragmented areas of the contemporary city, the project must stand up to the 'structural' environmental relations of the urban and the territory. These relations are the outcome of an act of selection of the process-forms of the environment, but also of forms of appropriation, and the lasting nature of some symbolic elements of the landscape. If the city has a constituent relationship with the environment, it is necessary to acquire the skill to read the fundamental elements and relations that link them (Clemente 1974). As Fernando Clemente maintains, they are elements to recover as 'indispensable components of enhancement of the "environmental city", from which to start developing the settlement structures to realise a new life environment' (Clemente 1974). In this sense recognition of unusual environmental elements enables places to be revealed that can contribute more than others to the evolution of the territorial city.

7.3 Structure-Territories as New City Landscapes

The new forms of inhabiting are not closed spaces that contradict the time of the territory we live on. The seeds of the city are recognised in the extended modalities of fruition of the territory, in the situations of convergence between figurative and

resourceful images (Clemente 1974; Serreli 2010). New city behaviours profoundly affect the project's capacities to incorporate modalities and practices in use that have their own field of action in a broadened territorial dimension compared with that traditionally understood as urban.

In this condition the need emerges to reconsider public space and its positioning in situations and places no longer pigeon-holed or anchored to spatial grids of the traditional urban base. The territorial conception of the settlement project permits a reflection on the possibility of placing the environmental dimension at the centre of the issue, as an element from which to depart to envisage the future of the city. Thus, the components of the environment favour the quest for a new order in places with weak boundaries where embryos of *civitas* manifest, in which differences are revealed, and above all a collective conscience.

The organisation of settlement space constitutes a continuously evolving dynamic reality, an integrated system with a complex structure connected with visible elements and invisible relations. The project questions the city and the city speaks through its structures, 'the city does not say anything, if questioned directly, the phenomena as such (…) stay silent: they find their voice again when they are questioned through a theoretic invention, namely a semiotic, conceptual construction' (Calvino 1976). This is a reference to the change in attitude and style of thought of the designer but also to the need to cast off analytical and descriptive approaches to reality just as it appears. If the city shows itself according to a number of interpretations that offer a description of it, an object of the city emerges only if the observer is able to reveal it, choosing from the different relations he/she is part of.

Urban organisation has generated processes of transfiguration of the environmental dimension and thus needs redevelopment action, a theme that brings into play specific competences to surpass a precise sectorial approach. The project 'contemplates a non-formalist vision that is constituted through requisites no longer sectorial, but that involve the entire environment and require, to organise settlement space, dense articulation of relations between the environmental system, project development and urban planning action' (Maciocco and Tagliagambe 1997). The aim of project-based action is to propose that attention be paid to the relations between the components of the landscape in its different forms, to reveal the structural base of high- and low-density settlement organisation. Environmental orientation enables the traditional categories of the project to be surpassed, such as conservation, protection, control and monitoring, which are not suitable to counter scenarios of conflict between the dynamic equilibrium of natural ecosystems and the socio-economic interests of the collectivity, but, above all, highlights the loss of efficacy of the said paradigms in urban contexts where the natural conditions have suffered great decay due to localisation of the city's structures and infrastructures.

The dominants that highlight the history, culture and environmental functioning of the territory may be taken as matrix elements (new monuments of the city) of a new project for urbanity; their linking creates *structure-territories*[9] (Maciocco 2008, 2011; Sanna and Serreli 2010a, b) to which the requisites of reorganisation of settlement space may be related. To the structure-territories, the landscape designs may be anchored which include consolidated urban centralities, spheres of great environmental importance, but also deterritorialised spaces, without social significance

Fig. 7.2 The territorial dimension of the city expressed by its environmental and urban elements

and difficult to perceive (La Cecla 2000). These structures are understood as 'pre-orientation' of possibilities that select spaces of action possible for the city, placing other spaces not pertinent to the idea of the project in the background. This conception of project causes a reversal in perspective and creates the basis for changing the geography of the urban centralities currently present on the territory. But it is also an opportunity to design new intersections and to invent correspondences and analogies between post-metropolitan territories and spaces for inhabiting, able to reflect time and movement.

In the low-density settlement situations, for example, in the territories where the environment prevails over the settlement dimension more and more characterised by physical and social decline, the project creates the conditions for developing new behaviour of the inhabitants, envisaging different ways of thinking of the relations between resources and methods of development of new economies based on the environment (Fig. 7.2).

If the original potential of these places is revealed, appropriately interpreted through the structure-territories, a front-line role may be given back to the territory whose character of *externity* has to do with the reversal of the figure-background relationship (Kanizsa 1997; Tagliagambe 1995). The condition of mere background to which the territory has been relegated due to settlement and infrastructure proliferation – the latter understood as a *figure* – makes it seem to us like a *collag*e of parts disconnected from each other. The project organises new figures within these fragments,

has new meanings emerge from the context, consolidates uses already underway and promotes new and alternative ones. From this standpoint, the territorial elements (environmental, infrastructure, historic, etc.) that resist, one after the other, the transformation processes may be interpreted in a similar way to the 'primary elements' Aldo Rossi refers to (Rossi 1966) when speaking of the city of the past. It is not just a matter of elements of the past but of 'new monuments of the city' which the project has the task of revealing, for they have the potential to 'give place', to foster the formation of new urban catalysts.[10]

The role of the project in situations without pre-existing elements is to open up possibilities (Maciocco 2008), 'contributing with the supply of design material to those who will work after us' (Siza et al. 2006, p. 11). To this end, the structure-territory gives visibility back to weak signals through microplanning action, revealing indications, favouring processes of self-representation of society and attempting to activate specific functions to enable those external populations to be attracted to those who will enrich the social context with new skills (Ciaffi and Mela 2009).[11] Thus, for example, the disadvantages of low-density settlement in vast areas of the territory are compensated by the environmental quality of the contexts, which may become a potential attraction for new urban populations and promote great tension between different cultures (Cecchini 2009; Lacor and Puissant 2007).

The urban potential of the structure-territories lies in the high quality of their environmental dimension which offers different stimuli to the project for reconsidering new forms of alternative urbanity to the dense metropolis model (Maciocco et al. 2011).[12] On these territories, where social, economic and settlement affairs have been characterised by the presence of dominant environmental elements, it is possible to steer the territorial future of settlement and favour alternative uses and new social practices, basing them on the environmental system, on the agricultural-productive base or on both in the event one does not prevail over the other.[13]

How to focus the attention on the environmental dimension is an issue that has been handled by various research trends (Landscape Architecture, Landscape Urbanism, Landscape Planning, etc.) to envisage transformation action in territorial contexts. However, what we wish to emphasise here is that it seems useful to take our distance, on the one hand, from the tendencies of the architectural tradition which pay attention to the object without an explorative attitude[14] and, on the other, from analytical approaches of urbanistics characterised by scientific specialism and an 'obsession for classifications'. Between these extremes, a field of action is opening up in which there is an attempt to go beyond the analysis/project dichotomy so as to favour a constant tension towards the approach of architecture to urbanistics. This tension is expressed by the integration of the environmental dimensions but also 'by a conception including the environment which combines the material testimonies of the indissoluble relationship between population, activities and places of a territory with natural processes.

Notes

1. Rarefaction of the limits of the city due to dispersion has moved and fragmented the horizon of knowledge, making it evanescent. The disintegration of the limit that distinguished urban territory from extra-urban, and therefore an interior from an exterior, has made the latter become a whole with the former. Dispersion has pushed the city outside the field marked by consolidated disciplinary experience, to make the urban reach new places and territories, which were the seat of nonurban practices and functions.
2. From the contemporary metropolitan imagination the long term has disappeared' (Secchi 1994, p. 19).
3. 'Now there is only one *forma urbis*, or rather a single process of disintegration of each urban identity' (Cacciari 2004, p. 29).
4. Gustavo Giovannoni's prospective view, recalled by Francoise Choay, points out that since the beginning of the twentieth century, the city has been the space of movement: 'settlement planning stops applying itself to circumscribed cities identified in space, to become territorial and to fulfill the vocation to move and communicate with all means of society and the industrial age, which moreover becomes the age of 'generalised communication'' (Choay 1995a).
5. Reference is in particular to the artificial intelligence and cognitive and environmental psychology approaches.
6. Cf. Crosta (1998) op. cit. To study in depth the relationship between knowledge and action, see Maciocco (1994).
7. 'On this earth there are no deserts' (Siza 1987).
8. 'Here not only must every building have the value of reference body, but the bodies must be able to be 'deformed' or transformed as they move. The distribution of matter in this space will thus change constantly and unpredictably. The total space will result from the interaction of its different bodies: elastic, 'deformable', able to 'accommodate' each other, spongy, molluscular. Each will be polyvalent, not only in that it incorporates in itself different functions, perhaps 'confining' them again within itself, imprisoning them in itself, but as being intimately related with what is different from the self, in being capable of reflecting it' (Cacciari 2004).
9. For further study see the Report of the *Osservatorio della Pianificazione e della Qualità del Paesaggio della Regione Sardegna (Region of Sardinia Observatory on Planning and Landscape Quality)* by the research group at the Department of Architecture and Planning, Sassari University. Research Coordination Giovanni Maciocco.
10. If referring to the territory, these monuments may be natural, in situations in which 'dominants' of an environmental type prevail; artificial, if of a settlement nature, like the large territorial infrastructure works, agriculture wefts, reclamation works, road or irrigation infrastructure works; productive, when particular economies persist (agriculture, fishing, etc.); historic, in the case of important pre-existing historic and archaeological elements.

11. According to the hypotheses put forward by urban economy and in particular by theories on models of attraction, rural regions have great potential for attracting the *urban* from the cities to themselves. This potential is expressed in the creation of market niches and in the capacity to supply employment and services. The development of common and interdependent projects involving different cultures offers the necessary critical mass, encouraging the mobilisation of actors to support socio-spatial integration.
12. In recent years, in effect, attention to urban realities of small and medium dimensions has revealed new socio-spatial dynamics that highlight new emerging practices of the city, combining elements, structures and values both of the rural and the urban dimension.
13. In the case, for example, of agricultural territory, which up to the recent past was bound to traditional forms of production that had entered a crisis due to the competition in contemporary markets, this may, thanks to its intrinsic qualities, be reorganised and returned to the productive process, entrusting in the activation of renewed modalities and techniques of organisation, production and product marketing, or promoting the implementation of complementary activities that will enable monofunctional limits and disadvantages to be overcome.
14. See the paragraph 'Architects have forgotten the sense of movement' in Berthoz' text (Berthoz (1998)).

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Chapter 8
Bigness or Vastness?

Francesco Spanedda

Abstract The discussion on architectural design and urban planning focuses mainly on the issues raised by huge urban agglomerations. Rapid development in Eastern and Southern Asia and the awareness that more than half the world population has actually become urban (UN 2007), together with other facts, are drawing the attention of professionals and theorists to the varied facets of high densification. As usual when new fascinating problems arise, the fresh concepts and tools developed to understand and handle the realm of metropolises and megacities are often misused and extended to different, smaller and less involved urban realities. The adjective "metropolitan" is frequently used to describe every urban settlement, though their form and function may not show any of the characters of the metropolis. Some large-scale, sociological and economic problems arising from this polarisation have already been described in some publications (Afshar, Habitat Int 22:375–387, 1998); their basic arguments run parallel to those expressed in this article. However, a great amount of work still needs to be done on the scale of urban design and architecture. This chapter attempts to investigate adequate and effective ideas for the less densely populated areas, mainly focusing on three points:

1. How concepts regarding cities and contemporary urban design are strongly affected by imagery related principally to the idea of metropolis that has slowly evolved since the very beginning of the twentieth century.
2. A "reality check" based on official sources concerning the true importance of the metropolis in world population distribution.
3. A non-exhaustive list of conceptual tools addressing architectural work in less populated areas.

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8.1 Urban Imagery

Fiction, cinema and figurative art have provided us with considerable imagery of city scenes, mainly depicting the biggest cities in the world. People recognise the streetscapes of New York, Los Angeles, London and Paris without actually having been there, just because they appear so often as a backdrop in so many popular movies or novels.
The swift growth of the metropolis at the very beginning of the last century was a striking social phenomenon that changed our aesthetics, as Simmel (1950) rightly pointed out. Books like *Manhattan Transfer*, by John Dos Passos (1925), who was trained as architect, and *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, by Alfred Döblin (1929), are so deeply rooted in the congested density of this new human environment that it would be really difficult to imagine the incredible tangle of stories or the structure of the books themselves without the compelling background of the rising metropolis. These powerful images of growth and decay remind us that one of the main tasks of urbanism originally was to contain these rapid changes and apparently uncontrollable densification.

Architects tried to control this new complex evolution of urban space through different design strategies. The descriptions and history of these strategies are well known and too complex to be recalled here; they belong to a spectrum whose boundaries could be defined by the pragmatic complexity of the American skyscraper and the rational simplification of the *Ville Radieuse*. The first end of the spectrum, the American skyscraper, gained new attention in the late 1970s, when the Dutch architect Rem Koolhaas expressed an exhilarating critical reading of the golden age of skyscrapers in his famous book *Delirious New York* (Koolhaas 1978). In Koolhaas' terms the mixing of desire and pragmatism finds its crucial representation in New York, born of a mental grid superimposed on a real island. One of the materialisations of these driving forces is the skyscraper, which gives a physical layered structure to complexity and congestion, the salient traits of the metropolis. As Koolhaas writes, skyscrapers do exactly what the European avant-garde movement tried to do, embodying modernity within everyday life, but with (and perhaps thanks to) a lack of theorisation behind their design.

Twenty years later Koolhaas defined his view of the skyscraper as a seminal architectural structure, marked by the feature of *bigness*. A century ago "by randomizing circulation, short-circuiting distance, artificialising interiors, reducing mass, stretching dimensions, and accelerating construction, the elevator, electricity, airconditioning, steel, and finally, the new infrastructures formed a cluster of mutations that induced another species of architecture" (Koolhaas et al. 1998, p. 498). This species is represented by buildings that are taller, deeper and with a richer functional programme – *bigger*, as Koolhaas calls them – unleashing unprecedented potential for

metropolitan space and its social organisation. The main consequences of this inflation are twofold: within the urban structure and on the appearance of the building. *Bigness* not only requires thorough reorganisation of internal space distribution, it needs the whole building to become urban, across all the traditional scales of design and to condense all the complexity of the city in its interior space. *Bigness* thus draws together the elements of interest of public urban space, condensing congestion within the private realm. "The street has become residue, organisational device, mere segment of the continuous metropolitan plane where the remnants of the past face the equipments of the new in an uneasy standoff. Bigness can exist anywhere on that plane. Not only is Bigness incapable of establishing relationships with the classical city at most, it coexists but in the quantity and complexity of the facilities it offers, it is itself urban" (Koolhaas et al. 1998, p. 514). The congested nature of the inner space becomes inscrutable on the outside, drastically separating the inner, layered worlds of the interior from the façade. In Koolhaas' description the increasing distance between the façade and the internal core breaks up the classical relationship between inside and outside of the building. Nothing of the internal programme and its organisation is revealed on the outer envelope, to the point that interior and exterior become separate projects. This analysis of the features of the skyscraper and its relation to the urban grid surely does not deal with all the different positions on these issues but is nevertheless interesting for it links metropolis, architectural form, public spaces, technological development and densification.

At the other end of the spectrum is the idea that the congested metropolis can be mastered by injecting a massive quantity of rationality into it, by strict theorisation of its possible development. In the first half of the twentieth century rationality was often a medium to reach the progressive and sometimes lyrical goals proposed by the positive thinking of the European avant-garde. The *Radiant City* proposed by Le Corbusier (1935) is a distinguished but classic specimen of this trend. The congestion of the old city centre is solved by rational zoning of the metropolitan space, separating activities and providing free space for infrastructures, green areas and public space. Low-density way of living at its finest, the free-standing house with garden, kitchen-garden and free space were reduced to quantities and reorganised within the *Immeubles à redents*, clean architectural objects whose sculptural form tended towards Purist taste. Nature complies with this Taylorist idea of urban space: the river becomes a transportation route, trees a backdrop behind *Cartesian skyscrapers*, the sky a playground of airplanes swarming around the central airport. The *Radiant City* shares with its American counterpart, Manhattan, the same faith in the new developments in building technology, but emphasises public spaces to the point that the skyscrapers, too, are conceived more as a common advantage (according to Le Corbusier, they will be built by entrepreneurs of different nations, thus discouraging enemy bombings in future wars) than an opportunity for the private realm. This utopian eagerness, and the rigour underlying the proposal, leads fatally to the exclusion of the less densely populated areas, where mixed use, absence of congestion, stronger entwining between nature and artifice, hinders the application of the principles of Taylorism.

These two extreme examples may throw some light on the way in which the metropolis imposed its spatial concepts as the unique reference point for the development of architecture. All the surrounding, less densely populated space, not directly involved in industrial production, housing and transportation, is simply left blank, like in the *Ville Radieuse* drawings, as unnecessary or simply available for further colonisation by the ever-expanding metropolis. Le Corbusier's perspectives show an endless emptiness behind the skyscrapers, while the densely populated foreground is detailed down to the gracious Thonet chairs. This focus on the metropolis marks further development in architectural theory, to the point of permeating some theoretical trends very distant from the Modernist *tabula rasa*, such as those based on morphological and typological studies that focus on the structure of the dense city.

Moreover, the triumphant ideal of the market of the 1990s partially rediscovered the concept of bigness, both by absorbing urban activities fully into the building, disrupting public space by entrenching the buildings behind huge parking lots along roads with a traffic flow, and by assigning branding functions to the outer shell, theorised by Koolhaas et al. (1998) as independent from the functions of the building, thus neglecting the liberating potential that Koolhaas noticed in the concept of bigness (Davey 2002).

8.2 Urban Realm

To understand better the focus gained over the years by metropolitan areas, both in academic and practical debates, one should look closer at the numbers describing the distribution of human settlement. The UN World Population Report, often cited as the demonstration of the dominance of urban culture, states that slightly more than 50% of the world population lives in cities. At a closer look, half the population lives in rural areas and about half of the urban population lives in small cities or cities with less than 500,000 people. Three-quarters of the world population live in cities with less than 500,000 inhabitants. Moreover, the UN reports state clearly that expected growth will more likely concern the small- and medium-sized cities. The same figures that demonstrate urban population growth show then that a large number of people still do not live in metropolises or very big cities.

Considering the indistinctness of urban and rural classifications, which simplify a very complex realm made up of different urban conditions, downtowns, suburbia and urban settlements in small countries, the assumptions of the dominating metropolitan culture sound even more overstated.

The analysis of geographical data might give a clear picture of the real density of urban settlements, disregarding the bias for the metropolitan myth that dominates architectural theory.

The GRUMP (Global Rural–Urban Mapping Project)[1] dataset is a tool suitable for exploring the quantitative side of the problem. The GRUMP is derived from a

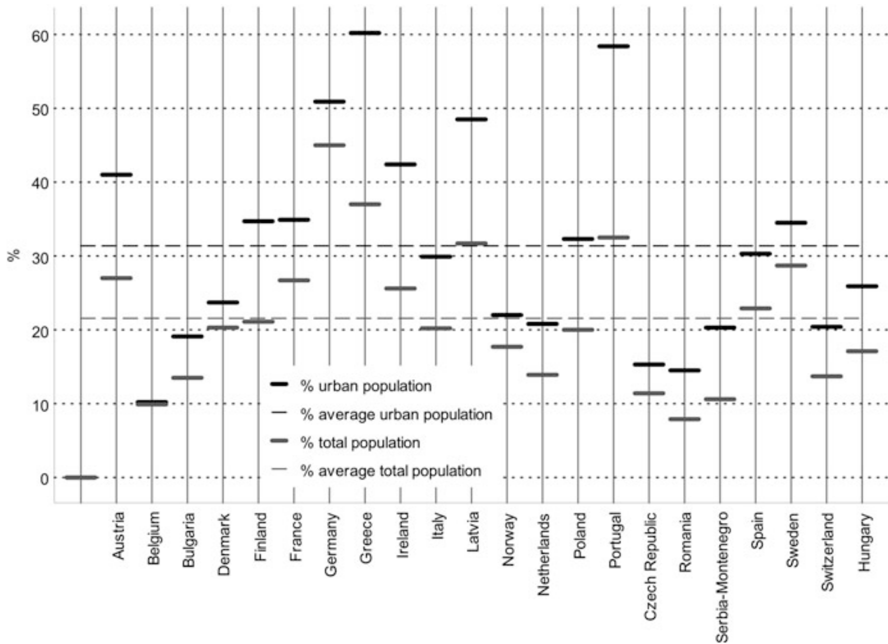

Fig. 8.1 European urban population living in cities greater than 750,000 inhabitants. *Black dashes* show the percentage of the urban population, *grey dashes* the percentage of the total population. *Dotted lines* show European averages. The number of people living in great cities is relatively small (Graphics by the Author. Data source: Gazetteer.de. © Francesco Spanedda – Department of Architecture, Design and Urbanistics – University of Sassari)

combination of geographical data on human settlements, a "mask" describing the physical extent of settlements, largely built on a dataset of stable "city" lights using time series data and a population grid (Balk et al. 2004).

Density maps produced by the GRUMP dataset show that proper urban areas in Europe cover less than 10% of the land with discontinuous distribution. Bigger cities and urban centres show clearly on the maps, but a spotted cloud of small centres spans from Spain to Russia, clearly recognisable even at lower resolution.

Cities with more than 750,000 inhabitants are only a small part of this tenth of Europe: they hold only 21.5% of the whole population and 31% of urban population. In actual fact, 88.5% of Europeans live in towns with less than 750,000 inhabitants, but it is worth noting that the majority live in even smaller centres: according to the website Gazetteer.de, European urban settlements have an average population of around 6,000 people (Fig. 8.1).

The European urban landscape is actually composed of a constellation of small centres (Ibelings 2006). Their inhabitants have different lifestyles, depending on different geographic and social issues. Nevertheless, low-density scenery often shows competition between strong, long-lasting natural or agricultural landscapes and small urban settlements with different importance and strength (Figs. 8.2 and 8.3).

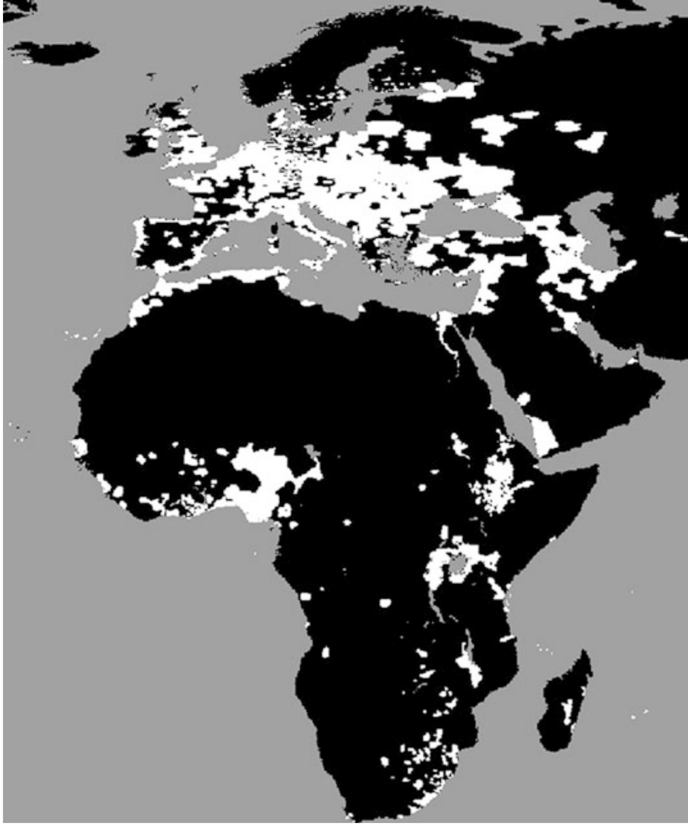

Fig. 8.2 Graphic reworking of geographical data; areas with less than 57 km^2 in Europe and Asia are shown in *black*. They extend over some 84% of the land shown on the map (Graphics by the Author. Data source: GRUMP project. © Francesco Spanedda – Department of Architecture, Design and Urbanistics – University of Sassari)

These territories occupied by a great amount of population cannot simply be wiped out of the architectural and planning debate: some of the key problems are distributed throughout the less densely populated areas of the world, like poverty and management of the natural environment (Afshar 1998). They are areas in many ways related to the metropolis: to support their ecological footprints and to store their resources. They do not necessarily depend on the metropolis for they possess unique identities and their own dynamics. Their dwellers abandon them more because of natural or man-made disasters, like poverty, war, famine and cyclones, than because of the attraction of the metropolis (Fig. 8.4).

Fig. 8.3 Areas with less than 149 km^2 in Europe and Asia are shown in *black*. They extend over some 96% of the land shown on the map (Graphics by the Author. Data source: GRUMP project. © Francesco Spanedda – Department of Architecture, Design and Urbanistics – University of Sassari)

8.3 Spatial Tools

The architectural toolbox from the Modernist era up to the era of definition of *bigness* was mostly tailored around the needs of the dense city: growth, congestion, traffic, grids, iconic form, verticality, duration, … As field research has demonstrated, these tools are often misleading or irrelevant if applied to the realm of low density. No more need to concentrate traffic, but some good reasons to disperse it in order to connect distant points; no exponential growth to control, but a vastness to colonise with strategic settlements; less abstract calculations, more evident accidents of the

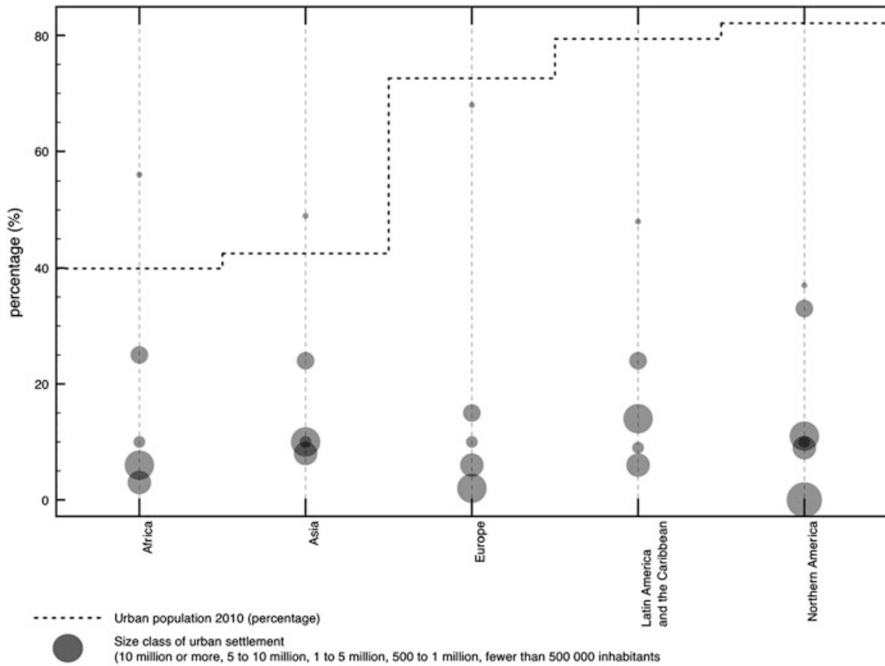

Fig. 8.4 Urban population of Europe: size of settlements (Graphics by the Author. Data source: United Nations 2008. © Francesco Spanedda – Department of Architecture, Design and Urbanistics – University of Sassari)

terrain; discontinuous traces of consecutive settlements instead of endless substitution. Far from being complete, the following list may be useful in creating more appropriate tools for the less densely populated areas.

8.3.1 Haptics

As André Corboz pointed out (1993), the space that the inventors of the modern metropolis had in their minds is deeply rooted in the Newtonian concept of continuous homogeneous space, in spite of the claims to scientific progress made by the prominent architects of the time. It is undeniable that the proximity of people and functions is one of the fundamental features of the city. Continuity (of nets, infrastructures, urban fabric, …) and its conceptual counterpart, continuous space, is one of the simplest ways to achieve it.

The space of the contemporary city might sometimes appear heterogeneous, but nevertheless permeated by the abstractness from which it was born. Deleuze and Guattari stated that the city is inherently organised and measured (Deleuze and Guattari 1980) as a consequence of the spatial and social organisation needed to

foster agriculture. This archetypal explanation cannot describe how much Newtonian space frames our perception of the city. The map, the main tool to represent, manage and design urban environments, is based on space that is continuous, homogeneous, measured and gridded. The images of the contemporary city, the photographs in magazines and movie shots, follow the rules of perspective, a kind of representation that postulates continuous measurable space. The building of urban infrastructures is itself a simplification of reality based on the application of Newtonian physics, following the different branches of engineering (structures, hydraulics, transportation, …).

Low-density space is fundamentally different, as it is based more on disjunction and intervals than on continuity, with territories organised by means of discontinuous settlements amidst vast natural or agricultural areas, groups of points connected but at the same time strongly characterised. This kind of space favours perceptive immersion rather than abstract schematisation. The most efficacious way of orienting oneself is to use discrete visual reference points rather than the continuity of a map; the road becomes more important than the position on a grid. A vectorial world replaces urban subdivision and materiality and gains the upper hand over iconicity, entering into relations with the intensity of the environment. The perception of concurrent elements situated far away makes it impossible to frame a significant picture under the rules of perspective. The abstractness of physics becomes secondary to the corporality of materials. This type of spatiality was described in two ways: the haptic gaze of Alois Riegl and others (Riegl 1893; Prytherch and McLundie 2002; Paterson 2008) and, reportedly connected with the former, Deleuze and Guattari's smooth space. Riegl distinguishes between two types of perception: the optical gaze, which examines and lists the distinguishable objects in the depth of the space, and the haptic gaze, which takes place along or around a continually variable surface, grasping materiality rather than forms. Optical vision would be detached from the world that examines and keeps watch, while haptic vision, rapid in grasping things, would be a form of affection (Riegl 1893).

In her autobiography Barbara Hepworth describes an analogous concept from the point of view of a sculptor. She recalls that all her early memories are of forms and shapes and textures. As perceived from the car, the hills were sculptures and the roads forms. The sensation of moving physically in fullnesses and concavities was like "feeling, touching and seeing through mind and hand and eye" (Hepworth 1978, p. 9).

The idea that perception may determine extremely different modes of conceiving and organising space is similar to the distinction between two spatial archetypes, smooth space and striated space, formulated by Deleuze and Guattari. The former, closely linked with nomadic cultures, is spatiality founded on the journey. Direction, movement and duration of the interval are preponderant compared with the halts, cadenced along the route. Smooth space is occupied by the intensities, the atmosphere and forces of nature, by tactile and sonorous qualities. The latter, belonging to urban culture, is a space scanned by metre, by points localised in a system of coordinates, connected by routes subordinated to it (Deleuze and Guattari 1980). The space of

diluted urbanity is a space occupied by events, the perception of which is based both on visual aspects and movement, giving origin to an almost tactile space. Form alone is not enough to design it. To colonise the vastness settlements need to be organised at the following dimensions: discover the most appropriate relations with the morphology of the surrounding territory and the other settlement elements; gauge its proportions so as to establish relations with distant objects and the changing distance of the point of view of the observer; check the materials, able to set up connections and enter into resonance with the natural processes and the weaving of the surrounding landscape; and weigh up the actual duration of the intervention, which will take into account the variability of the possible spatial organisations, "Spatium intenso instead of Extensio" (Deleuze and Guattari 1980, p. 704).

8.3.2 Topology

In the metropolis ground surfaces are often considered an abstract quantity. Precious ground is multiplied upwards and downwards by the floors of the building to the maximum number of times permitted by technical and normative restrictions, generating high masses and subterranean spaces where functions are stacked often independently from the relative position to the actual ground floor.[2] Whereas in the low-density city, ground level still has a fundamental importance for at least two reasons. From an urban point of view the ground remains the main connecting element and the principal carrier for urban activity: buildings relate with each other and with the spaces around like fields, gardens and clearings by sharing roads and wide stretches, simply for functional economy. On the other hand, low-rise buildings cannot challenge the strength of the orography but in some way they measure and reveal it. Alignments and grids, simple systems of organisation of the surfaces, often become deformed by contact with the morphology of the terrain in an inexplicable way for those who observe them by just a horizontal projection. The built volumes disappear in the large expanses or appear as small accidents with respect to the undulating land.

This subordination of buildings to the ground entails great attention to localisation: the mass itself takes on diverse potentialities and efficacy depending on its position with respect to routes, resources, relief and the other neighbouring buildings. An exemplary case, however extreme, is described by Eyal Weizman in his study on the Israeli settlements in the West Bank, eloquently entitled *The Politics of Verticality* (Weizman 2002). Weizman tells how the experience of occupation transformed the perception of space in the West Bank from the traditional two-dimensional cartographic image into a three-dimensional volume, stratified in strategic, religious and political layers. Colonisation of the West Bank, whose planimetric configuration varies over time, occurs through the occupation of fixed strategic points, the hilltops dominating the surrounding territory.[3] According to Weizman, the colonists' settlements form a large-scale network of "civil fortifications" which enables them to tactically watch over the territory. The actual form of the settlements on the hills is

built following a geometric system that guarantees wide, free views and spatial order, constructing a panoptic system in which the gaze targets numerous goals: control of the Arab towns, self-defence by surveillance over the surrounding areas and access points, strategic superiority by means of vigilance over the principal traffic routes, predominance over ground water and, not least, an undisturbed glance from settlement to settlement which makes the Arab presence on the slopes and in the valleys disappear from view.

While the space of the large city tends to homogenise vertical extension of space, by means of the elevators that enable repetition of the plot constituted by the various floors, low-density settlement is built on differences and, first and foremost, the fundamental polarisation of space, from above to below. This spatial organisation leads to a primacy of the cross section over the plan, a kind of representation that allows vertical settling rules to develop. Buildings can be dug into the ground, follow its contours, like in De Carlo's dormitories in Urbino, or hover above it, like in Glenn Murcutt's houses,[4] organising the space around lines of sight, lower gradients and contour lines. The space of the external territories abandons the Newtonian paradigm of absolute space in favour of topological articulation, in an anisotropic, discontinuous manner, tracing the directions that on each occasion seem the most appropriate. In such a space dimensions also lose their absolute value: the importance of a building or a built-up area is owed not just to its extension, but to the position it occupies in a system of relations and in relation to the observer.

8.3.3 Presence and Scale

As the prevalence of the landscape and the absence of the city preclude the easy route of iconography, architecture can go back to its basic features in order to negotiate its role and be able to reorganise a complex system of relations. One of these primeval features is undoubtedly size. If low-density denies the possibility of reference to an absolute space, then the question of size is posed in terms of mediation between the extent of the landscape and the body of the observer.

The answer can be found within reflections on the theme of scale, one of the main fields of investigation of environmental art of the second half of the twentieth century. When Robert Morris asked Tony Smith why his piece "Die" was presented as a cube with 6-ft sides (more or less the height of a person) and not bigger, Smith answered, "I was not making a monument". Morris then asked why he did not make it smaller and the answer was "I was not making an object" (Morris 1966, p. 230). Smith clearly intended to create a relation between the spectator and his piece above all through size: to construct a system in which the sculpture and the observer were related by a simple and at the same time very efficacious expedient, capable of imposing itself on any other system of relations around it.

Likewise, low-density space, inherently three-dimensional, forces us to design the layout of the building or settlement with respect to the ground and to modulate its masses in relation to an observer. This attitude can be pushed to the definition of

internal spaces and the relationship between external and internal – at the scale of buildings, establishing its character in relation to the natural emergences and the built-up space, and at the urban or territorial scale, for it to be correctly inserted between observer and landscape and be able to contribute intentionally to protecting, modifying or transforming the existing system of relations.

This relationship, provided by the size and appearance of the work, was described by Barnett Newman, another artist of the period, in terms of *presence*. Newman considered the encounter between the observer and the work a phenomenological relation, basically of a corporeal type, in which the painting had the purpose of making the spectator feel present. For him it was not important, as for Pollock and Rothko, to aim for large size; easel painting, too, can have a scale: "Dimensions do not count. It is the scale that counts. It is the human scale that counts" (Meyer 2004).

A somatic relation implies not only a dimensional relationship with the body but also a consideration of the building as an element of a tactile space, in which the materials and the construction gain intensity, rather than form and geometry. It suggests a corresponding completion of the body and the building, similar to the concept of reciprocity that Tadao Ando expresses with the term shintai. Ando refuses the dualism between spirit and body, defining the articulate world by the presence of the body as a living, sensitive space, in which the characteristics of the buildings, like the cold, hard surface of a material, enable perception of the complementary characteristics of one's own body, for example, heat and softness (Frampton and Cava 1995).

The architectural construction can thus start a dialogue with the observer and the context at different levels, focusing on different planes, in a continuous succession of depths of field. Everything - from volumetric configuration to the composition of the façades and the texture and consistency of materials, up to the small scale of details - can concur in a general concept that flows through different scales, establishing relationships with the vastness of the landscape, with the scale of the urban form and the dimensions of the human body, and with the haptics of the material, enriching itself in this non-linear route of unimagined elements, transformations and contradictions.

8.3.4 Time

It is common sense that settlements extend over space. Time, however, plays a fundamental role in urbanisation processes and urban behaviours. Where spatial rules are less evident, time gains more importance in organising low-density territories and could be regarded as operable as space.

Time in the dense city is usually meant in the Newtonian sense of a system of coordinates within which planning processes take place, the equivalent of continuous, homogeneous space. Both are the main foundation of the evolution of the city, an immense man-made object growing and evolving through time, as Aldo Rossi

wrote.[5] Continuous time underpins the visions of the city as much as continuous space, framing the Gantt charts hanging on the wall of the engineers and backing the analytical research on the morphology of the city of the 1970s and early 1980s. Their comparative technique, especially the overlay of historical maps and the description of permanent and evolving parts of the urban fabric, postulates continuity both in space and time.

On the other hand, low-density territories show up their discontinuity in time as well as in space. Flourishing settlements may perish and disappear leaving almost no tangible trace, like the Roman villas in north-west Sardinia (Principe 1983). Sometimes they leave behind remnants, perhaps some ancient stones mounted in a wall of a church, or geometrical rows of fruit trees that suddenly appear in the bushes, or flimsy echoes in toponyms. Far from the bureaucracy of the dense city, such relics are mostly undocumented and their enigmatic presence often becomes more important than the irretrievable explanation of their existence. They punctuate the landscape as suggestions, too small in scale to give a different sense to the whole picture, but firm enough to help new connections to be traced between points and hybridising different spaces.

Settlements lie outside the measuring rod of the continuous scope of maps and history, like gaps or intervals of urbanity in the vastness of the landscape. This intermittence becomes evident in temporary urban *foci*, like shelters or small houses, such as the Sardinian "Cumbessias", whose presence triggers elemental forms of urbanity around country churches during yearly *novena* festivals. Their short duration and the gathering of people coming from different villages bring to mind Hakim Bey's Temporary Autonomous Zones theory (Bey 1991): a place where rigid organisation is temporarily suspended and a festive attitude, a common feeling, prevails.

Following this train of thought, time could be considered an occasion to manage density, temporarily boosting or reducing it, during exceptional events or at recurring times, in order to artificially induce urban behaviours in scarcely populated areas. An interesting example, though designed for a congested site, is the development scheme that Koolhaas' Office for Metropolitan Architecture (OMA) proposed for an isle in the port of Yokohama in 1992 (Koolhaas et al. 1998). The site was almost entirely filled by two huge market halls, used only between four and ten in the morning. OMA invented a detailed programme to fill the remainder of the day, in order to achieve maximum use of the existing infrastructure. The market halls occupied a definite space and their function occupied a definite time. The proposed expansion of the city into the market halls and surrounding plots was not merely spatial saturation of urban voids: it became saturation of time. Beside zoning and spatial dislocation of functional programmes a new strategy appears: the temporal dislocation of events related to urban life that cyclically fill the spatial and temporal voids, like a modified Gantt chart, whose linear bars warp to become fluctuating surfaces. OMA's strategy for Yokohama discovers an unexpected space at the disposal of the city, hidden in the folds of time, which could be filled with distinct functions that share the same space but flow asynchronously, without any binding dependence between them.

8.4 Conclusions

The focus on low-density spatial organisation is not a revamp of the old opposition between urban and rural areas that accompanied the urban debate throughout the last century (Graeme et al. 2003). The notion that the vast majority of the urban population does not actually live in the metropolises but in medium- or low-sized cities and on rural land simply begs the question whether we can extend the categories and tools developed for the very dense city to them without proving inadequate or inappropriate. Reflection on alternative principles of settlement should lead us however to a deeper understanding of the multiple ways in which the urban environment evolves.

Low and high density are complementary sides of the intertwined artificial and natural processes upon which urban life is built. The traditional focus on the denser settlements levels out the complexity of the urban environment to a few features, generally well represented in abstract, mostly two-dimensional plans, with urban plots, building masses and architectural form among the most relevant. The delicate, complex, mixed urban environment shown in the less populated areas might yield some new insights, like three-dimensional planning and temporary infrastructures, or grant new meanings to some old concepts, such as scale and haptic space, which probably still have the strength and capacity to help us in the quest for a better urban environment.

Notes

1. GRUMP Project data and methodological documents are publicly available at Columbia University's Socioeconomic Data and Applications Center: http://sedac.ciesin.columbia.edu/gpw/documentation.jsp#
2. See Koolhaas' deep insights into the role of repetition of floors in generating the architecture of the metropolis (Koolhaas 1978; Koolhaas et al. 1998).
3. "High ground offers three strategic advantages: greater tactical strength, protection and a wider view. This principle is as ancient as military history. The castles of the Crusaders, some built not far from the positions occupied by the current settlements, operated by "reinforcing the resistance already provided by nature" (…). The Occupied Territories settlements are not much different (…) and can be seen as optical urban machines for surveillance and the exercise of power" (Weizman 2002, para 5).
4. "Touch this Earth Lightly" is a famous Aboriginal saying that Murcutt learned from his friend Brian Klopper, as reported by Lindsay Johnston (2009).
5. "By architecture of the city we mean two different things: first, the city seen as a gigantic man-made object, a work of engineering and architecture that is large and complex and growing over time" (Rossi 1982, p. 29).

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Chapter 9
Making Territory

Frederick Steiner

Abstract We inhabit a vulnerable planet. The devastation caused by natural disasters such as the southern Asian and Japanese tsunami, Hurricanes Katrina and Ike in the United States, and the earthquakes in China's Sichuan province, Haiti, and Turkey – as well as the ongoing depletion and degradation of the world's natural resources caused by a burgeoning human population – has made it clear that "business as usual" is no longer sustainable. We need to find ways to improve how we live on this planet while minimizing our impact on it.

Landscape architecture and its subfield, landscape urbanism, have the potential to provide leadership to enable us to inhabit this vulnerable planet in a more sustainable manner. Seven key landscape urbanism axioms are presented: cities and landscapes change constantly; technology connects us to each other and our environments in new ways, changing how and where we live; sense of place and sense of region produce distinct cultural identities; certain regional identities foster creativity; landscape-based urban design involves one application of additive structure across several scales; design and planning disciplinary boundaries blur in landscape urbanism; and cities and landscapes are resilient ecosystems.

Keywords Additive structure • City beautiful • Ecology • Fractals • Incrementalism • Landscape • Landscape architecture • Regionalism • Resilience • Territory

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9.1 Introduction

The Dutch invented the word *landschap*, which migrated into English as our "landscape." In its Dutch root, *landschap* refers to a territory made by people. In English and in the Romance languages, landscape and its translations, such as the Italian *paesaggio*, often refer to a view, frequently a rural one. However, a deeper meaning refers to the integrated cultural and natural processes of a place. In this sense, at its origin, landscape has more in common with the Italian *territorio* than the more frequent translation, *paesaggio*. Similarly, the French *terroir* refers to spatial characteristics of climate, soil type, and topography that create the specific qualities of a place as adapted by people, originally in wine production. The landscape architect Günter Vogt defines *terroir* as "the exact appropriateness of a specific place, with all its hidden qualities" (2006, p. 167).

The Dutch have constructed much of their nation from low-lying lands below sea level (Fig. 9.1). They created busy cities and rich farmlands from lakes, marshes, and river channels as they protected large natural areas. As a result, the concept of creating land is central to the Dutch culture.

Building on the Dutch legacy, I believe landscape architecture can lead the design and planning disciplines in this first urban century. This leadership is especially essential for the health and vitality of urban regions. As more of us live in cities, the quality of our built environment grows in importance. Landscape architecture in many ways occupies the ground between architecture and urban planning while overlapping with both. As a result, landscape architecture helps bridge the rule-making

Fig. 9.1 Farmland in the IJsselmeerpolders, the Netherlands (Photograph by Frederick Steiner)

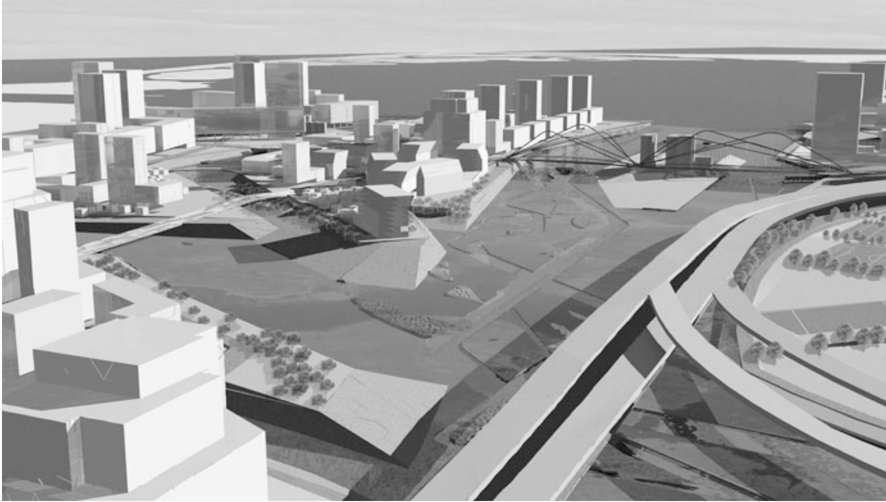

Fig. 9.2 Lower Don lands proposal, Toronto, Canada: a new metropolitan precinct whose urban form is structured by the dynamic ecologies of the reconstituted Don River marsh (© Stoss Landscape Urbanism)

orientation of the planners and the form-making emphasis of the architects. The emerging subfield of landscape urbanism presents additional bridging potential.

More humans live in cities now than at any time in history. As the world's population continues to grow, the planet becomes more urban. Meanwhile, our ecological literacy expands, and we recognize that urban and suburban places are ecological systems. We understand landscapes as syntheses of natural and social processes. This knowledge gives rise to a new urbanism, one where people are viewed as part of nature, one where "the city is of the country" (Mumford 1938) or "the city is of the territory" (Maciocco 2008). This new urbanism is grounded in ecological literacy and understanding the territory of the city. We describe the resulting urban form and the way we view that form as landscape urbanism. This term was coined by architect Charles Waldheim and advanced by a small band of North American landscape architects and urbanists, including James Corner, Chris Reed, Nina-Marie Lister, and Dean Almy. Waldheim, Corner, and Reed are former students of Ian McHarg, and his ecological advocacy certainly influences their ideas and work (see, e.g., Almy 2007; Waldheim 2006). However, this younger generation seeks a more urban and more design-based approach than their mentor. Landscape urbanists suggest the landscape should replace buildings and transportation systems as the principal organizing structure in urban design. Networks and complexity are embraced in order to establish frameworks for urban change.

In addition to McHarg, landscape urbanists have been inspired by the work of the Dutch firm West 8. Early North American examples of landscape urbanism include Field Operation's Fresh Kills and High Line projects in New York City and StossLU's entry in Toronto's Lower Don River competition (Fig. 9.2).

Fig. 9.3 Prospect Park, Brooklyn, New York, design by Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr. and Calvert Vaux (Photograph by Frederick Steiner)

Landscape urbanism represents a fundamental shift in how we view the health of our cities. In the nineteenth century, increasing knowledge about disease and environments gave rise to sanitary engineering and urban parks (Fig. 9.3). In the twentieth century, concern about the pollution of water and air resulted in new national environmental laws that improved water and air quality. Now, we see how ill-conceived development threatens public health. This should give rise to an ecological infrastructure movement compatible to the sanitary engineering movement of the nineteenth century and the water and air quality laws of the twentieth.

How then should we conceive landscape urbanism? Seven key axioms contribute to landscape urbanism:

- Cities and landscapes change constantly.
- Technology connects us to each other and our environments in new ways, changing how and where we live.
- Sense of place and sense of region produce distinct regional cultural identities.
- Certain regional identities foster creativity.
- Landscape-based urban design involves the application of additive structure across several scales.
- Design and planning disciplinary boundaries blur in landscape urbanism.
- Cities and landscapes are resilient ecosystems.

9.2 Cities and Landscapes Change Constantly

Traditionally, ecologists contended that systems moved toward a steady state. In what is called “new ecology,” systems are viewed as in a perpetual state of flux. As ecologists devote increased attention to studying landscapes and cities, this shift in view is reinforced. In newer cities, like Phoenix, Arizona, where development occurs at the rate of an acre an hour (0.405 ha an hour), a pace sustained for over two decades, change is apparent to even the most casual observer (Fig. 9.4). In more ancient cities, like Rome, renewal and restoration transform large neighborhoods into constant construction zones.

Following Vienna’s lead, many European cities replaced their ancient defensive walls with parks and open spaces. Changing military technology transformed urban space, generally for the better as, for example, in Krakow and Zamość, Poland. In Italy, Lucca’s wall remains. However, trees were planted where soldiers once stood, changing the wall from a place for fighting into an area for recreation (Fig. 9.5).

A consequence for landscape urbanism is one needs to design and plan for change. Certain places are designed for a narrow purpose to last through time – a house of worship, a memorial, a park, or a library, for instance. Even such places evolve, as technology alters library use or a changing neighborhood affects a church parish. Other places require even more flexibility and adaptability – where we work, sleep, eat, and recreate. These places change due to external forces, such as technology, and from within, as we inhabit them through time.

Fig. 9.4 Development in the Phoenix metropolitan area (Photograph by Frederick Steiner)

Fig. 9.5 City Wall Park, Lucca, Italy (Photograph by Frederick Steiner)

9.3 Technology Connects Us

Technology is an instrument of human adaptation. The Internet, laptop computers, geopositioning systems, and cell phones with built-in cameras alter our lives today as much as television and refrigeration in the previous generation. We can Google a new acquaintance and learn more than many conversations might reveal. We watch television on a clear afternoon at Sky Harbor International Airport in Phoenix to learn a storm front will reach our destination in Texas before we do. Climate data collected at the same airport report the warming of nighttime temperatures over the past decades.

We can use Google Earth to explore places close to home or far away. This can be a helpful tool for design and planning. We can make a virtual site assessment before an actual visit. By zooming in and out with Google Earth, we can get an initial impression of the site's character and context. We may also revisit the site after departing. This is especially helpful when working with distant places. Through Google Earth, we can visit the projects of others to help us learn from their experiences.

A consequence for landscape urbanism is one should embrace connecting technologies in design and planning. Geographic information system (GIS) technologies provide another clear example (Fig. 9.6). Through GIS, one can map and compare social and natural information spatially. As a technology devoted to the organization and application of geographic information, GIS is capable of revealing

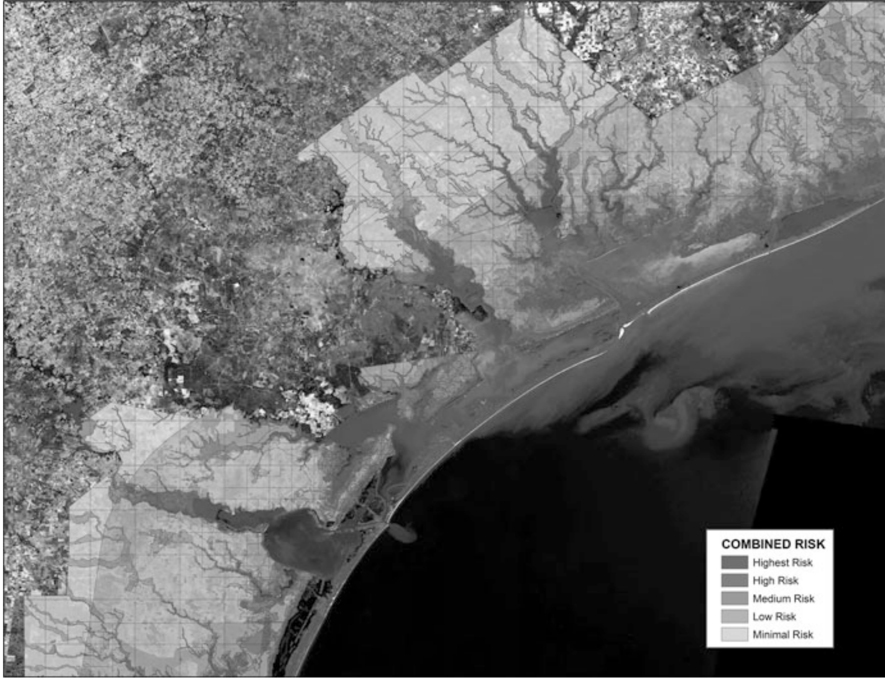

Fig. 9.6 The use of GIS to illustrate risk along the Texas Gulf Coast. Among the risk factors being addressed are historic hurricane tracks; high wind risk areas; storm surges; flooding; significant flooding events; rise in sea elevation; loss of wetlands, marshes, and barrier islands; economic impacts; demographic vulnerability; and growth patterns; map by James L. Sipes, AECOM (Courtesy of AECOM)

relationships and patterns across the urban landscape. These relationships and patterns help us visualize processes that affect the livability of cities and regions.

9.4 Place and Region Create Identity

A sense of place enhances urban livability. Local places are embedded within regions. Together, a sense of place and of region contributes to distinct cultural identities. Austin possesses a different identity than Houston, as Pittsburgh does from Philadelphia, and Rome from Milan. The interplay between the built environment and natural processes creates this sense of place.

Regions possess clear cores but fuzzy boundaries and may be defined by political, biophysical, ecological, sociocultural, or economic boundaries. Political regions are civil divisions of areas. Biophysical regions may be described as the pattern of interacting biological and physical phenomena present in a given area. Ecological regions are determined by physical information, such as elevation, slope aspect, and

Fig. 9.7 Traditional entrance, classical garden, Suzhou, China (Photograph by Frederick Steiner)

climate, plus the distribution of plant and animal species. Unlike many phenomena that constitute biophysical regions, people with widely varying social characteristics can occupy a sociocultural region. Functionally, economic regions overlap sociocultural regions. Economic processes often dominate our view of social processes in regions. Together, biophysical and socioeconomic processes combine to create identity and character of regions and places (Fig. 9.7).

A consequence for landscape urbanism is one should design and plan to reinforce regional and local sense of place. In his book *Native to Nowhere* (2004), University of Virginia planning Professor Tim Beatley writes about the challenges to sustaining place in this global age. He suggests how places can be strengthened through history and heritage and good community design. According to Beatley, the natural environment, pedestrian places, art, shared spaces, multigenerational communities, and wise energy use all play important roles in place-based design.

9.5 Some Regions Foster Creativity

Some regional identities are more powerful and creative than others. We write poems and songs to San Francisco and Rome. The skyline of New York City appears in many films as does its Central Park and Brooklyn Bridge. We know the canals of Amsterdam and Venice, the beaches of Rio and Miami, and Seattle's rain, even if we have never been there (Fig. 9.8).

Fig. 9.8 The Duomo, Florence, Italy (Photograph by Frederick Steiner)

A consequence for landscape urbanism is that design and planning should reinforce creative regional identities. We need to learn to design with rain, to plan with poetry. A promise of landscape urbanism is to connect urban living to nature in thoughtful and artful ways.

To fulfill this promise, we need to understand the rhythms of the seasons. We must study the rocks of the region and how they fashion the terrain and direct the flows of water. We need to learn about the depths and the colors of the soils and how they influence plant growth. We must become familiar with our trees and shrubs, our birds and bees, and our native fish and mammals.

9.6 Parts Become Wholes at Higher Scales

This promise can be fulfilled through viewing design on multiple scales. Over half a century ago, Kevin Lynch wrote about approaching design through "additive structure," where the "basic unit is rigidly standardized, inflexible [like a brick]. The flexibility lies in the myriad ways in which the constellation of units may be patterned, and in the interchangeability of parts. The total pattern is not highly organized but is rather additive in nature: growth of units at the periphery does not change the structure at the center" (Lynch 1958, Reprinted in Banerjee and Southworth 1990, p. 383). Lynch introduced this concept in a 1958 article on "environmental adaptability."

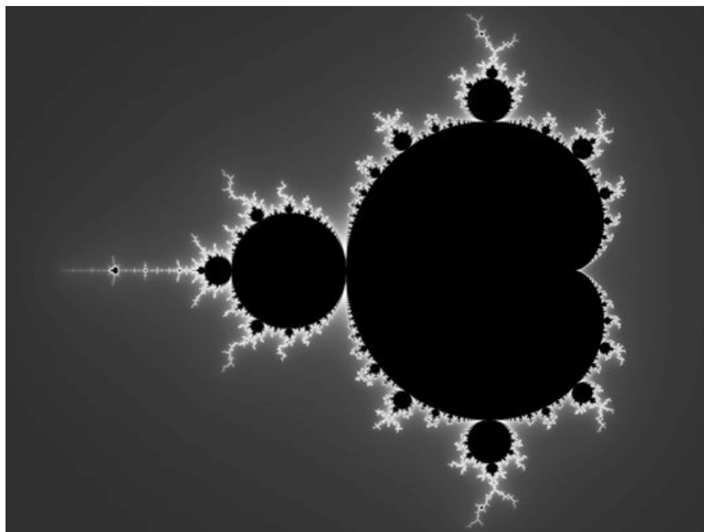

Fig. 9.9 Fractal of Mandelbrot set (Courtesy of Dr. Wolfgang Beyer, Munich, Germany)

He explained environmental adaptability as the capacity which enables the organization of urban space to adapt the changes in functions, concentration, and communication. More recently, fractal theory suggests that the world is comprised of self-similar systems. A fractal is a geometric shape, which forms building blocks in nature (Fig. 9.9).

For landscape urbanism, a consequence is that designers and planners should understand Lynch's ideas about environmental adaptability and additive structure in urban design as well as principles of fractal geometry. Fractals and additive structure can be helpful to conceive form across scales. Fractals form patterns. Designing with these patterns will result in forms that fit a place. Designers might also complement or play against these patterns consciously as they address and form adaptive complex systems. The resulting designs can enhance existing patterns through the addition of new, though complementary, elements.

9.7 Several Disciplines Contribute

Landscape urbanism blurs the boundaries between the disciplines traditionally involved in the design and planning the urban built environment – architecture, landscape architecture, planning, civil engineering, law, historic preservation, and real estate. Arguably, architecture played a leadership role in traditional urban design. For landscape urbanism to advance, landscape architecture should be expected to be a leader in theory and practice.

The Fresh Kills Project mentioned earlier provides an example. A key innovation is that Corner and his Field Operations colleagues embraced change in their

design, eschewing a set end state for a more dynamic, flexible framework of possibilities grounded in an initial "seeding." Located in the New York City borough of Staten Island, Fresh Kills covers some 2,200 acres (890 ha) and was formerly the largest landfill in the world. Much of the debris resulting from the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center was deposited there. The Field Operations plan suggests how the landfill can be converted into a park three times larger than Central Park. The plan involves the restoration of a large landscape and includes reclaiming much of the wetlands that existed on the former dump site. In addition to landscape architecture, the planning required the expertise of ecologists, social scientists, traffic specialists, soil scientists, and hydrologists (Figs. 9.10 and 9.11).

A consequence for landscape urbanism is that design and planning needs to be based on collaboration and mutual respect among disciplines. This requires respect for both the place-making and the rule-making aspects of landscape urbanism. The art of making places should be balanced with the necessity for rules in urban places. Architects need to learn to communicate with attorneys and engineers with landscape architects. Planners should learn the language of ecologists as they do of economics as both ecology and economics contribute to our knowledge of home.

9.8 Cities and Landscapes Are Resilient

Finally, cities are increasingly viewed as resilient ecosystems. Resilience is a concept and a theory with growing appeal in the disciplines of ecology and planning and has considerable relevance for landscape urbanism. According to the ecologist Gunderson and his colleagues,

> *Resilience* has been defined in two different ways in the ecological literature, each reflecting different aspects of stability. One definition focuses on efficiency, constancy and predictability – all attributes of engineers' desire for fail-safe design. The other focuses on persistence, change and unpredictability – all attributes embraced and celebrated by evolutionary biologists and by those who search for safe-fail designs. (Gunderson et al. 2002, p. 530)

The first definition is tied to standard ideas in ecology that emphasized equilibrium and stability. The second definition emerges from new ecology, which focuses on nonequilibrium and the adaptability of ecological systems (see, e.g., Botkin 1990). Pickett and Cadenasso suggest that the latter is appropriate "to urban ecosystems, because it suggests that spatial heterogeneity is an important component of the persistence of adaptable metropolitan regions" (2003, p. 34).

The application of resilience to urban ecosystems is largely the result of the two National Science Foundation-funded urban long-term ecological research (LTER) projects in Phoenix and Baltimore (see http://www.caplter.asu.edu and http://www.beslter.org). Cities are anything but stable and predictable systems. The urban LTERs reinforce our growing appreciation for changing and adapting systems.

To a large degree, the interest from American planners in resilience emerged post September 11, 2001. The principal leaders of this interest are Lawrence Vale of the

Fig. 9.10 Fresh Kills competition, New York City, site plan (© James Corner Field Operations)

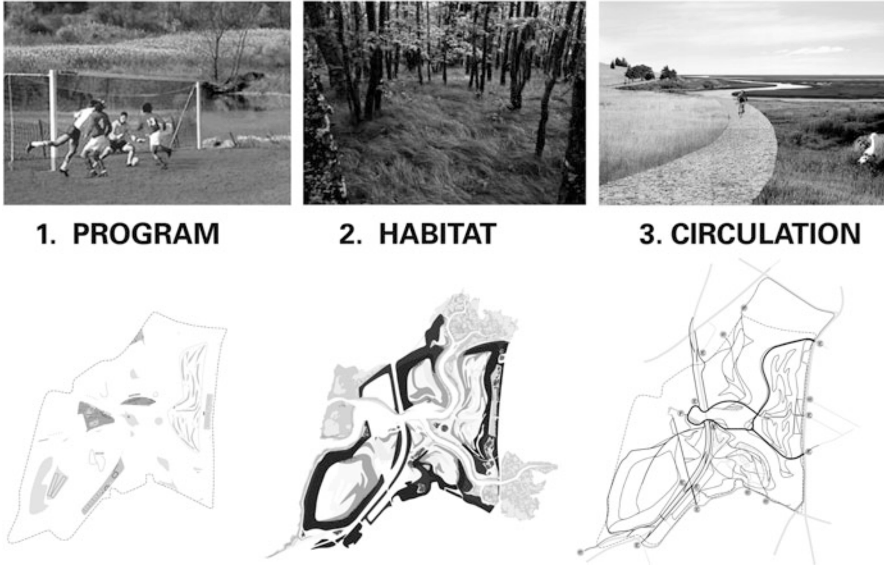

Fig. 9.11 Fresh Kills competition, New York City, three organizational systems organize vast fresh kills landscape (© James Corner Field Operations)

Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Thomas Campanella of the University of North Carolina (Vale and Campanella 2005a, b). Although ecologists have speculated about the application of resilience to urban planning, up to this point there has been scant connection between the ecological and the planning resilience research.

Vale and Campanella link resilience with disasters, noting "Urban disaster, like urban resilience, takes many forms" (2005a, p. B6). Furthermore, they observe, "Many disasters may follow a predictable pattern of rescue, restoration, rebuilding, and remembrance, yet we can only truly evaluate a recovery based on special circumstances" (2005a, p. B6). Thus, urban resilience is linked to the specific qualities of the place where it occurs.

Vale and Campanella distinguish natural disasters from those caused by people. Natural disasters include those resulting from fire, earthquake, flood, drought, volcano, hurricane, tsunami, and epidemic disease. Human disasters result both from accidents and deliberate, place-targeted events (Vale and Campanella 2005b). In many ways, Hurricane Katrina in 2005 and the 2008 Sichuan earthquake illustrate how poor planning and design can exacerbate the human consequences of a natural event (Fig. 9.12). For example, the loss of wetlands along the Louisiana Gulf Coast contributes to the deleterious consequences of hurricanes. The preservation of such wetlands and the creation of new marshes would help protect the coast. Likewise, better building codes and more careful site planning would save lives in Sichuan.

Vale and Campanella build their perspective on the considerable body of work done by American planners on the topic of disaster. One of the few times the

Fig. 9.12 Resilient foundations: the Gulf Coast after Katrina, social institutions mapping. This map considers institutional visibility in relation to post-Katrina demographic shifts (Design by The University of Texas at Austin School of Architecture 2006 Biennale Team under the supervision of Jason Sowell and Nichole Wiedemann)

American public turns to planners is in the wake of tragedy. Might not resilience also be a helpful concept for guiding metropolitan regions in times without disaster? Such regional resilience would be based on enhancing social capital, creating knowledge capital, and protecting natural capital.

A consequence for landscape urbanism lies in the potential to connect ideas about resilience from ecology to those in planning. In doing so, we can create healthier urban landscapes that can adapt to change and will foster creativity.

9.9 Landscape Urbanism Design and Planning

These seven axioms suggest three approaches to the design and planning of urban landscapes. The first involves grand gestures that are intended to completely transform a city or a region. The second is to initiate change throughout a region by studying and incrementally adjusting environmental processes. The third approach is that of an individual designer or a school of designers and artists who, through a lifetime of work, can transform a city or region.

The first of these can be characterized as the "make no little plans" approach. It was Daniel Burnham who made that famous statement, saying that little plans "have no magic to stir men's blood. Make big plans; aim high in hope and work." Burnham and the sons of Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr. and their friends certainly heeded this proclamation. Their City Beautiful plans for Chicago, San Francisco, and Washington, DC, are their legacy to us (Fig. 9.13).

Whereas Burnham's big plans were based on architecture and roadways providing the essential building blocks, with big parks and ribbons of green along boulevards playing an important, supportive role, the senior Olmsted presented an alternative grand scheme. Olmsted, with Charles Eliot, conceived a whole new system for the Boston metropolitan region that they called the Emerald Necklace. Their vision remains today as the connected green space that is enjoyed every day by the citizens of Boston (Fig. 9.14).

Another grand vision was created for the city of Phoenix with the establishment of the Phoenix Arts Commission when Terry Goddard was mayor. The Public Art Master Plan commissioned by that agency provides a remarkable vision of using the infrastructure of the place to create an identity for the region. In American novelist Don DeLillo's book *Underworld* (1997) whose story takes place in Phoenix and New York, the icon chosen to represent New York is Brooklyn's Ebbets Field. To represent Phoenix, the author chose an unusual but extremely successful project that came out of the city's Public Art Master Plan, the 27th Avenue Solid Waste Management Facility (Fig. 9.15). Here is a quote: "The landscape made him happy. It was a challenge to his lifelong citiness but more than that, a realization of some half-dream vision, the otherness of the West, the strange great thing that was all mixed in with nature and spaciousness, with bravery and history and who you are and what you believe and what movies you saw growing up" (DeLillo 1997, pp. 449–450). In many ways, the vision of the Public Art Program has helped create an identity for this place that is now working its way into literature.

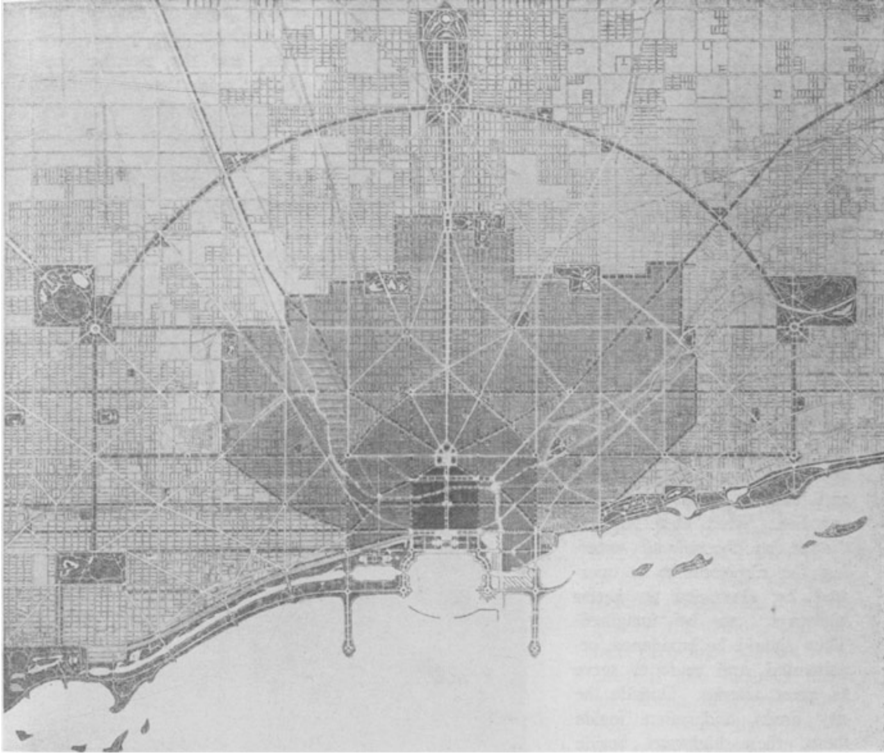

Fig. 9.13 Plan for Chicago, 1909, showing the general system of boulevards and parks existing and proposed, coauthored by Daniel Burnham and Edward H. Bennett (Courtesy of The Commercial Club of Chicago)

Incrementalism provides an alternative approach to big plans, and incrementalism can work, too. In the Phoenix region, over 30 years ago, a vision known as Rio Salado was launched by an architecture studio at Arizona State University. The vision to transform the dry Salt River bed, which had been abused by gravel mining and random dumping, into a linear open space and flood control system was quickly championed by the dean of the college, Jim Elmore, who advocated the vision for decades. Incrementally, the idea took root. Now both Tempe and Phoenix have implemented Rio Salado projects.

If we take Jim Elmore's vision of the Rio Salado, pull back, and look at it as Olmsted might have, we could imagine a "Turquoise Necklace" for the Phoenix metropolitan area with the Rio Salado connected to the Indian Bend Wash on the east, the Agua Fria River on the west, and the Central Arizona Project canal on the north (Fig. 9.16). Such connections, a primary focus of the Public Art Program, have the potential to create a turquoise necklace over time for the Phoenix region.

Cities from Tel Aviv to Phoenix are getting hotter, prompting residents to grow more concerned about controlling temperature. The urban heat island effect,

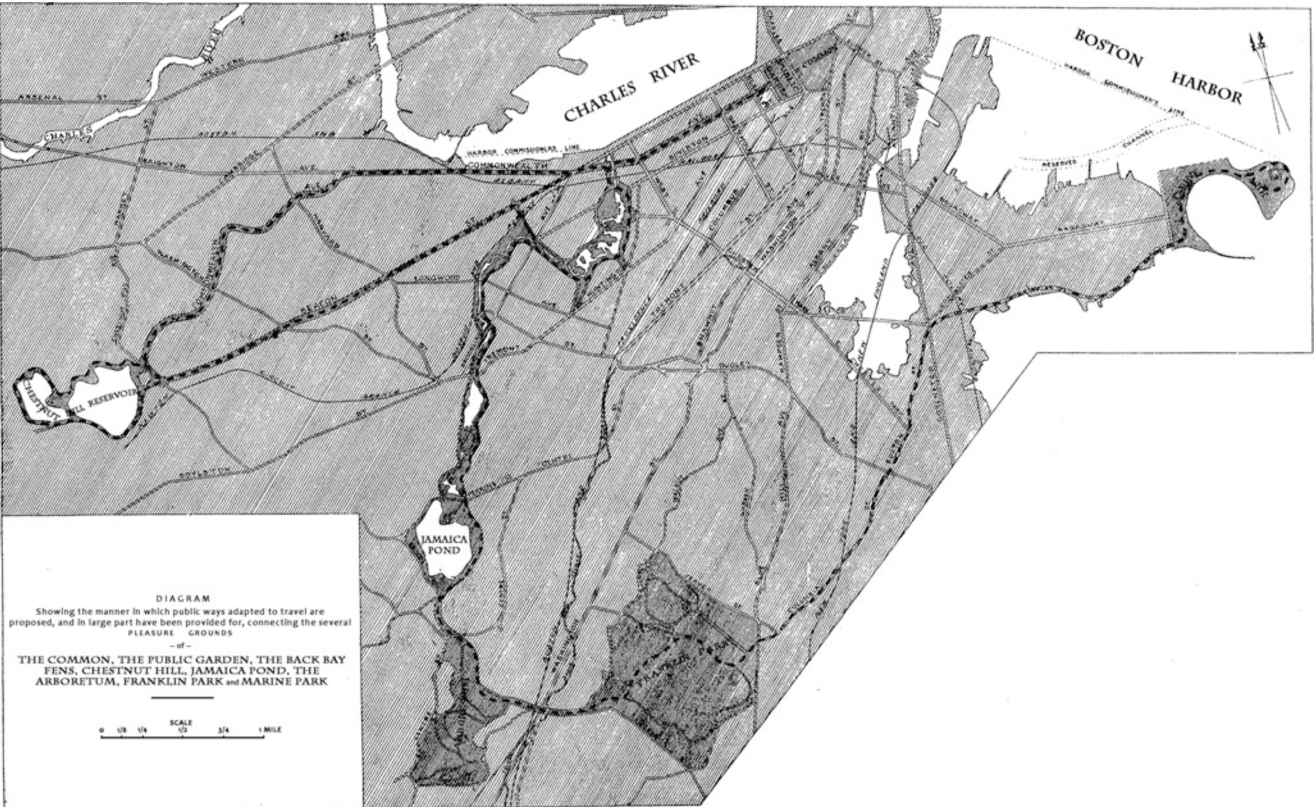

Fig. 9.14 Emerald Necklace in Boston, plan by Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr., and Charles Eliot (Courtesy of the National Park Service, Frederick Law Olmsted National Historic Site)

Fig. 9.15 27th Avenue Solid Waste Management Facility, Phoenix, design by Michael Singer and Linnea Glatt (Photograph by Frederick Steiner)

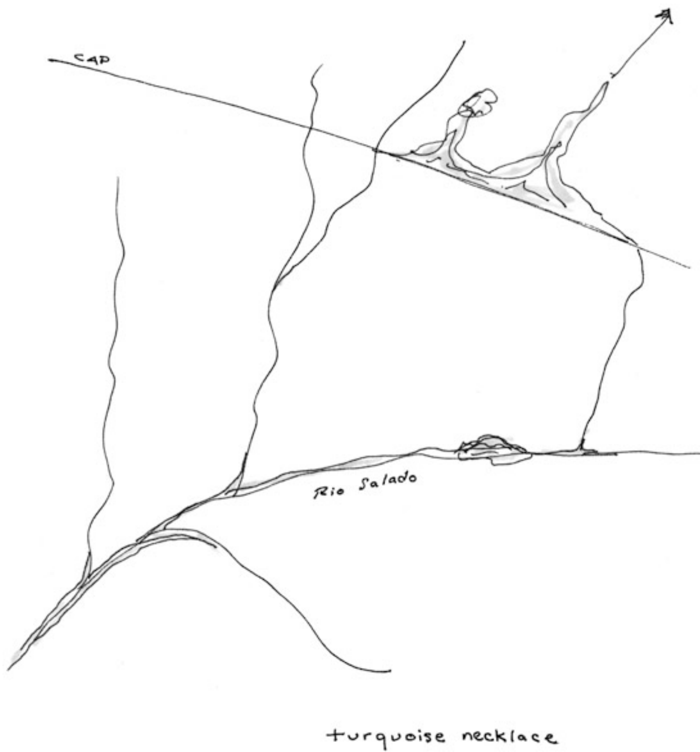

Fig. 9.16 The Turquoise Necklace for metropolitan Phoenix (Drawing by Frederick Steiner)

Fig. 9.17 High Line Project, New York City. The High Line's dramatic curve westward along 30th Street is augmented by an access point, with the stairs intersecting the structure and rising up through it (© James Corner Field Operations and Diller Scofidio + Renfro. Courtesy of the City of New York)

or what some climatologists are calling the urban heat archipelago, reduces comfort in already warm cities. Those of us who already live in hot cities should be concerned about how we use black asphalt in our public infrastructure projects.

That knowledge can transform, incrementally, how we view our region. What can artists, landscape architects, and architects do with such knowledge? We can transform a region bit by bit, parking lot by parking lot, street by street, one sidewalk at a time, by using more appropriate surfaces and planting more trees. I think if Vitruvius was around today, he would write an 11th book on architecture, one on parking lot design.

A more recent landscape urbanist example is the High Line Project in Manhattan. The Friends of the High Line have advocated that an abandoned rail line weaving through 22 blocks in New York City should be converted into a 6.7-acre (2.7 ha) park. They promote the 1.45 mile (2.33 km) long corridor as a recreational amenity, a tourist attraction, and a generator of economic development. In 2004, the Friends of the High Line and the City of New York selected Field Operations and Diller Scofidio + Renfro to design the project. The High Line design suggests a model for how abandoned urban territories can be transformed into community assets (Fig. 9.17).

Fig. 9.18 Entrance to Arid Zone Trees tree farm, Queen Creek, Arizona (Design and photograph by Steve Martino)

There is another approach I call the cumulative effect. Whereby a single designer, or school of designers, transforms a city and large landscapes over time. Consider the influence of Antonio Gaudí on Barcelona. What would Barcelona be if Gaudí hadn't lived? I would argue that there are parallel examples in other regions. For instance, in the Phoenix region, where emergent schools of architecture and landscape architecture could potentially have similar impact and long-term consequences. The works of Will Bruder, Rick Joy, and the Jones Studio in architecture, as well as Steve Martino, Christy Ten Eyck, and Michael Dollin in landscape architecture, indicate such interwoven schools of thought (Fig. 9.18). Clearly, as Gaudí was shaped by Barcelona before he contributed to its identity, these Arizonans are products of the Sonoran Desert.

9.10 Prospects

We live in an urban world that grows more urban all the time (see, for instance, Burdett and Sudjic 2007). Increased urbanization in the twenty-first century requires the talents of architects, landscape architects, and planners to shape and reshape places. Much building will be required in new and renewed places. By 2030, nearly

half of the buildings in the United States will have been built since 2000. Similar building expansions are underway in China, India, the Middle East, and Latin America. This provides an opportunity for massive transformation of cities and regions. Landscape urbanism offers a fresh approach to city design and regional planning where people give back to the natural world rather than destroying it. Instead of viewing the world as a giant sink to deposit our waste, we need to invest our wisdom in creating living landscapes.

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Chapter 10
Local and New

Jürgen Weidinger

Abstract This chapter deals with the issue of how a concept or a design in landscape architecture or urbanism relates to the actual site to be designed. With the approach of strictly conserving the status quo or a historic situation of a place on one end of the spectrum, and a radical change or renewal on the other, a third option is to draw from site-specific features. In this chapter the author develops the third option further, calling his approach 'Local and New', an open, critical interpretation of local particularities and phenomena. Some other authors' theses and theories are discussed who have influenced this method or cooperated on the project. The principles of the associated design technique are also outlined. In order to illustrate the above, the chapter features implemented design projects of the author, giving an insight into the design process and the possible results of this approach.

Keywords Public space • Landscape architecture • Landscape architectural design theory • Landscape architectural design methodology • Critical regionalism • *Genius loci* • Site-specific design

10.1 The Fundamental Prospects Related to Local Structures

All forms of urban design, engineering, architecture and landscape architecture are related to the place or the context for which a plan is elaborated. This text will explore the local potential and suggest a planning procedure which builds on critical transformation of local potential and qualities. Theoretical elaborations will be related to actual projects which deal with local qualities.

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All urban contexts have their specific positive and negative characteristics. These characteristics can be physical or non-physical, related to historical aspects or economic relations, but also individual, emotional reactions taking place within the individual planner. Some structures – economic, ecological or social phenomena, for instance – can be quantified and measured.

Other place-related, non-objectified structures, such as atmospheric and mental ones, are not generally quantifiable or measurable and must, hence, be expressed and explained through architecture and landscape architecture. Three fundamental approaches can be adopted in order to grasp the potential inherent in local structures.

The first approach suggests ignoring the place and promotes the development of place-independent structures. Not only the projects of the modern utopias but also the big housing and infrastructural projects and the construction of large industrial production complexes take on a planning approach aimed at dissolving the ties with place. Other radically commercial activities in the contemporary society aimed at stimulating customers to increase their consumption by transmitting populist messages and images do not need to be place related either. As a matter of fact, they use images and clichés without connection to place. Examples of such phenomena are fashion outlets constructed as medieval towns or Tuscan-style housing projects in Peking.

The second approach implies the conservation of place in its present condition, or the adaptation of place to the structure of its surroundings. The introduction of new or different styles than those already existing is not permitted. Generally, this approach implies restoring the condition of buildings and conserving them as historic monuments, or, in cases when historic buildings cannot be represented in detail, reconstructing them as true to the original style as possible.

This method can, if applied in contexts involving valuable and existing built or landscape environments, result in an adequate solution. In cases where buildings or landscape elements assuming a historic link are constructed without respecting the conditions of the surrounding environment, the approach generally leads to nostalgic or even reactionary results.

The third approach aims at developing a relation between endurable local qualities and a new representation of the place. Local characteristics are identified, closely examined and transformed into new spatial elements or situations. The specific, genuine characteristics of the new spatial situation are represented in new forms by whoever visits or inhabits it.

This approach fosters the adoption of an open attitude towards the future as well as recognition of the past. One example would be the recuperation of German city centres which has been going on since the 1990s. Characteristic urban environments destroyed by wars or the building of modernist urban utopias have been repaired by new construction and open spaces expressed through an individual, context-sensitive design.

The park München Riem by the landscape architect Gilles Vexlard can be mentioned as an example of the approach that has a clear ambition to connect to and represent place. Vexlard interprets the peaked shape of the Munich gravel plain north of the Alps through his composition of straight chains of trees, long straight roads and the selection of plants (Vigny 1998).

The interested reader could raise an objection here and inquire if it is effectively possible to plan independently from the place. Of course, it is impossible to design while completely ignoring the place, or relying on a *tabula rasa*-type strategy. Local qualities are often utilised in the field of landscape architecture. Thereby it is possible to place planning strategies on a scale ranging from the tendency to conserve the status quo/reconstruction to novel design. That is why the work 'Grafische Landschaften' by Maria Schwartz could be misunderstood as a radical renunciation of place at first sight (Richardson 2004).

Thus, at a closer look, additional and broader interpretations of the relation between design proposals and local structures can appear. The distinction suggested by myself supports the polarising distinction of the possible approaches to the design of places and aims at assigning the critical further development of local potential a place in this spectrum.

Different theories and models from the fields of urban planning, architecture and landscape architecture have already engaged in issues concerning places. As a matter of fact, the design and development of places have played an important role in the establishment of villages and towns or in the affiliations of convents.

Various authors have analysed place design from different points of view. Place design was particularly important in the postmodern movement as a critique of the *tabula rasa* attitude in relation to the modern. A forerunner, Steen Eiler Rasmussen, had already carried out a thorough analysis of places in his book: Experiencing architecture, das Erlebnis eigenständiger Orte analysiert (Rasmussen 1964). Later, in 1980, Christian Norberg-Schulz emphasised the theoretical basis of the *genius loci* in his book, *Genius Loci* – towards a phenomenology of architecture (Norberg-Schulz 1980).

The Czech architect Thomas Valena broadened the perspective on the relation place-architecture in this field of research with the book 'Von den Beziehungen' (Valena 1992). Also Kenneth Frampton should be mentioned here. In 'Towards a critical regionalism: six points for an architecture of resistance', he contributed with interesting stimuli and perspectives on places and their use as he analysed the possibilities for using local structures in the design of new buildings (Frampton 1998).

The discourse in landscape planning and landscape architecture is mainly based on the discourse in urban planning and architecture. It does, however, also propose its own theories and perspectives, which influence and contribute to urban planning and architecture.

10.2 The Principle of the Critical Development of Local Structures

The description of place, its relation to architecture and planning and the model for further developing and enhancing local structures must be analysed further here. In the following I will present and describe my own projects carried out following this approach. I will present the examples using perspectives from my own academic

and professional field, namely, that of a landscape architect. Projects within the field of landscape architecture tend to establish a stronger relation with the place than similar projects in other fields within architecture.

The basic conditions of the context – the climate, soil and water balance – characterise landscape architecture and can be modified only through expensive technical interventions or particular care. Besides, in landscape architecture, there is no particular programme for interventions in the discipline like the architectural spatial programmes or the functional reports in the field of engineering. Of course, there have been phases in the history of landscape and open-space architecture during which the relation with space has not been considered as particularly important.

One of the examples of such a moment in history was working with design according to a book of patterns, such as in the framework of the projects of Jean-Charles-Adolphe Alphand in Paris during the second half of the nineteenth century. He developed similar elements and inserted them in, for instance, Boulevard Richard Lenoir, Parc Monceau or Square du Temple. Architecture and landscape architecture in China and other booming Schwellenländern are applying patterns, in the sense that they copy and paste. It would be favourable for the field of landscape architecture to apply the design method, as used by Alphand.

Working to the principle of critical further development of local structures is about avoiding the conservative affirmation regarding already existing, remaining buildings, yet respecting the local structures. Obviously, every place possesses its own particularities, some more visible than others. When important buildings or features are hidden, and the true value becomes unveiled and respected only after an effort, values are generally threatened and may be lost forever.

Hidden features, which play an important role in the identity of the place, are particularly suitable for being applied in design. However, if features are used for simulating, there is an obvious risk of achieving naif or kitschy expressions. It is stimulating to express these features, transforming them – not by using simulation but rather by playing and experimenting.

Design for free space, which has been realised through the transformation of already existing features, prompts the curiosity of the observer. This exciting perception of space is shaped, on the one hand, by the new project and, on the other, by the ability of the new project to enhance the existing potential of the place. This aesthetic approach, which connects new stimuli with existing qualities, offers an intellectual pleasure.

All other functional, social or ecological qualities that can be realised with the help of landscape architecture receive an adequate aesthetic framework, into which they can be inserted. The intelligence of the planning strategy can, hence, be detected in the quality that the architect or the planner manages to give his project as he combines specific new and existing local features.

The metamorphosis or transformation of the features used can be achieved by applying creativity techniques such as association, transformation into the opposite or gradual mutation. Physical and non-physical phenomena, i.e. historical, geographical or emotional phenomena, can be transmitted in this way in form and

space. The process described produces blocks and rules for the composition of the volume that can be established with the aim of spatial framework.

In contrast, landscape architectural projects that are only interested in the solution of problems are, in most cases, uninspiring and boring. Landscape architectural projects for public space, which are dominated by the individual style or form of language of a designer, have an effect only at first and then lose their effectiveness over time; such projects seem disproportionate in relation to the place and later become a nuisance.

The following projects presented by my company, Weidinger Landscape Architects, use and transform local qualities into frames.

10.2.1 Haupttorplatz in Leuna

At the beginning of the twentieth century, large areas were developed for the lignite-based chemical industry in the flat, cleared agricultural landscape south of Halle. Today, the string of towns of Halle, Schkopau, Merseburg and Leuna, as a suburban town region of migration phenomena, represents a country road connecting these cities and enters the town of Leuna between the urban industrial area and the Garden City, planned in the years 1917–1927 by the architect Carl Barth. A regional tramway that transported workers from their homes to the factory accompanies the main road. The Haupttorplatz is located at the former main gate between the Garden City and the factory in Leuna. The factory is enclosed for safety by an approximately 2-ft high wall. The reason for the transformation of the square was the ruinous state of the transport infrastructure and unsatisfactory management of road traffic and the tram route. In 1999, a competition was held to find a better urban design project and open-space architectural solution. Taking first prize in the competition, we were able to implement the project by 2005.

Studying the history of the town, it became clear that the industrial area has dominated the small Garden City of Leuna to this day. Important decisions for the development of the town were always made by the factory, the most important subject; even the provision of water and energy was done from there. The Garden City of Leuna in our eyes seemed to need a space to find its own self-understanding regarding the dependency of industry under the rule of changing political systems. Therefore, we developed the urban theme of ‘City Gap’ along the factory wall between the industrial area and the Garden City. A series of street spaces are seen as an independent town space, which expresses a kind of ‘partnership distance’. Smaller urban areas along the City Gap before the public buildings are designed as green decorative squares, and the Haupttorplatz is a developed, open town space.

The building of the former headquarters of the Leuna factory provides, through its expansion, the extensions for the Haupttorplatz, 270 × 70 m. It constructs an urban representation of the unobstructed, flat landscape of Central Germany and matches the local spatial experience.

The leading concept at the scale of urban design, the ‘distance and partnership’ between the Garden City and the industrial area, inspired the ornament of the pavement in the design of the Haupttorplatz. The decoration of the pavement should possibly cover all the extension of the square, including trams, street intersections, the area of the gas station and multifunctional spaces. The paving pattern consists of two different materials arranged in stripes. The stripes of in situ cast concrete recall the industrial world, whereas the stripes of natural stone refer to the Garden City. The stripes interlace, speaking of the common future shared by the industrial area and the town.

The effort to implement the flooring surface pattern in this dimension is clearly noticeable, because this differentiates this space from the everyday spaces in the industrial area and in the Garden City. The design of the large urban space at the symbolic entrance of the great industrial area integrates transport infrastructure with the open space architectural design theme. The distances between the stripes alter in response to the reactions to variations in traffic. Another technical structure that had to align with the design concept of the strip was the positioning of all necessary vertical elements, such as electricity poles, traffic signs, information signs and catenary masts. Our design matched the rhythm of the vertical arrangement of the elements on the patterned strip of flooring. As did a special section in the sequence of vertical elements, developed together with the Sauerzapfe Architecture Studio of Berlin, with a distinctive tram stop, which emphasises the place of arrival. Five gate-like frameworks replace the catenary masts. The gates hold, above the contact wires, wide-format aluminium slabs that the artist Thomas Hannibal invented as a row of coloured stripes. The Signal Red and Signal Blue colour selection alludes to the world of transport; black and light grey (as a combination of white and black) create contrast and depth; the ‘Unfarbe’, or beige tone, refers to a colour fashion in former East Germany. The cities of East Germany were beige in colour, which did not refer to a particular character. This intensive use of the elements of the technical infrastructure is due to the importance of the place. Most public spaces are created not only to stand about in but also to include transport and technical infrastructure. The quality of the creative freedom depends on the precise integration of the technical elements in the urban spatial composition. Leuna’s Haupttorplatz enables us to successfully integrate the existing petrol pumps of the gas station mentioned in the composition.

With our project, we wanted to change the serious aura of the place, i.e. the dominance of industry over the town and the past as a place of dramatic pollution. We achieved this change by developing a special water feature. The gardens of the residential buildings in the Garden City of Leuna are designed according to principles of self-sufficiency. During our visits to the Garden City, we saw irrigation sprinklers made by Gardena functioning in the gardens. The fountain in the Haupttorplatz imitates this by water being thrown into the air. To correspond to the proportion of urban space, we increased the height of the spray of the water jets to 30 yards (10 m). The moving water changes the space and produces wet areas on the court. For us, the use of freshwater was important, so that people could drink the water. In a town that was considered the most polluted city in former East Germany,

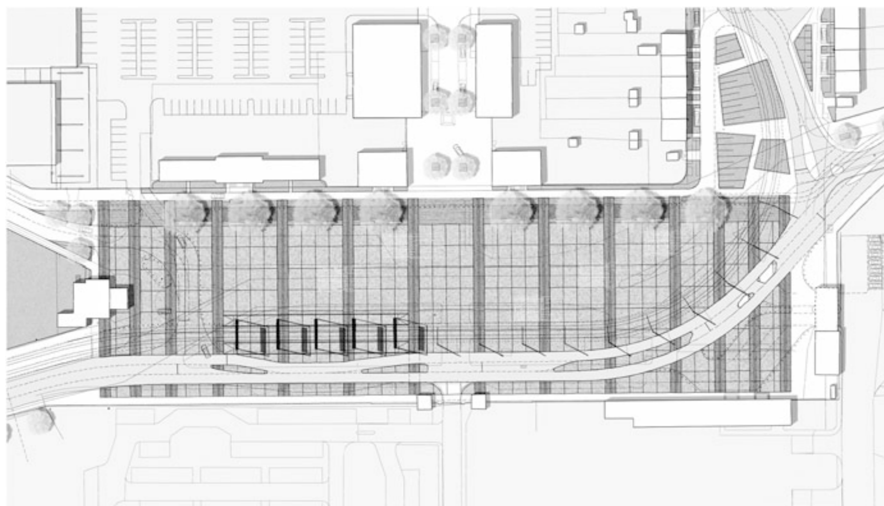

Fig. 10.1 Site plan Maingate Square, Leuna

a fountain with drinkable water tells a story of economic and ecological improvement of life in this town. Obtaining the shape of the fountain from the irrigation system of the Garden City draws attention to the current juxtaposition of everyday life in the environmentally conscious town, backed by a high-tech industrial area. A switch starts the movement of the fountain at five specific times during the day. These time points represent communicative moments in the life of the Garden City, namely, the journey to work, lunchtime, school hours, evening and the evening walk. The jets grow slowly to their full height and dance for 7 min. Meanwhile, the children of the town have integrated the water display into their daily routine and go to the square when the fountains are playing.

Our design attempts to give this urban space – characterised by difficult conditions – a new positive atmosphere responding to the history of the place. In this project, it is the mental structure that is important, i.e. reminding residents of the pollution from industrial production with their dependence on the industrial area in the foreground (Figs. 10.1, 10.2, 10.3, 10.4, 10.5, 10.6 and 10.7).

10.2.2 Park der Heckenkabinette, Oschatz

The demolition of the ruins of an old factory building in the valley of the River Döllnitz created new space near the centre of the small town Oschatz. The town decided to lease it for club activities while trying to create a small zoo as a future use. The Association Counseling aimed to promote the coexistence of disabled and non-disabled people. Before the implementation of the open-space architectural

Fig. 10.2 Tram stop by night with background

Fig. 10.3 Square

Fig. 10.4 Tramway stop by night detail

Fig. 10.5 Pavements

Fig. 10.6 Tramway

Fig. 10.7 Stripes on square

competition, the first parts of the small zoo were built. Unfortunately, for the initial construction of the zoo, there was no master plan as a base. The competition therefore aimed to manage the further development of the zoo and to study new attractions to make the visit to this park permanently attractive, using the financial instruments of the Garden Show. We won first prize in the 2002 competition, and the project was to be realised by 2006. Our conceptual approach was to take the cooperation between the association and the town seriously and to integrate the already converted building of the zoo with a new idea for a landscape architecture space. We noted with pleasure the desire of the association and its members to carry out the horticultural care alone. It is very difficult today to pursue the quality of the landscape through high-quality care.

Before the beginning of our activity, several small buildings and stables had been built in the area for the Heimattierpark. Although the architectural quality of the buildings was not very high, we decided to keep these buildings as they symbolise the link with the Lebenshilfe association and the commitment and affection of the citizens for the town of Oschatz. We were looking for a suitable design concept for the spatial reorganisation of the zoo. As intensive horticultural maintenance by the Lebenshilfe association was secured, we decided to use *Carpinus betulus* hedges in order to develop a new spatial composition. The polygonal composition of the 'cabinets' is the result of careful use of the existing fixtures. The rear cabinets form a sturdy framed space, which allows the integration of several open-air attractions, such as animal enclosures, display gardens, a maze, vertical garden, culinary garden, reception rooms and mini golf. The 2.30-m tall hedges evoke associations with baroque gardens with edges. Thus, landscape architecture richness is achieved that is seldom realised today due to the bad situation of municipal budgets in Germany. The spaces between the rear rooms are used as multipurpose lawn rooms. One of the prominent features of the project is the Event Hall with a pedestrian ramp that leads to the old city centre, in a dominant position (Sauerzapfe Architects, Berlin with Weidinger Landscape Architects). The footbridge spans a ramp length of 100 m with a difference in height of 8 m. The contribution of the overall project is to merge civic activities and local management strategies with a particular landscape architecture design. The more serious the participation practised, the more powerful the spatial framework landscape architecture provides. The park of the rear cabinets represents such a response and shows the development of local structures (Figs. 10.8, 10.9, 10.10, 10.11, 10.12 and 10.13).

10.3 Conclusion

Nowadays the development of spatial configurations should not address the transposition of old situations into contemporary forms, or the adherence to every fashionable trend. A robust scepticism about fashion and the healing promises of trends seems reasonable. Public space should not then be entrusted to commercial operators who follow the commercial criterion of client orientation,

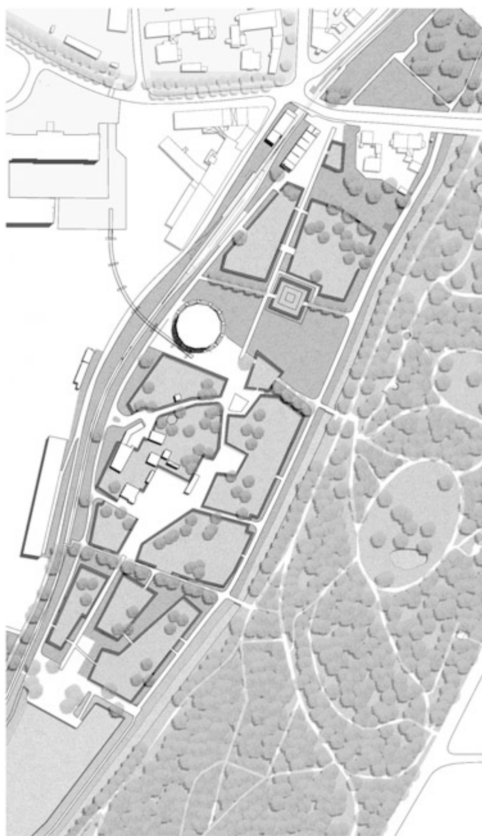

Fig. 10.8 Site plan park of hedged gardens, Oschatz

Fig. 10.9 Outside hedged garden

Fig. 10.10 Hedged garden in the park

Fig. 10.11 Hedged maze

Fig. 10.12 Between hedged gardens

Fig. 10.13 Inside hedged garden

instead of the context-based concepts of urban design and composition of the public space. Independent architects and landscape architects are needed to work out solutions that meet the cultural aims of the collectivity, using their professional knowledge. These solutions should allow the consistent merging of the interests of individuals. I propose for such urban projects, and particularly for those dealing with open spaces, the approach of the critical development of local spatial structures.

Thus, it is possible to build a sustainable connection between the legitimate desire for new forms and the local spatial structures. This proposal will help to affirm in the future the unusual nature of places in Sardinia, Northern Italy, Bavaria and Norway against the global trends.

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Chapter 11
Landscape as a "Common": Collective Protection and Management

Paola Pittaluga

Abstract Design approaches to the landscape and to the enhancement of cultural heritage based on the thematisation and spectacularisation of landscapes and architectures or the propensity for constructing simulacra no longer constitute an exception but if anything, the rule. This is favoured by processes of privatisation of space to the detriment of public space with the commercial standardisation of places for selling and consuming. In fact, if the landscape is private, no longer freely available or available on payment and organised according to private models, we risk globalising the landscape, too, turning it into a consumer good and relegating it to the sphere of appearances: a landscape to sell, but not to inhabit. But there is also the opposite problem: where the landscape is public and freely accessible, there is a tendency to exploit it and to manage and protect it by authoritarian and sanction-based methods that make both landscape and environmental and cultural heritage even more remote and forgotten by people. Is it then possible to consider the landscape as a common good and safeguard it locally without hetero-directed interventions by means of forms of collective management? This chapter explores these issues through some examples of protection and management of landscape and public goods. These forms operate in an intermediate dimension and transform landscape and environmental resources into something that is neither public nor private, but shared and collective.

Keywords Landscape • Common good • Collective protection and management

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11.1 Is Environmental and Landscape Protection Truly Sustainable and Effective?

Sustainability has become a mantra that opens all doors, including research funding, a catchword that makes us appear more attractive and trendy or feel inadequate, if we think of not being able to put it into practice.

Sustainability is also an ambiguous word: the presence of different and sometimes disparate definitions is indicative of this ambiguity both at the conceptual and the disciplinary level.

If the meaning can be intuitively grasped by almost everyone, profound differences and contradictions, as well as significant gaps, emerge when trying to give a more rigorous theoretical definition (Rios Osorio et al. 2005).

Even the concept of landscape is often ambiguous, having taken on various meanings over time which tried to capture its essence or having been described at the same historic moment by diverse, sometimes antagonistic, schools of thought.

These two kinds of ambiguity together create the theme of landscape sustainability, or better the sustainability of changes and interventions on the landscape, even more difficult to tackle.

These difficulties are important and awkward but can be overcome or downsized if both concepts – sustainability and landscape – and their related projects are translated and defined locally, as will be explained below.

Beyond that, one wonders whether environmental protection and management, in general, and the landscape, in particular, are really sustainable and effective, that is, if they can actually be safeguarded and protected.

The first evidence of ineffectiveness and unsustainability of the most established forms of protection and management of the landscape, the environment and its resources is the fact that protection is based on spatial models more and more remote from those based on the concept of closed system (the traditional protected areas) to experiment with spatial network patterns (Bennett 1991, 1998; Foreman 2004; Gambino 2000; Massa 1999; Noss and Cooperrider 1994; Soulé and Terborgh 1999).

These spatial networks are a form of preservation obtained through interconnection and interrelation of different areas endowed with landscape and environmental values or that play fundamental roles in the functioning and life of the ecosystems or environmental resources to be protected.

Ecological networks assist the transition from closed to open systems that create links between environmentally relevant places. Environmental and landscape dynamics thus become the axis of a preservation strategy, where environmental qualities are expressed by biodiversity[1] that in turn depends on relationships, migrations and possible spills outside (MacArthur and Wilson 1967).

The overcoming of this "island vision" of protection leads to preserving broader contexts and landscapes in ways and forms consistent with the purposes, functions and problems of each region to achieve an overall balance (Gambino 1997; Hill et al. 1994; Hobbs and Wilson 1998; Nott and Pimm 1997; Jongman 1995). Such a change of vision presupposes a shift in the dominant cultural paradigm.

The traditional system of preservation, a set of crystallised “islands” immersed in an ever-changing world, amplifies the negative effects of intensive land use, environmental degradation of the urban and natural landscape and the process of fragmentation that human activity determines. These “islands” of conservation favour the progressive “genetic weakening” of natural outdoor environments as well as the overwhelming reduction in their level of biodiversity. Paradoxically, despite the widespread use of environmental protection policies, biodiversity increases where any form of protection is absent (Breuste et al. 1998; Mininni 2002; Savard et al. 2000).

A policy of landscape and environmental protection can be effective and sustainable if it maintains and enhances the environmental quality that exists only in the presence of biodiversity (Salwasser 1990; Savard et al. 2000).

This is possible if it does not break the environmental continuity and communication that allows the exchange of material and immaterial flows between different parts of the territory and the possibility of evolution and conservation.

In the case of the landscape, constraints for its protection are often more rigid and strict. This becomes more true, the more the landscape is interpreted by means of old, aesthetic and nostalgic models, aimed at its embalming and museification.

The landscape is not a static, unchangeable object but a dynamic subject and a continuous, potentially conflictual, inconvenient and untidy process (Bender and Winer 2001) able to provide a framework for our life space by interweaving nature, history, culture and society.

The landscape is a mental and cultural construction (Daniels and Cosgrove 1988), which translates into the representation of a perception of the world: the image of the landscape is the representation of a mental representation (Donadieu and Périgord 2005).

Each person, social group or local society constructs maps, shared representations of places in which to live. These representations contain the relations between these places, their organisation and fruition and produce the landscape also by means of cultural mediation.[2]

Environmental psychology research also shows that landscape and environment play a central role in determining the action and behaviour of individuals in perceiving themselves: space is a product of social and collective behaviours, in which the concept of place and landscape acquires a project-oriented meaning as a hinge element between man and environment and subjectivity and objectivity (Berdoulay and Entrikin 1998).

Being a product of the work of human transformation, it reflects human life, culture and world view, thus ethics and policies (Unwin 2001; Venturi Ferriolo 2002, 2004).

The meaning of landscape reveals the second piece of evidence to support the unsustainability and inefficiency of the most widespread forms of landscape and environmental protection and management. In fact, if landscape is a mental construct, which fluctuates incessantly between an individual and a collective dimension, and a component of identity, be it of a single subject or an entire social group, then we should assume that the landscape can only be defined at a local level. This implies that approaches, forms of protection and methods of intervention should be based

on specific contexts, on the ethics, behaviours, desires and expectations of people who have lived and live in it.

Traditional policies for the conservation and preservation of landscape are often imposed from outside, disregarding the local conditions, and claim to be valid a priori. They try to avoid changes in something that should always change, in its inner nature and for its own survival.

These policies may therefore be ineffective if they are used in relation to a specific urban and territorial region and if local societies do not take a central and active role in the construction process of policies and management models.

It could be said then that neither sustainable conservation nor sustainable management of the landscape and environment can take place without a local society that cares for it. There is no sustainability without collectivity, a group of individuals who care about the future of their living space and that of generations to come.

This is because the environmental crisis descends from territorial and landscape transformations neglectful of environmental processes and from a chaotic, excessive use of natural resources, especially nonrenewable resources.

But above all this crisis is a crisis of values and the sense of collective solidarity, which is related to the diminishing importance of land and its resources and to the gradual disappearance of the concept of common good, including those needed to recognise the environment, the land and the landscape as such.

The latter are goods subject to widespread ownership, and "belong to everyone and no one, in the sense that everybody should have access to them and no one can claim them exclusively". Goods with widespread ownership "must be managed starting with the principle of solidarity. It incorporates the dimension of the future, and therefore should be governed in the interests of future generations" (Rodotà 2010).

Without a concept of collective good associated with the environment and its resources, local societies are not interested and at the same time do not feel any sense of responsibility. Possessions and property generate responsibility. It is important therefore to ensure that people begin again to think about the earth, start touching it again and experience it. We need to remember that the environment is our home, the place where we work and where we find food, leisure and comfort.

Any policy of environmental and cultural heritage protection fails if it does not contribute to building and implementing a sense of "human territoriality" and a conception of environment and landscape as "common". Common does not mean free, something that can be used at one's own convenience, but a shared good[3] that needs the responsibility of an individual who, as the owner, has an interest in keeping her/his possessions intact.

The third element that represents the failure of many policies coincides with the fact that protection and environmental management are usually implemented in response to an exogenous and hetero-directed request. Protection and management should instead be connate, voluntary and spontaneous, defined and not only managed at the local level.

In fact, environmental management is often misunderstood and mystified when it is experienced by managers as an imposition that produces or amplifies the belief that environmental problems and their management can be dealt with only from an authoritarian, repressive, sanction-based perspective.

This is because our current culture and our usual form of rationality make us believe that the existence of absolute obligations established by the central government is a guarantee of effectiveness compared to shared obligations and rules established at a local level among all subjects involved. So the repressive and hetero-directed system, as it is easier to define, implement and manage, is preferred to one based on individual incentives and motivation to act.[4]

Landscape protection and management forms that are hetero directed and derived from centralist and dirigiste visions engender the belief that there is only one concept of common good, which must be spaceless and valid both in a synchronic and diachronic sense then imposed in an authoritarian manner. From this it follows or is evident that there can be no social relations and, consequently, societies based on consensus and the sharing of goods and principles.

Finally, the conflict between public interest and individual interests favours the pressures of lobbies and feeds the "tragedy of the commons" (Hardin 1968), the relevance of which is proportional to the number of users of the property.[5]

11.2 Protection and Management of Environmental Resources: Dilemmas, Uncertainties and Prospects

The above observations show that the effectiveness and sustainability of the protection and management of natural resources and the landscapes in which they are placed are closely linked to the people who take charge of these collective goods and precisely to the "tragedy" that concerns them.

The "tragedy of the commons", as Garrett Hardin writes, arises from the fact that if a good has no owner, and is therefore freely available and accessible, we tend to overuse it. Similarly no one cares for the good because it produces no profit or at least not enough to compensate for the costs associated with care. This situation has led to a shift from a system based on private ownership to one based on public law in the management of many public goods, both environmental and cultural.[6]

Hardin supports public management, a form that still outperforms all the others but that in recent years, as mentioned earlier, is beginning to be questioned (Arena 2006; Donolo 1997; Grazzini 2011; Negri and Hardt 2010).

In effect, public authorities are not always able to ensure respect for and implementation of the principles of sustainability (Bravo 2005a, b) and to defend them from attacks and pressure deriving from proponents of economic development (Riva 2010).

Other theories based on the transformation of common goods into private property or possible management of common goods by entities different from those purely public or private diverge from Hardin's theory.

The transformation of the common good into private property[7] is becoming the way to solve the economic problems related to the care of the good or more general problems.[8] Thus, public authorities have begun to sell the environment, culture, history, identity and landscapes.

This happened in Puglia where the *trulli* were dismantled piece by piece by the illegal market, to be rebuilt elsewhere or used as decorative elements in some villas, and in San

Basile in Calabria, which sold most of its property in order to repopulate the centre. The national historical and architectural heritage and the environment are being sold by the Italian government.[9] Some examples are the islands of Pianosa (8 million euros), Nisida (2.3 million euros), Marettimo (138,000 euros) and Gorgona (3 million euros).

In Sardinia, too, this has happened and happens frequently. In April 2006 the Regional Government of Sardinia issued a "call for the transfer, upgrading and transformation of areas of particular scenic interest of the geo-mining park of Sardinia (Masua, Monte Agruxau, Ingurtosu, Pitzinurri and Naracauli)". There were no applications.

In September 2011, IGEA Spa (*in-house* company of the Sardinian Regional Government) published a notice stating that it intended to proceed with the alienation of many sequelae (land and buildings), which are part of the industrial archaeology heritage of Sardinia merged with the Geo-Mineral Park, the estimated value of which does not exceed 9,000 euros.

In Sardinia the islands of the La Maddalena – Budelli,[10] Santa Maria and Santo Stefano[11] – have been auctioned several times.

Also large hotel or luxury residential complexes, which apparently do not disturb, but in fact completely steal the good by their free use or by reducing it dramatically, are forms of creeping privatisation.

Large resorts and residential complexes break up the landscape, creating a system of enclaves, a spectrum that ranges from gated neighbourhoods/gated communities (Blakely and Snyder 1999; Davis 1999; Gil 2002; Low 2003; Riesco 2004; Sabatini and Cáceres 2004, Svampa 2001; Varady 2005; Webster 2001) to the ultra-luxury gated families (emblematic of Sardinia is the "privatisation" of the Costa Smeralda), emulated in the marginal landscapes thinking that they can improve their destiny.

All of these situations help to increase the distance between people and places and between people and landscape. Places and landscapes are no longer felt like one's own, and people feel a sense of hopelessness that leads to desisting and fooling everyone, even themselves, that the sale of such goods is the best situation or is inevitable.

Therefore, on the one hand, public authorities are failing to protect, maintain and manage landscapes and environmental goods, and private entities are commodifying and subtracting them from the real estate accessible to local society and to the other tourist populations. On the other hand, hetero-directed and centralist protection policies lacking the sense of attachment and responsibility of the people towards their goods and landscapes thwart forms of traditional protection and management. It is more and more clear that we have to find alternative and hybrid strategies acting in an intermediate sphere between public and private.

11.3 Collective Management of Commons and Landscapes

This alternative, hybrid strategy is suggested by Nobel Laureate Elinor Ostrom,[12] who assumes and demonstrates the existence of a midway path between state and market in the management of common goods. Through a series of case studies,

Ostrom shows that there are real contexts in which citizens and residents have implemented and are implementing cooperative governance of their commons from the bottom.

The protection and management of commons does not occur in the absence of the institutions: they take on the task, which is crucial, to support and facilitate the collective action of a group of individuals who work in a coordinated, joint way to defend and correctly use a resource on which they depend (Ostrom 1990).

The role of local institutions is therefore crucial and far more challenging but certainly more rewarding than that of an implementer of external rules. Local institutions contribute to the choice of which combination of tangible property and "quality of life" local societies wish to consume, transform, protect or preserve, and they also facilitate the collective management of resources, be they environmental, historical or economic. This is important because in contexts where economic problems are more significant, economic resources will be protected more than others, and vice versa, in areas where the problems are not economic, there will be a greater propensity to spend on improving and protecting environment and landscape.

Often, however, the Western model of development and environmental protection tends to level everything out by implementing a sort of "ecological imperialism", when this model imposes environmental policies based on Western standards on other countries.

Institutions must have very specific characteristics (Ostrom 1990) in order to support social groups that govern the commons. Firstly, institutions must be robust and able to remain stable and to maintain their basic characteristics even when the surrounding environment undergoes alterations or is unstable. When the robustness is greater, the clearer resource boundaries are, where there is a balance between costs and benefits and where there are many organisational levels of governance methods.

But the way in which people are involved in the decision-making process by which the rules of management are defined and the degree of actual freedom they enjoy determine robustness with the ability to monitor the health of the collective resources and the behaviour of partners involved in the process, allowing the possibility of graduated sanctions and of resolving conflicts that may arise.

From these characteristics it emerges that the robustness of an institution is closely linked to the process of participation and involvement in decision-making and the effective management of collective resources of local societies.

The way in which the institution promotes and ensures involvement favours local society learning how to govern common-pool resources or common goods.

Now, if we consider the landscape as the connective structure, the fabric that local societies have woven through their living spaces from the environmental resource base (i.e. common goods), it can also be seen as a collective good.[13]

And this conception is all the more correct if we are referring to those aspects described above that show inefficiency and unsustainability of policies for protection and management of natural resources and landscape.[14]

In any case, since the landscape includes environmental and collective goods, protection and management forms can certainly have an important impact on

landscape in the sense that the way in which common goods are safeguarded and managed can affect the effective protection, future evolution and quality of the landscape they are part of.

Moreover, if we consider the landscape as the last public space for people opposed to the traditional one represented by urban public space, there is the risk that in the absence of involvement of those who live in it, it will remain something distant, alien. There is also the risk that the factors determining the public space crisis may also have repercussions on the landscape.

It is, then, necessary to perform a methodological, project-oriented, operational and managerial leap, starting just from seeing the landscape as a good that has "widespread ownership".

Ostrom et al. (1994) define a common good as a resource that is subtractable, in the sense that its use or consumption by a person reduces that of others; it can be enjoyed jointly by several persons; and its boundaries are difficult to define with traditional institutional criteria.

The landscape satisfies these requirements: often individual use reduces or diminishes enjoyment by other individuals, and similarly, more people can use it in a shared manner and at the same time.

Then, it is precisely in terms of landscape boundary delineation that traditional ways of confining and interpreting space fall. As a mental construct and product deriving from the behaviour and culture of local societies, the landscape is strongly subjective and is read, interpreted and experienced differently by different individuals and social groups.

In this perspective the concepts of scale, distance, extension and limit lose their relevance as concepts used for spatial analysis (Berdoulay and Entrikin 1998) and become relative; social groups and landscape, too, cannot be considered entities existing a priori, but each exists in relation to the other.

Olstrom also observes that it is not always possible to have collective government of commons, but, as mentioned, in many cases the role of the local society certainly should be enhanced and involved in a relevant and responsible way.

It is important that landscapes live and find forms of collective management that are alternative (Olwig 2007) to those which follow the two main trends, thematisation and spectacularisation, on the one hand, and embalming, crystallisation or passivity, on the other. It is not easy but there are other examples as well as those Olstrom shows that are spontaneous, and, as she says, others may be designed.

11.4 Collective Protection and Management of Commons and Landscapes: Some Examples

Collective management of forms of commons has always existed, even in unfamiliar contexts like the Italian ones: just think of the *civic uses* in Sardinia; the *rules* of Cadore, Ampezzano and Trentino; the *vicinie* of Lombardy, the *comunalie* in Parma; the agricultural universities of Emilia-Romagna and Lazio; the magnificent community

of Fiemme; the agricultural *partecipanza*; the collective rights of the lagoon of Marano; and the patrician in Switzerland.

In the 1970s the *Machizukuri* was born in Japan, which included various actions whereby residents, working together or collaborating with the local government, made the space where they lived (and where they carried out their activities) pleasant and attractive to live in and appropriate to the context (Rizzi 2005).

In the USA, there is an increasing number of *condominium communities*,[15] similar to *vicinie*, which it is possible to join voluntarily by buying a package of public and private rights and obligations, such as contribution to the management and maintenance of roads and parks, special allowances available to all to resolve disputes between apartment blocks and security service payment.

In Kenya, elephants are state-owned, but the central government is unable to protect them, so they will probably become completely extinct in a few years time.

On the contrary, in Zimbabwe local populations take care of elephants; hence, the number of individuals has increased by 5 % per year.

In Paris the municipality has made free areas available to citizens for the construction of collective gardens, *jardins partagés,* created and managed by neighbourhood associations (Pashchenko 2011). This is now happening in many other urban centres[16] where the green areas are "occupied" spontaneously or entrusted to the citizens to be cultivated and treated[17]: the public authority provides water, earth and seeds but saves, however, in terms of maintenance and supervision.

The *Cinque Terre* case (Besio 1995) is one of the first examples of protection and collective management of the landscape by which some citizens decided to regain the care of their territory to fight the economic crisis and environmental degradation. From a first phase focused on the recovery and promotion of local wine production by the agricultural cooperative society of Riomaggiore, Manarola, Corniglia, Vernazza and Monterosso, the society defined actions to stop and reclaim the hydrogeological and environmental degradation, favouring the cultivation of abandoned lands.

The cooperative society improved accessibility to the area with sustainable transport systems and soil irrigation and, by becoming a different subject, led to the diversification of production practices and introduction of measures aimed at the recovery of rural buildings spread over the territory and largely abandoned.

At this stage, the cooperative society has become more complex, adopting a new constitution and starting up projects aimed at integrated tourism development, the implementation of which involves a considerable increase in jobs, both in agriculture and in the tourist accommodation sector.

The success of the experience, however, is related to the fact that the return to recovering housing stays within the local economy because the residents retain ownership.

In fact, real estate management is realised in different forms: leaving the property to the original owners, in some cases making properties available for loan to the cooperative society, in others just for use, but in any case, the cooperative society itself maintains and manages all activities, goods and services.

Less well known but similar is the *Torri Superiore* example which has recovered its historical heritage to create an ecovillage, managed collectively by the citizens. In 1989 Piero Caffaratti and his wife Giovanna Balestra founded a cultural association called the Torri Superiore Cultural Association, which buys and renovates village buildings. The association is developing and diversifying its activity as the number of members increase, integrating the refurbishment of the housing with the creation of a sustainable way of life and the promotion of traditional culture, energy and food self-sufficiency.

On this side of sustainability, *Transition Towns* can in some way be considered forms of collective management of resources. Transition Towns are towns, villages or parts of cities that decide to adopt more sober lifestyles demonstrating, in particular, life without petroleum.

Another example of collective protection and management of the landscape is the *Model Forest*. All Model Forests are linked in an international network[18] based on a shared philosophy that originates in common goals and shared knowledge. A Model Forest is an ecologically composite forest landscape whose management is articulated in various ways depending on its uses, values, ownership types and forms of management.

These are pioneer experiments that link up the cultural needs and social and economic aspects of a local society to develop sustainable management of territories and landscapes where forests are an important resource but also include other activities, such as research, agriculture, mining and leisure.

The governance model adopted is inclusive, participatory and open. It is based on voluntary work, on partnership to govern the commons in ways that people find most correct and fair in relation to the history, economic situation and identity of the cultural context in which they live, following intergenerational solidarity.

Participants and active partners in the planning, protection and management of Model Forests carry out different tasks: definition of priority of project activities (e.g. sustainable economic development, conservation of biodiversity), and consequently the rules and constraints related to protection, and programming, development and management of action, research, international networking and the sharing of knowledge. Participants may be involved in education, communication and promotion at the local level of relations with the political sphere, participatory support and control governance structures and the checking of administrative and accounting aspects.

Model Forests receive financial support from national and subnational governments, such as stakeholders and nongovernmental international organisations. Support can also be in kind, thus the supply of goods and materials.

Each Model Forest is unique, demonstrating that sustainability, environmental protection and management of the landscape cannot be defined locally. This means that each Model Forest defines priorities, programmes and governance structure but must comply with the six principle-based network: broad-based partnership, extensive landscape, commitment to sustainability, good governance, broad programme of activities and sharing of commitment, knowledge, skills and networking.[19]

The forest of Marzorana (Luigi 2007), on the shores of Lake Trasimeno in Umbria, is also collectively managed by a cooperative society consisting of a group of members of the local society[20] that has acquired it from its previous owner (a Turin industrialist) to avoid the fragmentation of land, urbanisation and uncontrolled use of resources.

So the members of the cooperative society may continue to pursue traditional activities within a shared management model. In recent years, the cooperative society has launched other educational and teaching activities, bought a few acres of olive trees to diversify local production and implemented a series of initiatives to improve its visibility.

Finally, the last example is the proposal submitted to the competition for ideas for the *revitalisation of the antiship emplacement "Carlo Faldi" and Is Mortorius area*, named *Lightly We Passed on Earth.*[21] This example is a pioneer proposal integrating landscape design, environmental rehabilitation, cultural heritage restoration and local development.

Is Mortorius, a small peninsula on the Gulf of Cagliari, in the countryside of Quartu Sant'Elena, between the villages of Capitana and Terra Mala, was dubbed as a "coastal preservation area" by the Agenzia Regionale Conservatoria delle Coste della Sardegna [Regional Conservation Agency for the Sardinian Coasts] that launched an ideas competition for revitalization in 2010.

The site is enclosed by a shoreline, with alternating small beaches and long rocky stretches. The Nuraghe Diana, a prehistoric structure transformed into a massive watchtower during the Second World War, dominates the landscape. The remnants of a tuna fishing area (*tonnara*) and the ruined buildings of the "Carlo Faldi" antiship emplacement lay close to the shore. At the tip of the peninsula, the foundations of an ancient Spanish watchtower are still visible. On the landside, beyond the nuraghe, a settlement of free-standing houses extends, a few of which are holiday homes.

This rich diversity is threatened by some important criticalities: the site is run down and abandoned due to the decay of buildings, erosion along the coastline and depletion of the macchia caused by improper activities that take place in spite of the difficult access. Moreover, a main road cuts the compound into two parts, hindering perception of it as a unitary space with a prominent natural, cultural richness.

Focusing on the lightness and reversibility of the design action rather than on the construction of permanent buildings, processes, not forms, are the outcome of the project: reclamation, reappropriation and revitalisation.

The reclamation phase involves basically renaturalisation of the eroded zones, the strengthening of the remnants of ruined buildings and the construction of an underpass linked to a net of pathways to recreate continuity between the hill and the coastline. Two main pathways link the nuraghe with the Spanish tower (north-south) and the tuna fishing beach with the western emplacements and beaches (east-west).

The reappropriation phase is enabled by the introduction of shaders and facilities among the strengthened walls, in order to make the area attractive and pleasant even for short stays. "Pioneering architectures" made of nets, wooden poles and wires, reminiscent of the camouflage tents of World War II, host the new functions in their shade. In the revitalisation phase, some reversible, prefabricated light shells are built inside the existing walls to accommodate new functions.

The most interesting issue is the proposed administration of the site: neither public nor private, collective management reacting to the situation of abandonment and decay due to the fact that the compound is perceived as belonging to no one, though being public.

A collective subject, composed of members of the local society, is in charge of the management of the whole area. This subject permits accessibility to the place ensuring cleanliness, organising various functions and in particular controlling the suitability of the activities on sea and land (diving and mooring) and reinvests all the incomes.

Land ownership stays public, but all the environmental and historical values within the compound are given to this collective subject through an agreement, which states that the land has to be paid for not with money but with services, that is, preservation of the values of the landscape.

11.5 Landscape as a Common

The examples briefly described herein are hybrid, intermediate forms that can be made practical in the management of the landscape and resources that characterise them. These forms can be likened to the endogenous institution (Ostrom 1990) of management of common-pool resources or common goods through the promotion of participatory processes and effective governance.

Endogenous institutions are similar to forms of participated management that already exist for certain types of public services. The difference is that no "outsider" is engaged in the management who might not be interested in first person and would often represent ideological positions that can hardly be translated into operational terms. Instead the inhabitants, those directly interested, are involved. The experience of Argentina is a reference base, which is now being emulated in Italy to try to overcome the economic crisis in the business sector.[22] The laid-off workers are occupying factories, setting them in motion again and using their own savings.

In this way, the sense of responsibility and commitment in management is acute (Cacciari 2010): people realise that their future is that of business. In this case the ideological and political bases are obviously very strong but are translated into concrete actions and forms of management.

Thus, the proposal presented for the former antiship emplacement of Is Mortorius and the experiments of Cinque Terre and Torri Superiore are an opportunity to experiment with regeneration and innovation in architectural design through informal, ephemeral and hybrid actions.

They are also an opportunity to test management forms in which local society has an active role, in order to avoid the landscape and environmental and cultural heritage of these fragile contexts being externally governed and treated as mere consumer goods.

In the case of Model Forests, more alternative forms are experimented, demonstrating how the protection and management of the landscape and environmental

resources should not be hetero directed but contextualised while responding to a philosophy and a common vision of the world.

In all these proposals, the construction of an intermediate dimension between the public and private sectors becomes essential to build or rebuild the relationship with these places, to favour a sense of attachment and to stimulate the desire to take care of one's living spaces.

For by starting to develop similar experiences, it is possible to refine methods, techniques and tools. Initially they will not immediately succeed, and we will have to repeatedly change the process of designing and building the endogenous management institutions, because these institutions can and will vary from context to context, too. In a critical time like the one we are experiencing, this aspect is central to being able to govern common goods: to understand that there may be different sets of rules, different modes of democratic governance and institutional diversity is not insignificant (Vitali 2010).

These are small steps and simple forms that can trigger virtuous processes which show how it is possible to begin to govern the landscape from below, cooperatively, as a common good.

Notes

1. The biodiversity present in a spatial system is greater, the more the system remains open and communicates with the external world. Biodiversity is "responsible" for possible territorial evolution, and the environmental quality of territory and landscape depends on biodiversity if quality is understood as freedom and the possibility of evolution.
2. For more details, see Pittaluga (2001, 2008).
3. Even "common good" is an ambiguous concept. For an overview, see Grazzini (2012) in http://temi.repubblica.it/micromega-online/beni-comuni-e-diritti-di-proprieta-per-una-critica-della-concezione-giuridica/
4. This is a typical planning problem. Cfr. Wildavsky (1971, 1973).
5. In a recent book (2010) Giovanna Ricoveri recalls that in recent years, Asia, Latin America and Africa have been the theatre of 176 wars actually disputing access to natural resources and common goods. In particular, conflicts have their roots in the conservation of biodiversity (53), mining (19), water management (55), forestry (30) and hydrocarbons (19).
6. Some common goods in particular are subject to systems of protection under international law, such as the UNESCO World Heritage, the seas (United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, UNCLOS) and celestial bodies (Agreement Governing the Activities of States on the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies, Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies).
7. The transformation of common good into private property is not something new. Suffice it to recall the "*Chiudende* Law", by which the collective lands of

Sardinia were transformed into private property, and similar English Enclosure Acts. And thinking of other categories of goods, the same fate now affects water, energy, knowledge, etc.

8. To overcome the crisis, the Italian government also relies on the sale of environmental public goods, as well as historical and archaeological patrimony. Article 7 of the Law of 12 November 2011 provided for the sale of state-owned land in a very brief period, including agricultural land (by subsequent amendments of 2012), leading to a phenomenon that is already strongly present outside our country, namely, land grabbing, by economically and politically stronger subjects.
9. www.limen.org/BBCC/tutela/Conservazione%20delle%20citt%E0/Censimento%20patrimonio/Legge%20112%20del%202002
10. http://archiviostorico.corriere.it/2007/maggio/20/vendita_segreta_dell_isola_Budelli_co_9_070520101.shtml
11. The last auction of May 2012 was banned by the Court of Tempio Pausania for the sale of a few acres of land in Budelli and Santo Stefano. http://www.unionesarda.it/Articoli/Articolo/272738
12. Nobel Prize for Economics in 2009.
13. In recent years a great deal of literature has shown that knowledge and social services are also common goods (Agrain 2005; Hess 2009; Hess and Ostrom 2007; Mattei 2011; Ricoveri 2005).
14. "…I have no doubts about the need to adopt the idea of landscape as a *cultural good*, namely a potential *common good*. Alternatives do not exist, even though the appropriateness of this vision might seem less obvious if the premise of a unitary, shared "place ethics" were questioned. To adopt this hypothesis means to put to the test in the context the variety of regulation principles and mechanisms that have been experimented in recent years in the field of cultural goods. A purely binding approach appears clearly inadequate, although a strong Italian tradition of cultural patrimony conservation exists, that has carried out essential functions during the phases of most intense growth of our country" Palermo (2008, p. 33).
15. The most famous of which are those of Walt Disney in Orlando, Florida, the Sunshine Mountain Ridge Homeowners' Association in Tucson, that of Arden, Delaware, the contractual communities of Reston in Virginia and the Fort Ellsworth Condominium Association Alexandria. Cfr. Foldvary (1994) and http://www.daimon.org/lib/quarto.htm. In Italy there are forms of this type that are described as "contractual communities" or organisations "linked to a specific part of the territory to which members participate voluntarily in the light of a contract unanimously accepted and in view of the benefits that this gives them" (Brunetta and Moroni 2011).
16. For example, Lille, Marseilles and New York. In Milan "gardens in transit" born in the wake of the *Jardins partagés* http://giardiniintransito.wordpress.com/
17. For other examples, see also Pashchenko, O. (2011), *Le jardin partagé est-il un paysage?*, Projets de paysage, 13/07/2011, http://www.projetsdepaysage.fr/fr/le_jardin_partage_est_il_un_paysage_ and Blanc, N. (2008). *Éthique et*

esthétique de l’environnement, EspacesTemps.net, http://espacestemps.net/do-cument4102.html
18. Cfr. http://www.imfn.net/model-forests. The network involves forests in Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, Canada, Europe and Russia. In Italy, the first Model Forest is the Florentine Mountains, while the Arch-Grighine is being set up in Sardinia.
19. www.cm-montagnafiorentina.fi.it
20. 116 of the 300 families forming the Municipality of Sant’Arcangelo under whose administration the forest falls are members. Each of them invested 700,000 Italian lire in 1980 for a total of some 40,000 euros.
21. Team leaders Francesco Spanedda, Tarciso Revenoldi. Collaborators and consultants: Paola Addis, Francesca Bua, Massimiliano Campus, Favaro & Milan, Mariolina Marras, Alessandro Muscas, Giuseppe Onni, Roberto Senes.
22. In addition to the forms of bottom-up management of industrial activities by former workers, there is the example of the Teatro Valle Common Good.

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Chapter 12
It Don't Mean a Thing if You Ain't Got That Swing: A Jazz-Based Model for the Public Space Project

Giovanni Maria Filindeu

Abstract The architectural project can no longer be likened to a simple device enabling perceivable reality to be placed in a relation with the formal system organising it but is increasingly affected by the unexpected, compulsive invasion of data and requirements that are more and more articulate and hetero directed as regards this specific discipline. Better understood as the setting out and identifying of problems, than the outlining of solutions, it has shifted its reference base from noun to verb, practically abandoning once and for all the primary aim of realising spatial forms, to devote itself more to the processes that produce them. If willingness to accept change and give up the desire for some kind of final, completed form has, on the one hand, progressively brought the architectural project closer to contemporary life, on the other, it has consolidated the current crisis, which has now permeated the process of construction of objectives of the project and the pinpointing of tools to represent and monitor it. The problem needs to be faced relying on new instruments, no longer limited to the usual technical arsenal of the professional, which increasingly highlight sequential processes in which information is considered an integral part of the construction of the actual project. To know how to handle and interpret a changeable, unstable scenario means to accept and absorb elements like improvisation and indeterminacy. Jazz music is one of the forms of art that absorb and develop – to an outstanding degree – models which indeed place these elements at the centre of their reason for being. Jazz may offer itself as a decisive element for project construction in environments continuously under transformation. The organisational form of the creative process, be it based on the notation code or on the system of communication and transmission of content between musicians, closely approaches the diagrammatic form used by some contemporary architects.

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An unusual aspect is the extreme synthesis of the written form in respect of the quantity of data absorbable and manageable by the model to the advantage of the production of polysemic and self-generating creative situations. In this sense a significant convergence is singled out between the way a jazz band proceeds and the work of some of the most active architects on the contemporary scene.

Keywords Jazz • Diagrams • Unstable context • Improvisation • Public space • Creativity • Servant leadership • Architectural project • Architectural language

12.1 Anticipation Versus Reaction: Project Building in Unstable Contexts

The architectural project, in particular the urban space project, no longer able to be likened to a simple device enabling perceivable reality to be placed in a relation with the formal system organising it, nowadays appears to increasingly be affected by the unexpected, compulsive invasion of requirements of various kinds and intent that are more and more articulate and hetero directed as regards this specific discipline. Better understood as the setting out and identifying of problems, than the outlining of solutions, the architectural project has shifted its reference base from noun to verb, practically abandoning once and for all the primary aim of realising spatial forms to devote itself more to the processes that produce them. The city, no longer considered the fixed scene of our existence (Rossi 1995, p. 11), is influenced in a decisive way by the time dimension, both in design and in the subsequent spatial production.

If willingness to accept change and give up the desire for some kind of final, completed form has, on the one hand, progressively brought the architectural project closer to issues of contemporary life, on the other, it has consolidated the current crisis, which has now permeated the process of construction of objectives of the project and the pinpointing of tools to represent and monitor it.

The problem of the architectural project, above all at a time when it is concentrating its reflective and imaginative energies on urban space, is first and foremost a problem of representation. The places where complex societies build themselves up and evolve (to use an anthropological definition) have for decades shown how difficult it is for them to be represented according to traditional models (Williams 1973). Projects to transform places and environments of collective life – public space – have to deal with the problem of evaluating the spatial forms that can best intercept functional requirements, needs and aspirations, explicitly declared or latent; not only can these not be fully categorised at the moment of the project but, above all, they can change radically when it has been carried through, stultifying assumptions and effects. If, on the one hand, the current interpretation of the transformation processes of urban *ethos* consolidates the uselessness of being expressed by project-based efforts to arrange chunks of contemporary society in a hypothetical pigeon-hole system, on the other, it has enabled aggregates of behaviour to be

singled out that finally allow a glimpse of the construction of novel spheres of the neighbourhood and new forms of social cohesion nurtured amid the indifference to the city.

The profound crisis of architecture, which, from the claim of proposing itself as an autonomous science became increasingly committed to the effort to build up a stronger belonging to the life of men, has over time produced a chain effect that has caused, among other aspects, the collapse of the traditional instruments of project representation. The most significant consequence seems to us to be the widely spread and practised tendency to have the object match (though we might say dissolve into) its model. Everything seems not only 'representable' but even summarisable in an overriding code that, instead of placing itself behind the project, steers its translation to the outside. Today, more than ever, new and more appropriate models need to be singled out to construct the project, able to trigger and monitor a sequence of processes rather than determine concluded configurations, and acting in such a way that the project actually emerges from them. For some time it was thought that urban life within the city materialised in the unification of behaviours and progressive fading of diversities: a deterritorialised, purely mental life whose boundaries can no longer be recognised in the urban form (Cacciari 1990). If in the past, traditional instruments could effectively be used to represent architecture as a set of objects, now they collapse in the face of architecture being represented as a sequence of processes.

To know how to handle and interpret a changeable, unstable scenario means to accept and absorb within the project elements like improvisation and indeterminacy.

'The nature of the urban environment is contact, change, heterogeneity, becoming' (Sobrero 2009, p. 203). To design means, in a certain sense, to prepare oneself to face the future laden with its uncertainties. The start-up of a transformation process, aware and pondered at its origin and aided and monitored in its materialisation, cannot, on the other hand, be protected from unforeseen events. To expect the unexpected and be ready to manage change is one of the most commonly pursued, though perhaps least achieved, objectives in the theories of construction of space transformation processes.

Among the various spheres in which space design takes place, that of public space assumes the capacity to absorb into itself all the elements mainly affected by changing, uncertain dynamics. Collective space, without precise aims or precisely definable users, measured mostly by its own inclusive potentiality compared with selective ones – public space is the space of contemporary times and of the encounter with otherness.

Targeting the construction of places of everyday life, where it is the encounter between the individual dimension and the collective one that grants complete sense to the spatial form underpinning its organisation, public space is the space of possibility, where it is the type of behaviour that produces the place and where experimental uses and activities make inroads into consolidated practices.

Public space is therefore the space of encounters but also of crises, the space of experimentation and of daily life, but if this is understood as the familiar environment in which things and people, arranged in the way we know, appear to belong to

a 'routine' scenario, it is probably the most obvious, immobile form of reality we can think of. It is what we see and know close-up, the weave of our present life into which the social actors fit according to their habits.

Daily life, everyday reality, thus appears to us as a system that is little open to doubt, uncertainty or change and therefore mostly oriented towards the need for self-preservation and conservation of one's world than towards a quest for new things. It is a system that the project, an imaginative effort to prefigure a future to be achieved by planned actions to transform places, often leads into a crisis. The strength of the project, necessarily visionary, inevitably represents an incursion into the dimension of daily life that a part of the community the project is addressing often tends to reject.

On the other hand, a frequent, widespread sense of frustration is to be noted in contemporary society, resulting from the coexistence, on one side, of the need of certainties and the will for consolidation of one's own position and, on the other, the desire for change and new things (Appadurai 2001). The need to be roused by new situations, new encounters and new activities is, therefore, already wholly contained in contemporary man's sensitive baggage and is offered and translated into the public space construction process through *willingness*. Willingness is not to be understood as giving up a trend, plausibility of any activity or openness to all uses but as an attitude that may lead beyond the simple will to avoid constrictions and prejudices over the use of space. Willingness is to be understood more correctly as the personal and collective will to let oneself be involved and measured against the awareness that it is indeed possible in public space to 'expect the unexpected', welcome novelties and encounter otherness.

In this sense the public space project, in all its complexity, seems to us to be difficult to manage with the usual technical instruments of the architect. But how will it be possible, then, to construct the project directing it towards spatial solutions that are effective in terms of possible uses while at the same time steering it in terms of its future effects on the collectivity? A partial response comes to us from participated planning, namely, from the possibility that single groups, representing more extended forms, may become the bearers of requests that are added as objectives to the process of definition of the public space project. On the other hand, experience accumulated through numerous cases, consolidated in the past and fully offered today to project design, demonstrates how uncommon cases are in which participated planning has proved effective and given appreciable results over time. Among the various reasons for this, which is not the aim of this text to investigate, there is undoubtedly the lack of technical preparation and untrained imaginative skills, on the one hand, and, on the other, the incapacity to translate legitimate requirements into appropriate spatial forms. But even more, it has been the change, over time, in collective sensibility that has made the public space project, as traditionally understood, inadequate. It is everyday life and what Schutz (1979) defines as 'common sense' that have changed, and they continually prompt, through their reading and interpretation, the development of the project designer's creativity and technical skills.

If, on the one hand, the remarks just recommended that the contribution of participated planning be reconsidered in the direction of more controlled, careful forms, on the other, it is no longer acceptable to address the construction of the architectural project as a process autonomously confined to its own single discipline and exclusively overseen through the technical skills and sensibility of the professional. To what extent can the architect equip himself to be able to face the complex construction of the project, aware of his own limits and hopeful that, in the actual effects of the project on spaces, activities and communities, his own previsions will be positively recognisable? Two pathways seem possible.

The first is essentially based on the knowledge of the past. In the awareness that our present is, to some extent, the future of a preceding period, we enquire into the discrepancy between what in the past had been considered foreseeable and what then actually happened. Let us say immediately that 'foreseeable' is to be understood here as the formula linking the planned fact with the load of physiological uncertainties within every forecast. With the purpose of reducing the margin of uncertainty, it is moreover usual to seek a comparison of an extensive type by comparing the case in question with other similar ones. Differences, margins of approximation and possibility of overlapping are added by reduction/transformation devices to the models used.

The second route possible to steer the project, as regards the capacity to interpret its future course, is entrusted to constructing the reaction to the unexpected event. In this case unforeseeability is considered basically a fact, not to be denied or avoided, but to be accepted indeed because it is inevitable.

The construction of ways of reacting to the unforeseen fact through processes of adaptability, comparison and spontaneous reconfiguration cannot exist apart from the recognition within disciplines that, though distant from architecture, absorb the project culture into themselves. The first way seeks the reasons for its own success in unbending faith in, and adhesion to, an established programme. Like someone preparing for a journey to a country he does not know well, the architect operating in the traditional sense departs, having taken the greatest 'precautions' possible against unforeseen events. In the time granted him, he tries to get to know habits, customs, languages and the region and cities he visits. He notes down all useful addresses, tries to obtain insurance coverage for possible medical expenses and takes with him both his credit card (more than one is even better) and a sum in cash. From the adaptor for the electricity supply to a possible vaccination against yellow fever, he departs with the certainty that he has left nothing to chance. He asks questions of those who have done the same journey in the past and also delves into his own experience of similar trips, seeking useful elements to be able to face, with as much awareness as possible, the future awaiting him.

Whereas the second way resembles the choice of someone who, certain of not being able to foresee not just the facts but also the particular conditions in which he will find himself having to deal with them, prefers to rely on his own capacity for adapting and promptly reacting to unexpected events, building it up and structuring it with each new experience. He does not depart without any information on the journey he is going to undertake but evaluates it with reserve dictated by the awareness

of the unpredictability of events. He knows that he can expect something to 'go wrong' and that he will have to find within himself the capacity to react and bring the situation to a degree of acceptable normality. It is not a question of reckless behaviour but of benevolent willingness to meet the unforeseen in his situation and actually have faith in the particular growth experience this unforeseen event will be able to achieve.

The thought comes to mind of the physicist and philosopher Heisenberg, famous for having formulated the 'principle of indeterminacy', with reference to the law of causality in Quantum theory, according to which if we know the present exactly, it is possible to calculate the future. According to Heisenberg, this law is unfounded, not so much in its conclusion as in its premise: '[…] as a rule we cannot know the present in every determining element. Thus each thing perceived is a selection from a quantity of possibilities and a limitation of future possibilities' (Heisenberg 1982, p. 76). The impossibility of knowing the present does not lie solely in the impossibility of possessing all possible data accompanying a problem nor is it due to any kind of 'technical' impediment (and in this the principle of indeterminacy is relevant), so much as to the idea itself of definition and representation of a present time.

The basic Cartesian division between *res cogitans* and *res extensa* seems, in spite of everything, to pervade the rational project which, though admitting the importance of the transformation of things and relations composing the reference scenario, in practice outlines an objective reality and a subjective reality that 'interpret' it. We know, on the other hand, that such an objective reality, a collection of tangible elements opposing the subject, does not exist. It is more likely that a reality exists defined by the incessant flow of relations established between the subject and the object, capable of configurations that are different each time and sensitive to any minimal variation in each objective and subjective element.

12.2 Jazz Improvisation in the Construction of Decisional Processes

To propose or absorb a change rapidly within a project means to rely on one's own capacities to react, to cultivate a sense of what is possible and, fundamentally, to be able to improvise. The concept of improvisation has for some time been at the centre of attention of various disciplines, from information technology to the field of decision sciences, from emergency management to organisational theory, from philosophy to politics, from cognitive sciences to quantum physics and from military studies to pedagogy, to mention just a few cases.

Research and reflections on improvisation seem to be able to contribute decisively not only to reading contemporary phenomena but also to supplying significant inspiration for project construction. What urges diverse disciplines towards the study of improvisational models more than any other thought is the fact that the difficult coexistence, within the same model, of effective elements for managing the whole (meant both as a quantity of variable information and a quantity

of possible combinations) and effective elements in terms of forecasting capacity (meant as the capacity to steer the project towards the results anticipated) is perceived as a problematic issue.

Among the various models investigated and used as a reference frame as concerns the contribution improvisation is capable of providing in project construction, jazz is surely one of the main ones studied. For jazz is one of the forms of art that absorb and develop – to an outstanding degree – models which indeed place these elements at the centre of their reason for being. The attention devoted to jazz as a reference model for the construction and interpretation of processes has for some time passed through numerous disciplines, whereas it has only recently intercepted the pathways of research on the construction of the architectural project.[1]

An initial reflection that can immediately be made about jazz concerns the particular relationship existing between tradition and innovation and between what can be defined as the relations linking its own generative structures and improvisational developments. What is often misunderstood about jazz is that it represents a universe completely dominated by emotion and total freedom of expression. Musical improvisation in jazz does not actually coincide with an anarchical model wholly entrusted to an incessant emotional flow, but, on the contrary, if jazz musicians manage to improvise, it is because they know the material of their tradition which, over the years and in the most diverse forms, has settled and subsequently become consolidated as a rich reserve of knowledge. Their familiarity with the materials of tradition enables musicians to freely use them and creatively interpret them. 'To describe improvisation we must therefore refer to a theory of tradition and a theory of practical knowledge, which may clarify both the ties generative action is subjected to, and the particular skill needed to create something new when making music together' (Sparti 2005, p. 8).

Improvisation does not materialise therefore by dissolving past knowledge with the aim of reaching a hypothetical 'zero degree' in which everything has still to be defined but takes shape from a complex, solid scenario of materials opening up to new expressive possibilities with every improvisational act. Tradition coincides with this scenario, a world of acquisitions and resources in a state of narcosis until the musician intervenes to regenerate it through improvisation. The capacity to absorb the content of tradition to construct the creative base for improvisation is a skill nurtured by the jazz musician from the very beginning. This is material connected with consolidated far-off times just like elements belonging to the recent past of one's own musical activity – something commonly shared but also something tied to one's own personal story and culture. The methods by which each jazz musician produces his own improvised material therefore define relations between facts, materials and situations that, though not close, are brought back and aligned by the musician through his own creativity and directed towards the definition of new contexts. As he proceeds with his artistic and professional activity, the jazz musician acts in full awareness of the contexts he is creating, or within which he finds himself working, often defining new ones by building links between them and by the joint use of creative material coming from other performers.

In jazz improvisation freedom is a central factor that is not the same as the absolute autonomy of the musician but is a self-proliferative capacity to produce creative material which improvisation itself contributes to building on a base of consolidated material. In this sense tradition is considered material that is continuously and cyclically produced through performance, regardless of past time, and strongly tied to the capacity of the performance to show itself as effective in constructing new contexts and meanings. The difficulty of combining past material with recent elements, while defining the generative structure from which improvisation is produced, is perfectly clear. In actual fact, what happens is that tradition is 'actualised' each time it is recalled in improvisation.

The same remark made about the time dimension may be extended that of space. The distance between the geographies and systems of belonging between musicians is usually an element that enriches the final outcome. It is not the physical and cultural distances that count but the individual and collective willingness to produce creative material. When Lello Savonardo, in his essay *Innovation and Creativity*,[2] links the interaction between the basic structure that defines the context of departure with the creative action performed by the jazz musician departing from this context to define new ones, he sees a relation with Pierre Buordieu's thought referring to the relationship between the ordered dimension and the improvised dimension of social life.[3] Buordieu's *habitus* could be compared to a generative structure that includes and uses a system of improvisations collectively monitored through our social life which, without a preordained project, manages overlapping and coexistences.

12.3 Alternative Models for the Project for Space Diagrams

Growing awareness of the weaknesses in defining the architectural project as a process of construction of knowledge has produced a number of reflections over the years, some of which have resulted in being included in contemporary methodological research. Most of the theoretical developments have actually had poor application in contemporary architectural production. What may be defined as project practice has allowed modern technology to enter almost exclusively to represent the project. This fact has proved, on the other hand, to become a limit to planning, contributing to the increasingly clearer separation between formal definition of the project, its materialisation and the subsequent final life of the work in contact with the changing, often unpredictable, reality of the uses proposed for it: a separation resulting in aspects being configured as autonomous elements that the architectural project should have kept together.

Where it seems that technological means have, however, given their decisive contribution to a more convincing extent is in project management and monitoring instruments.[4] Far from the objective of seeking a form in itself, some contemporary architects have worked for years using tools belonging to the IT era to construct or hone conceptual models for representing and monitoring the architectural project. It is not an aim of this text to offer a general picture of the contemporary neo-avant-gardes,

though the fact should be pointed out that nowadays, a significant number of architects, often of different geographical provenance and personal history, are following similar research paths. In particular, the attitude to the project seems to be a common one; rather than the summit of a course of production, the concretion of a functional programme, it is understood as an instrument of investigation and knowledge of aspects of contemporary life.

Two examples of separate approaches to project construction, in which the final form is configured as an inevitable consequence but not the primary objective, can be provided by Winy Maas of the MVRDV Studio and Alejandro Zaera Polo of the FOA Studio.[5] The former espouses research elements in the scientific, statistical and socio-anthropological fields which, inserted via complex data processing systems, finally achieve concrete spatial forms. The latter operates considering the project itself an instrument of knowledge in which the data at the start, whether they be merely functional or spatial, are constantly reprocessed and challenged through processes that are monitored – instead of by a critical apparatus determined a priori from above – by a set of evaluations that are more and more 'local' and belong to the micro-ambit. If, for MVRDV, project enactment takes place via the performative use of data reduced, as an extreme consequence, to numerical expression only, for FOA, project construction occurs through the formation of sequences of processes with a local reference frame by which to achieve the ultimate form of the work of architecture.[6] Representation of the project relies on instruments, no longer limited to the usual technical arsenal of the professional, which increasingly highlight sequential processes in which information is an integral part of the construction of the actual project.

One element that seems to be common to various contemporary architects who meet up, though not intentionally on similar positions to those described, is the use of diagrams.[7] Although this is a theme very frequently found in relation to applications for project construction, as regards diagrams two different trends may synthetically be represented. The first may be summarised in Peter Eisenmann's positions and acknowledges in the diagram a capacity to compress and condense information graphically without giving it any special proliferative capacities. The second, widely shared by various contemporary architects and researchers like Soriano and Somol, sees the diagram as a machine for instructions, a device that, apart from the capacity to govern spatial forms, takes on the task of condensing in itself the greatest amount of significant information, progressively yielding it to the project. As to the first position, the diagram cannot be understood as a 'generative machine' but must be considered more as a repressive device, the principal role of which is to determine, or at least facilitate, the construction of morphological order during the project. Even if it cannot be exclusively likened to a graphic facilitator, the diagram cannot be proposed as a proliferative instrument but must remain – the deposit of reconstructible traces – confined within the perceptive sphere and positioned behind the main design.

As regards the second position, Stan Allen's (1998) writings are illuminating, according to which the diagram highlights the capacity to propose supra-disciplinary relations, thus not confined to architecture. In this sense the diagram is an instrument

that opens up the architectural project. A relational machine, the diagram cannot exist autonomously but always has to place itself in an intermediate position between architecture and the world, favouring the weaving of relations internal and external to the project. It is clear that in this way, not only can the diagram not be absorbed into an idea that tends to configure architecture as an autonomous discipline, but it is even possible to glimpse morpholytic potential in its behaviour.[8]

The validity of the diagram, understood in this way, is not limited therefore to its extraordinary expressive strength; this is also combined with the capacity to put itself forward as a device of thought which, operating through the simplification of complex phenomena and eliminating the unessential, facilitates the project's emersion in its 'pure form'. In other words, a precise correspondence exists in the diagram between concepts and their form when represented, and this enables the architectural project to 'appear', freeing itself from the background to open up elastically to various developments which are often inhibited in contemporary practice by the compression of information.

More important than structuring a separation between those who see the diagram's potential limited to formal monitoring of the project and those who see it as a resource in constructing content is to highlight how the theme of the diagram confirms and consolidates, in each case, a problem of project representation. The positions expressed by Gilles Deleuze on the diagram, clearly or implicitly recalled by the main contemporary authors dedicated to the theme, provide an essential contribution to affirm the need to surpass the relationship between contemporary architecture and the tools of its conceptual construction and representation. What we consider to be the specific tools of the architect, from descriptive geometry to three-dimensional CAD modelling, should therefore be supplemented, or implemented, by proliferative tools. If the diagram remains limited solely to data input organised in a graphic device, the contribution given to the project will not be able to be more than of modest entity.

When Silvano Tagliagambe, using the example of Cantor's theorem, acknowledges how correspondence between the represented and the representation does not necessarily occur with direct evidence, he basically opens up access to new, more appropriate forms of project representation which, at worst, may not even be graphically representable (Tagliagambe 1994, p. 53). As Stan Allen maintains, 'Diagrammatic architecture is not necessarily architecture produced through diagrams' and again 'diagrammatic architecture is architecture that behaves like a diagram'.[9]

12.4 Jazz as *Diagrammusic*

The possibility to process a large quantity of input data in a process and possibly manage them monitoring their development and changes, which are unpredictable in the initial state of things, seems to be inherently in conflict with the capacity for these data to become absorbed into a model involving improvisation. Creativity and speed of reaction, at the base of improvisation, seem to be incompatible with the

complexity of the data included in diagrammatic models. On the other hand, it is indeed an unusual feature of jazz to manage a large amount of information contained in devices that are not particularly elaborate and operate through synthesis. The actual scores[10] that musicians usually use on the stage could be defined as excessively poor compared with the creative, expressive forms that issue from them at each performance. But then the jazz player's musical work, complete with improvised sections, is never set down on the score except as a transcription of such sections, carried out later after listening to a recording again: Whereas the written notation accompanying a performance is almost always a trace intended as a guide, as a fundamental reference base that may not, however, be able to stand alone, that is, without a particularly significant interpretation.

Some codes exist, on the other hand, for reading a jazz score that are univocally acknowledged throughout the world and allow any musician with a good technical background to correctly read the content. Among the most important at least two should be remembered. The first refers to the use of the so-called abbreviation to replace the classical way of writing chords in their extended form, while the second has to do with the expressive modality of the notes that involves syncopated reading even in the absence of correct instructions in terms of classical writing.

As far as the first element is concerned, writing the chord on the stave, where each single note occupies its own correct position, is basically dispensed with. In place of the chord written in its extended form, an alphanumeric formula is used, namely, an abbreviation, in which the letter corresponding to the principal chord appears, based on Anglo-Saxon notation, plus a series of indications that complete the articulation of the actual chord.[11]

As regards the second element of common interpretation of a jazz score, it is a case of rhythmically reading the music with a syncopated rhythm. This way of understanding the written form typical of jazz corresponds to the particular swing 'pronunciation', and it may also vary with the style and speed of execution of the piece. It is rather like if one asked an actor to read a text written in Italian with a French accent and pronunciation. A good actor does not need particular instructions to pronounce the letter 'r' or 'c', which traditionally make the geographical provenance of the pronunciation recognisable; he knows it and that is enough.[12]

Graphical construction of the score usually takes place using the same medium as for classical music, that is, manuscript paper.[13] In jazz, however, there is an attempt to condense all the information necessary to play the piece on the smallest number of sheets possible. The page is usually of A4 format[14] and contains around nine staves, the first of which at the top contains the title of the piece, the name of the composer and instructions for the rhythm and 'feel' of the piece.[15] The space between the staves is used to insert the chord abbreviations so that the harmonic progression is combined with the melodic part without 'occupying' further staves. Extensive use is made in the score, basically, of graphic devices that can condense the largest amount of information and instructions in the smallest space possible. The use of abbreviations, simplified writing and abbreviated notation enables space to be freed on the page to allow each musician to insert in his own score, perhaps in his own *Real Book*, further indications and notes useful to him in playing the piece.[16]

We might fundamentally state that the score tends to disappear to an extent proportionate to the musician's skill. So, if this is true, how could the analogy stand up between jazz and architecture as regards the use of the respective tools to monitor and manage the project? If the organisation of the jazz musician's creative material set down on paper (the jazz score) and the proliferative diagram of the contemporary architect were understood in almost the opposite way, tending in the first case to evaporate but in the second to be considered central elements of the project, what would the claimed analogy be supported by?

To understand this delicate passage, we need to observe that the expert jazz musician tends to make less and less use of the score, above all in the case of *standards*,[17] there being this great knowledge deposited in the deep structures and sectors of his own expressive language. This does not mean that the mature musician does not need the information contained in the score but just that he glances at it and 'acknowledges' it not on the sheet of paper but in his own personal 'reserve' of knowledge. It is the outcome of study, artistic experience and research which, for years, has settled and in the end been transfused from mind to body, finally creating the true jazz musician, namely, he whose creative impetus cannot be restrained by technical impediments or little knowledge of the subject and expressive language, precisely because these have been solved, so to speak, at the start or during his personal training route.

We should emphasise further that improvisation certainly does not mean an absence of rules but that the rules, on the contrary, are essential for appreciating in musicians the capacity for deliberate, responsible and mature detachment or also the opposite, the skill of scrupulously observing the rules even in particularly ambiguous, changeable creative scenarios. The mature musician is not, that is, the one who abandons the rules, relying solely on what he knows, his own technical-instrumental expertise or his own creative capacity. He is rather the one who has absorbed the rules within his own stylistic code and with respect for the language. This means not only does the mature musician not feel the need to follow the harmonic progression of a piece in the score, for he already knows it, but he is actually able to alter it, inserting harmonic changes on the spot both in the accompaniment phase and in constructing a solo.[18]

All this is valid as long as one is at a *jam session*[19] or a concert where the repertory played is indeed built upon standards. But when the jazz musician plays his own compositions or, at any rate, original pieces,[20] then the score becomes necessary at least until he has completely mastered it in his own mind. At this point the score of the original piece will be very similar to the *Real Book* score, in the sense that it will contain all the information present in it in a more or less explicit form, with the addition, however, of all those elements corresponding to the composer-player's particular expressive requirements.

Another fundamental element is that in the case of original pieces, it has almost always happened that the composer, let us say the leader of the band for simplicity's sake, assigns a different score to each instrument, complete with specific instructions for each musician of the group. It might be said that the musician decides not to trust the creative progression of the piece to chance, or to the single sensibility of

the individuals, and may prefer to indicate the guiding elements needed to construct particular aspects of the performance of the piece. This does not mean, on the other hand, some kind of regression in terms of the approach to the *Real Book* type of score described above. The same regime of awareness considered acquired in the case of playing standards is also required for original pieces. We could say that in these cases, greater interpretative elasticity is indeed required at the moment in which the execution of the piece 'intercepts' melodic or harmonic aspects related, for example, to a standard. Then the standard can be represented, even if just for a short episode during execution, in the form of a quotation, opening the piece to unexpected developments and shifting improvisation from a place near to the composer-leader, who has maybe steered the performance up to that moment, to a 'common' territory shared more by the group.[21]

The 'arrangement' form fits roughly into an intermediate position between the execution of standards and the concert for original pieces only. Taking inspiration from a reasonably well-known composition (let us say a standard but also an original piece already played several times) by 'arrangement' is meant the process of composition aimed at constructing an alternative version of the piece that will explore its internal potential. The arranger's skill lies not in sticking to the original composition but in the richness and intelligence of the new version, where the creative operation carried out succeeds in making new elements and features of the original piece emerge that were narcotised up till then. The arrangement represents, among other things, the construction of a point of view on the repertory of common knowledge, on language and tradition in general and is, therefore, one of the first, most constructive inroads into the compositional sphere that the young jazz musician faces.

Apart from the series of devices for graphical condensation of scores that are quite complex, a large part of the construction of creative material and internal communication between musicians takes place via unwritten codes. In this sense jazz achieves an elliptical process that tends to impoverish the diagram score by a number of graphic elements that are greater as the interpretative capacities of the group increase. The fact that in jazz the diagram understood as a graphic trace will tend to disappear should not therefore appear to be a departure from the system of possible relations between diagrammatic architecture and jazz, when difficulties are equal; it is more a question of progress that jazz shows it has achieved compared with architecture. Two elements seem to confirm this hypothesis.

The first is that, as we have already had the opportunity to highlight, the score reappears at the moment when the difficulty of execution of the piece, be it an arrangement or an original piece, makes it necessary. The second, in our opinion even more important, concerns the particular regime jazz musicians are subjected to during their phases of growth and artistic maturity. When, let us say, they learn by heart, the pieces contained in the *Real Book*. The young musician has to acquire and demonstrate his own knowledge of standards not just by playing their theme but by demonstrating to himself and others that he has absorbed all the elements to the point of mastering the geometries and language of past interpreters. In this way the musician absorbs jazz, transferring the strength of tradition into his own creative

skill with naturalness and without dogmas. For a jazz musician, once he has reached a certain stage in his personal artistic course, it is a normal condition to give up sustaining the performance with scores but without abandoning the diagrammatic behaviour of what survives on the stage, albeit condensed in a glance between musicians or built up by the complex development of an improvisation.

What is important is indeed the diagrammatic behaviour of the jazz performance, namely, the way of including the greatest amount possible of information and cues, external or created by the improvisational machine, condensing signs and meanings with the purpose of opening up the performance to the most liberal, unexpected development. This seems to us to be, ultimately, the element that mostly links the construction of a jazz performance with the construction of the architectural project. The organisational form of the creative process of jazz, be it based on the written notation code or on the system of communication and transmission of content between musicians, is of diagrammatic form. In the jazz model, the phases of conception, elaboration and realisation have always been considered trends that accompany the direction of the creative process. The development and changing conditions of the performance, in which figure and background often co-penetrate each other and reverse their reciprocal roles are what, on the other hand, mostly condition the outcome. It is a case of a model that enables exact but widespread control, precise but open to unexpected variations, to be maintained. The diagram score, reduced to its basics, can finally be likened to a machine for instructions, open to the endless succession of micro-decisions that will never lead the musical work to achieve the condition of final document.

12.5 Anthony Braxton and Kazuyo Sejima Jamming Together

A jazz player who, over the years, has deeply explored the construction and management of the creative process through the use of diagrams is Anthony Braxton.

According to the American musician, diagrams establish a relation both within the structure of the music performed and with respect to the improvisational-emotional flow characterising the execution (Lock 1988, pp. 261–262).

In this sense an initial analysis can be carried out clarifying what Braxton means by structure with respect to his own music. If, in jazz music, this usually means the harmonic progression of a piece and its organisation in sequences and parts following each other, for Anthony Braxton it is above all a process of forces in motion and a framework under transformation, in which the jazz player freely moves without upsetting the sense of the performance. The structure does not basically match the compositional line or its formal arrangement but resembles more the outline of a context in which ‘certain things happen’ (Lock 1988, pp. 261–262). For Braxton it is a generative structure within which notation has the dual task of refocusing the improvisation on pre-established coordinates and freeing it while stimulating its development following routes that are not preordained. The notation apparatus is not to be meant as a guiding instrument for correct playing but for convincing

improvisation as well. That is to say, on the one hand, it works by keeping improvisation within established elements and, on the other, by stimulating the explorative skill of the musicians within their own technical arsenal.

The fundamental value of the structure for Braxton is to contain the material transmissible beyond the performance, something clearly defined from which future generations might depart to elaborate new interpretative forms. Structure is not as an elastoplastic apparatus in which everything is essentially permitted and in which the will of the performer is imposed on the work of the composer but as a set of basic instructions from which to let latent forces and free improvisation emerge.[22]

Braxton pinpoints in the structure the fundamental elements to which to anchor improvisation; they are for him the notation system, interplay between musicians and the language used (Braxton 1985, pp. 235–308). Language, in particular, seems to us particularly significant for it proves to be simultaneously a regulatory factor of the improvisation, an expression of the musical structure, an element on which to appraise the intentional links between musicians and a clear reference to the tradition and history of jazz. It is indeed through the transformations and successive sedimentation of performances and styles that the language itself is built up.[23]

The jazz score may be understood as a diagram as it contains the greatest amount possible of information inserted into the smallest number of notational elements. It is the device used in jazz music that is able to open the work-up to diverse, unpredictable configurations, keeping safe the basic, inalienable aspects of the meaning and the objectives established at the start.

Anthony Braxton is the jazz musician who, probably more than any other, incorporates in his own creative process elements that can apply both to jazz and architecture. A similar figure in the architectural sphere might be the Japanese architect Kazuyo Sejima. If it were possible to bring to mind the images of chaos, excitement and frenzy typical of bebop and set them ideally beside Sejima's simple, clear architectural forms, we could undoubtedly maintain that no relation could exist between them. At a first, quick glance, we have, on the one hand, the representation of the continuous proliferation of improvised creative elements and, on the other, the cool composition of spatial forms without tension, resolved in the project and finally reconciled in accurate realisation. And yet, if one decides to stop using the conventional architectural project categories, it is not so difficult to glimpse closeness between the work of Sejima and the creative process of jazz.

In his article 'Diagram Architecture', Toyo Ito (1996, pp. 18–24) explains how the process leading from the construction of a diagram to the realisation of the architectural project takes place, in Sejima's work, with great speed: 'She arranges the functional conditions which the building is expected to hold, in a final diagram of the space, then she immediately converts that scheme into reality'. This is that same speed that characterises the creative process in jazz. It doesn't deal with any skill in executing tested procedures, rather than the capacity to translate into concrete facts a great amount of information and data coming from different spheres and in continuous reconfiguration.

As in jazz, also for SANAA (Sejima + Nishizawa), it is not a matter of carrying out a synthesis that will reduce, through a complicated, tested decisional mechanism,

the apparatus of conditions and data that build up the scenario at the base of the project and its operative context. It may indeed be stated that, just as in jazz, the objective is to manage a process that will keep several possibilities open, working in an unstable, reactive context in which the desire for clarity does not imply, as a necessary condition, the elimination of significant elements from the project. What constitutes the wonder of jazz is, namely, the management of a complex creative process in continuous, very fast reconfiguration, improvised yet never casual; it is the capacity to bring back to meaning and value each single decision and each single episode, including the error and the misunderstanding. Jazz, with its sonorous resolution, incorporates a dense process of individual choices and corrections aimed at achieving the common objective.[24]

Similarly, in Sejima's work, it is possible to glimpse the same process of approximation that does not proceed by progressive elimination but declares itself through the construction of a diagram that immediately and rapidly organises a field of possible actions, a programme that is certainly defined through choices, attempts and errors but that, from the start, incorporates its own solution in the said diagram. This is why it is possible to accept the obvious ambiguity that seems to emerge from the work of SANAA, namely, that, on the one hand, nothing preordained is declared in form, keeping the project as an open process, and, on the other, it cannot but be noted that the initial diagram will not only contain all the informative and conceptual structure of the project but will find the exact formal expression of these as it is realised.

It may be stated that the work of synthesis does not start from the diagram but takes place mainly in the diagram itself. It is a case of ambiguity, which cannot be recognised in the uncertainty of the result or in the contemporary quest for new expressive possibilities for the architectural project but, exactly as happens in jazz, adopted as a constituent fact. Ambiguity as a necessary condition for jazz, open to discovering possibilities for continuous (though coherent) reconfiguration, and architectural ambiguity as a polysemic expression of spaces thought up for users who are flexible in their behaviours. This ambiguous quality, the element present both in jazz and in SANAA's work, has nothing to do with the incapacity to supply clear coordinates in the creative process but expresses the honesty and awareness of the role of architects/musicians in a context in which the user is not a receiving but a performing subject. For some strange reason (but only if viewed superficially), the immediacy of a jazz performance and the clarity of SANAA's spaces are actually the most significant expression of their polysemic strength.

We have already recalled how the improvisational freedom of jazz rests on a defined, shared structure. In Sejima's case, it is indeed she who maintains in a three-way conversation with Kazuo Shinohara and Noriaki Okabe that 'Beyond spatial and physical flexibility, non visible factors exist, like information. These factors are producing conditions that are completely different from those of the past. Therefore I do not see the reason why architects should seek to create flexible architecture' (Sejima 1997, p. 29). According to Yuko Hasegawa, there is confirmation in this statement of the Japanese studio's concept of flexibility, namely, that nowadays spatial flexibility, already considered a value from the modern movement onwards, has to be matched by a new type of flexibility. This is an individual, collective

flexibility measured on the reactive and adaptive capacities of individuals to respond to the cues, stimuli and restrictions that spatial conditions propose.

The architect's concern in analysing in a detailed, in-depth way the set of possible user behaviours of the project space may prove very difficult and fruitless; it would be better to try to steer the project so that the various methods of future fruition of the space, not entirely foreseeable, could be absorbed within it. The awareness that values like flexibility and adaptability are to be sought not solely in the organisation and configuration of the space but recognised as a resource of the project provided by the actual final users, as an expression of a chunk of contemporary society, is a specific element of the work of Sejima and Nishizawa. It is a matter, on the one hand, of having faith in the user basically leaving open the field of behaviours in the project and, on the other, going ahead to prefigure these, starting with personal immersion as architects and potential users (Hasegawa 2005, p. 21).

A process is thus carried out similar to that of the jazz player who, in a variable context, takes on at the same time the role of issuer and receiver of the creative message, subject and object of his own action, entrusting his work to the rest of the group and the public and hoping for the collaborative skill of both to add sense and value. Life within the object of the specific project, building or public space, is taken as a variable with ever rich, unforeseeable potential but not, however, delivered to chance; it is in fact placed in conditions of greater ease and freedom of self-manifestation through the clarity and simplicity of the said project, clarity that is encapsulated in the initial diagram and which, as for the jazz musician, always begins as personal intuition, internal and mysterious, and which is easily breathed even if half-hidden in the abstractness of the spaces created by Kazuyo Sejima.

12.6 Conclusions

If jazz, as it would seem, thus presents significant analogies with the process of construction of the architectural project, in what way could it be taken as a specific reference frame? What type of practical support could jazz provide the architect committed to planning a space destined for a variety of indefinable users, in short, a public space? To summarise in a few points the concrete or potential contribution of jazz in the construction of the space project, like a set of rules to follow, be it in relation to the initial constituent aspects or in harmony with the different requirements that the space, once realised, may highlight through the behaviour of its final users, might even be misleading. We may nevertheless recall some aspects that have emerged in these pages on several occasions. They can be configured as invariant elements of a jazz performance and, more generally, of musical production and be immediately put forward as important inspiration for reflection. We can briefly summarise them in ten points as follows:

1. Jazz as the creation of a device that, in achieving its own objectives, is not produced in an effort to obtain definite results so much as to absorb the errors.
2. The context understood as the representation of a field of forces in motion.

3. Tradition understood not as an apparatus of dogmas but as a work that is open and available to be part of the contemporary project.
4. The formal structure of the composition understood as a diagram. It works like a machine for instructions addressing, rather than the progressive elimination of elements, the possibility of their contemporary management.
5. Speed, understood as value, expressed in the rapidity of translation into the concrete reality of the first schematic representation of the project.
6. The jazz performance as a construction jointly realised by musicians and public through actions and behaviours that measure their reciprocal willingness and trust.
7. The knowledge of language registers as a crucial fact for realising a quality performance.
8. The figure of the soloist as a *servant leader*,[25] meant as the key to good organisation and management of the creative process.
9. Continuous updating of technical and cultural preparation, seen as an indispensable element for constructing a quality performance.
10. Continuous interaction between subjective and objective elements in the performance.

From reading the ten points listed, if one wanted to imagine the figure of an architect following the instructions, it would arise that the architect, like the jazz player, needs to be capable of planning and improvising, defining, managing and covering different roles, taking opportunities and bringing them back to the advantage of the realisation of his own objectives. On this subject, David Brown's remarks prove interesting on the role of the architect in project construction: the architect should think of himself as a jazz drummer, able to keep together both the potential tendencies of the creative flow and internal coherence with the general structure, always placing himself in an intermediate position in the project and negotiating between the anticipation of phenomena and the capacity to delay and control their irruption (Brown 2006).

To operate like a jazz player/architect does not mean to let oneself be guided by a personal view, to proceed hesitatingly in the quest for project-based solutions in the greatest freedom possible, convinced that the impossibility of exactly foreseeing the life of the spaces the project will contain in the future might legitimate the errors. To operate like a jazz player/architect means to abandon representations of the architectural project that prescribe spatial forms that are predetermined and limited to the description of the relations between site, materials and context and to open them up to the entry of forces and conditioning that is not always easy to envisage. It means being capable of structuring one's own behaviour through continuous balancing of planned actions and unexpected reactions. To develop and use one's own synaesthetic skill in representing the project, working within a context defined by changeable conditions means for the jazz player/architect to no longer place the larger share of his/her creative force in realising an object but to offer it to the construction of a point of view able to facilitate the surfacing of behaviours of the future users of the resulting space.

Notes

1. Of the various researchers studying overlapping between jazz music, architecture and the processes regulating the behaviour of societies with respect to their spatial contexts, David Brown (University of Illinois) has provided one of the most important contributions with his text *Noise Orders*: *Jazz*, *Improvisation and Architecture* of 2006, edited by the University of Minnesota Press.
2. Lello Savonardo is a lecturer in the 'sociology of music' and 'theories and techniques of the new media' at the Sociology Faculty of 'Federico II' University of Naples.
3. http//wpage.unina.it/savonard/files/innovazione_creativita.pdf
4. Apart from project monitoring instruments, technology has given a fundamental contribution in terms of the construction and development of all the elements useful for communication of the project and for the formal processing of its representation in images.
5. These are research fields to which many other protagonists of the contemporary architecture scene should be added, such as Ben Van Berkel, SANAA, Federico Soriano and Inaki Abalos, just to mention a few.
6. The influence of Rem Koolhaas weighs on each of these approaches both for the attention paid to the process of renewal of architectural language and for the attitude of reconsideration of a large part of modern architecture production as a group of active contributions and not a set of dogmas. When these inspirations were absorbed into the work of MVRDV and FOA, an attitude was produced that, however, uninhibited and creative, led to works with extraordinary expressive force and theoretical coherence being realised. Common traits of the work of MVRDV and FOA, like that of other contemporary architects, can also be found in the equal attention devoted to theoretical production and the subsequent, in some ways, inevitable, 'physical translation' into the works realised.
7. The definition of diagram must necessarily be traced back to a plurality of interpretations and an initial analysis which will trace its appearance back, if not to its specific use in the project field, to the historic past of architecture. When Wittkower proposed the nine squares diagram at the end of the 1940s, the various applications of diagrammatic structures were already known; they had been proposed, in the history of past and recent architecture, not just as graphic facilitators for the formal control of the project but as authentic organisers.
8. A common denominator in respect of recent avant-garde work, the diagram surpasses mere applicative possibilities in architectural composition. Zaera Polo, Winy Maas but also Sejima, Van Berkel, Soriano, Somol, Allen, Kwinter and others still, converge, though with their different interpretations, on the fact that diagrams can carry out a fundamental role of mediation between different and overlapping entities, available to interdisciplinary incursions and procedural acceleration offering a possibility of graphic expression that, though harsh, is already promised in form.
9. http//giovannicorbellini.it/testi/

10. Italian jazz musicians use the term ‘part’ in place of the usual term ‘score’ or ‘sheet music’.
11. According to Anglo-Saxon notation, the notes are shown in alphabetic order beginning with A (*La*). In this way *do*=C, *re*=D, *mi*=E and so on. Thus, the musician faced with an abbreviation like Dmin7(b9)(b13) knows that he has to play a D minor 7th – flat 9th – flat 13th or a D minor 7th in Phrygian mode, which is the same thing. If the musician in question finds he is faced with the extended form, he will see all the notes appear on the stave, that is, D, F, A, C, E flat and B flat. Considering that in jazz, it is possible to encounter 2 or 3 chords per bar, also in particularly fast rhythms, it is clear that this is not a simple task. Let us add that if, at that moment the musician is not engaged in accompanying but has to improvise and the chord becomes the harmonic base involved, the centre of action from which to have new creative elements originate and flow on the spot, the task becomes even more difficult.
12. In this way, for example, an isorhythmic configuration of four notes, where each has let us say a value of one eighth, will be read, depending on the speed of execution of the piece, as if the configuration had the first and third eighths increased by a further half of their value, in this case 1/16, while the second and fourth eighths will have 1/16 less value compared with their initial value.
13. It is not uncommon on stage to find sequences of abbreviations noted on simple sheets, often the fruit of notes made a few minutes before the concert.
14. The parts are written on A4 sheets so that they can be photocopied and shared easily. Any oversize sheets are either multiple (several A4 sheets joined in a single strip) or are very rare.
15. By the term ‘feel’ is meant the interpretative attitude to be followed in playing the piece, ‘feeling’ indeed.
16. Scores of this kind are those most commonly used and have constituted over the years a huge amount of material that has been collected in a series of books shared throughout the world, called ‘*Real Books*’. The *Real Book* is basically a collection of pieces called ‘standards’ which, due to the widespread, shared appreciation of them, are considered essential cultural baggage for every jazz musician, especially in his formative years, while it is considered that once he has reached a certain degree of maturity, he is able to recall a large part of these by heart without ‘reading’. Each Real Book contains hundreds of pages; however, in the jazz environment, those musicians who resort to the Real Book during a jam session are despised.
17. By the term ‘standard’ is meant a piece whose value and popularity make it an essential element for building up each jazz musician’s repertory regardless of geographical area of provenance and the actual age of the piece in question.
18. By the term ‘solo’ (more correctly used in the jazz sphere) is meant the improvised performance of a single musician possibly accompanied.
19. By ‘jam session’ is meant a collective performance in which the participants can converge, freely forming ensembles undefined both in number and in the instruments used and where the programme to be played (decided on the spot and without rehearsals) is made up of standards considered fundamental, essential elements of the personal repertory of knowledge.

20. By original pieces is meant compositions written by one of the musicians belonging to the group playing them.
21. An almost inevitable consequence, at least in the presence of a reasonably qualified audience, is that at the moment of quotation, a closer relationship is created with the public who, recognising the source, tends to show appreciation to the musician playing it.
22. Anthony Braxton is very precise in this respect, indicating how, during improvisation, on the one hand it is useful to free oneself giving life to what he himself defines as a 'vibrational 'continuum' that differs from moment to moment/ person to person'.
23. Although Anthony Braxton has for years been considered a forefront exponent of the avant-garde of the 1970s, he has never hidden his love for standards and his respect for the great names of jazz. Knowledge of the languages of jazz and their correct use in performance is indeed one of the elements on which he himself assesses the possibility of collaboration with his partners and their value.
24. By 'common' is meant the same objective for musicians and audience and, in the same way, for architect and final users.
25. The definition comes down directly from the theories of Robert K. Greenleaf expressed for the first time in his article published in 1970: 'The servant as leader'.

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Part III
City Policies: Public Sphere

Chapter 13
Designing Public Spaces and Constructing Public Spheres: A Manifesto

Enrico Cicalò

Abstract Public space design may enable new perspectives to be opened up in our times to reinforce the public dimension of the contemporary city. Designing public spaces and constructing public spheres are the horizons that the actors responsible for transforming the city must aim for, be they designers, institutes or private citizens. Public sphere development may effectively be favoured by project-based action, though to link these two concepts is an operation neither simple nor straightforward as it is particularly open to misleading doubts and false interpretations, which we will try to throw light on in the following paragraphs. [This article summarises the research carried out by the author on the theme of urban public space, already illustrated more extensively and in depth in the book: Cicalò E (2009) Spazi pubblici. Progettare la dimensione pubblica della città contemporanea. FrancoAngeli, Milan.]

Keywords Public space • Public sphere • Urban design • Representation • Public opinion • Public life

1. *To construct the public sphere* may today seem a utopian ambition, as idealistic as it is ideological. The liberalist impulse that tends to be biased towards the private sphere is questioning the developmental perspectives of the public domain. Substantial changes have derived from this in the actual meaning of the word *public* and, consequently, in its spatial manifestations.

However, in spite of the pre-eminence of privatising phenomena, the term *public* still manages to have important meanings centred on it. In the collective imagination, it recalls something that concerns everyone without distinction and raises

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general interest by evoking the naturalness of rights of access to places, the fruition of services and benefiting from resources. It evokes a changing ideal of sharing and involvement ready to show itself when individuals' rights are trampled on and to hide itself when sharing duties becomes a need.

Public and private have always been terms used to gather consensus and cause dissension (Fraser 1990). The recurrent use and, above all, abuse of the word *public* denotes the retention of a positive axiological meaning, in spite of the ambiguity created by interpenetration of well-known processes both of publicisation of the private and privatisation of the public. Due to its inexhaustible aggregating power and efficacious communicative strength, the term *public* is used instrumentally as a "shield term" for legitimising political programmes and urban projects, defending social changes and proposing spatial transformations. Thanks to its ability to adapt to the most varied geographic and temporal contexts, the concept of *public* constitutes a rhetorical instrument fit to defend the most diverse interests, some even paradoxically antagonistic (Deutsche 1996). In debates on architecture, urbanistics, art, political theory, ecology, economics, education, the media and health issues, this term is often used as an expedient with which to tackle suitably equipped social battles and ideological clashes (Robbins 1993). The public good is an ideal horizon declared by all political groups and the whole of civil society, but behind this unifying horizon, different envisioning and conceptions are concealed as to who is *public* and what is *public* (Cicalò 2009).

2. *To construct the public sphere by contributing its spatial component* may seem an anachronistic and nostalgic ambition, for it is widespread opinion that these days the public sphere is built around communication media and that the role of physical public space has in this sense been considerably reappraised. It could not be otherwise in a settlement context in which distrust of physical public space perceived as unsafe, degraded or devoid of its content is gaining strength. Fraying of the compact city, introversion of housing types, the polarisation of urban functions and disappearance of public life from urban spaces yield the image of a desertified public space, left drained by the transfer of its historically settled function of space of knowledge of world reality, onto other territories and by other means (Maciocco 2008).

The spatial conditions thanks to which public life unfolded on city territory in the past are therefore being lost, producing an overspill of public life onto the virtual territories of the media. Reality is known increasingly less by direct contact. Public opinion prefers to make use of pre-packed formulas spread by the media. The building up of the public sphere, a space delegated to public opinion formation, is entrusted mainly to the media that condition and filter the representation of reality. It is communication technology that, in the absence of alternative spaces of communication and comparison and of spaces and occasions in which to be able to confute media representations, imposes its own rules and rhythms on consensus-building processes and the dynamics of public opinion formation. The greatest risk for democracy derives precisely from its being entrusted to a society in which meaning is produced exclusively in the media sphere, behind company, bureaucratic and technological barriers (Castells 2009).

From these assumptions more promising scenarios arise for a possible retrieval of the meanings apparently lost, for the system of representing reality entrusted exclusively to the media has entered a crisis. In the everyday debate, doubts increasingly gain credence on the entity and nature of phenomena and the representation and perception of them. Hence, the need emerges for direct contact with reality and its actors, able to offer multiple representations, original points of view and alternative opinions on the real world. Against this background, public space offers itself as the favoured place for direct, unmediated contact between individuals, which may enrich the process of public opinion formation, comparison, knowledge and the establishment of reality. It makes itself available to strengthen the public sphere meant as a sphere of direct knowledge of world reality and not as a mere ambit of consensus. Public opinion formation requires spatial platforms upon which the phenomena of the world achieve their own visibility and can be elevated to being public.

Action unfolds in the space of relations between individuals, and public visibility is achieved of the points on which democratic society organisation is founded (Arendt 1958). Through conflict, it is in public spaces that dissension is manifested and the rules of social system functioning are challenged by forms of action capable of sanctioning new beginnings and outlining novel urban scenarios. From this standpoint public space constitutes a fundamental resource for a city seeking its own evolutionary pathways and awaiting interventions that will promote the encounter of individuals through the strengthening of their material, symbolic and moral capacities. Overcoming both spatial and social determinism, the design and care of public space are configured as instruments able to cultivate new connections and new opportunities for comparison for the societies represented in it, contrasting the dynamics of social homogenisation and the spatial isolation generated by contemporary tendencies towards exclusion and segregation.

Although opinion trends are increasingly organised on the virtual territories of media communication, they inevitably end up bursting onto the material territories of the city, onto those physical spaces that still indisputably sanction the public nature of the phenomena of the world. The "publics of the city", though supported by the new technological instruments in organising their action and debate, still need physical spaces in which to present themselves. Human experience is formed, accumulated and shared in the places where its meaning is developed, assimilated and negotiated (Bauman 2005a, b). Public space thus confirms it is an inalienable component of the public sphere, still representing the material location in which the social interaction and political activity of all the members of the public may take place and become visible.

3. *Constructing the public sphere through the potential of project design for space* may be considered a sterile illusion anchored to naively deterministic approaches. The project for space with its eminently material, concrete and physical reality-transforming connotations aspires to build up a public sphere that is traditionally abstract, discursive, invisible, immaterial and short-lived.

Although it is impossible to verify with certainty the relations existing between public urban space and public sphere, these can certainly be investigated by analysing possible combinations of socio-geographic perceptions, expectations and material conditions (Harvey 2006). To give an example, the growing social alarm over urban environment decay and over the perception of lack of safety of public spaces is accompanied by a clear movement of individuals away from public life and a lack of trust in institutions and their action aimed at improving the quality of urban life. This "antipolitical" tendency should be read not just as distrust of the political class and their respective actions, but as a dangerous departure of individuals from the relational sphere, from politics meant in the sense Arendt gives it, of relations between men, as an expression of contemporary individualism, of the impossibility for individuals to imagine themselves part of *a public* and as indifference towards everything that is *public*.

Designers can give a political connotation to their art precisely through projects pertaining to public spaces meant as an eminently material component of the public sphere, thus asserting the primary role of architecture and urbanistics in the individual and collective destiny of men, as well as their capacity to translate, interpret and condition reality.

4. *Constructing the public sphere through the design of public spaces* may now appear to be a research theme that is obsolete, almost overworked. Public space has been analysed from different points of view up to now – philosophical, political, economic, social, cultural, architectural and urbanistic – and with the most varied ideological nuances, from egalitarian to liberal, from democratic to dictatorial and sometimes to the point of being anarchical. The single dimensions have been investigated in depth but an absence of dialogue between the different approaches can be noted in the literature (Harvey 2006). The study of public space should, on the other hand, cross and go beyond "ideological territories" (Madanipour 2003) and create a dialogue between the different approaches, overcoming the static nature of the party positions and opening itself up to contributions coming from the most varied experiences and positions. Only in this way, departing from rigid schematisms, will it be possible to get back that plural character inherent in the concept itself of *public* which may guarantee its survival and reinforcement.

Designing for public spaces is closely linked with the idea we have of the human being, the nature of society and the type of political community we aspire to (Deutsche 1996). Worldviews that traditionally come up against each other in the debate and everyday existence of the design and management of these spaces are based on a cluster of dichotomies converging on the great public/private one (Bobbio 2004). In effect, the dyads collective/individual, inclusion/exclusion, politics/economics, statism/liberalism, equality/freedom, left/right, manifest/secret, city/country and centre/periphery flow into this. They are all dichotomies that owe their popularity and pervasiveness to their simplifying power and communicative clarity. Indeed this descriptive use, this capacity to synthetically represent two parts that are in conflict, makes each field of knowledge resort continuously to the "great dichotomies". And yet, these "great dichotomies" may reach the point where

their past vitality is exhausted. Losing their descriptive value, the dyads outline new spaces for alternative representations by combinations and conventions, by a generic "inclusive third", which presupposes the survival of the two antagonistic poles to then nurture themselves on their opposition and weakness (Bobbio 2004). This is what can be recorded today on public and private space, no longer imaginable as antithetical spaces as they are not reciprocally exclusive or comprehensive when combined, nor any longer combinable with countering ideologies, but considered distinct spaces, from whose diversity ever new figures derive, intermediate or hybrid, accompanying the traditional ones without claiming to substitute them but, on the contrary, capable of ensuring their vitality and permanence.

A research path is emerging that departs from the acknowledgement of the collapse of the public-private dichotomy and explores the public dimension, no longer within predefined spaces but emphasising the public dimension of space in all project-based interventions including private ones (de Solà-Morales 2007) and trying to get beyond the platitude by which if the private sphere is increased, the public sphere will decrease, and if the public sphere is increased, the private one will decrease (Bobbio 1995). As long as public sphere and private sphere are conceived and designed as autonomous, noncommunicating and competitive spaces, they will not be able to provide answers to the questions emerging from the new housing requirements or enhance their reciprocal potential. The clear division of the universe into two parts takes on the aspect of a never-ending conflict between two parties, one of which must prove triumphant over the other. Each action and each project for private space may, on the other hand, enrich the public sphere as already occurs for the public space projects used to relaunch and enhance private spaces and activities.

13.1 For a Common Public Space Cause

What is the point of the public dimension of urban space nowadays? How is the meaning of public space revised? What is its role? Who should the design of its projects address? Can the public space project become a common cause?

Acknowledging a common cause in public space is the same as declaring its strength and importance. It is the same as requesting attention for a fundamental component of the public sphere, urban life and the democratic functioning of society that stands out against the background of a city and a society weakened in their public dimension. It is the same as an appeal for the protection of a space that has always existed, and will exist even more, a resource for cities in that it is capable of assisting urban renewal and evolution processes. It is an invitation to retrieve its meanings and its specific capacities for contributing to the construction and reinforcement of the public sphere.

It is a *common* cause in the sense that it belongs to the history of the city and constitutes an essential requisite for its future: *common* in that it is able to bring together all individuals independent of spatial or temporal belonging.

13.2 Recalibrating Concepts

Models exist that tenaciously establish themselves in our imagination, filtering interpretations of phenomena concerning the urban sphere (Harvey 2006). The inability to handle problems is often due also to approaches deceptively calibrated on similar models that have now become inadequate in relation to social and spatial changes. Reference to fixed time and space categories, just like the rigid demarcation between the public and the private, can prevent us from recognising new manifestations of the public sphere and alternative arenas for democratic action that may arise from the reinterpretation of urban space (Crawford 1995).

Each theory that recalls the concept of *public* must tackle the relevant geographical and cultural context. However, observations on public space tend to reiterate theories and models and always analyse every context with the same categories, regardless of the culture to which the spaces belong and of the public that daily make use of them. Theories are rarely adapted to contexts. In spite of the awareness that each city and each territory is unique and different, the danger exists that urban studies of a western matrix are reiterated in all territorial and cultural situations by methods that prove more often than not to be inappropriate (Watson 2006).

13.3 Reorienting the Gaze

13.3.1 Towards a Multiplicity of Perspectives

In research on public space, the tendency to adopt models and metaphors as universally replicable has generated literature strongly aimed at discussing the scenario of the crisis (Watson 2006) that – under the different nuances of decline, loss, death and end – has animated the debate of the last 20 years. The gaze with which the urban environment is observed is deeply influenced by the pervasiveness of some models and case studies that seem to leave little room for alternative readings.

The tendency to generalise some recurrent urban phenomena constitutes a limit of urban studies. Although this case can be interpreted in the light of the mechanisms of media communication and scientific divulgation, two factors can be singled out that nowadays deeply influence the representation, and consequently the evolution, of urban dynamics: the spectacularisation of urban processes and the difficulty disciplines connected with space transformation have in tackling changing urban conditions.

In our contemporary culture, nurtured on events and on the spasmodic search for exceptional facts, the whole of reality is transformed into a spectacle. Architecture and urbanistics are swallowed up by the rhythms of consumerism and changing fashions that constantly require new images, easy to consume and fast to decay. Everything that aspires to establishing its own existence needs that global visibility that only the media can offer. But the media impose their own acceptance criteria:

exceptionality, spectacularity and simplification – so as to reach and win over public attention more easily. The tendency is to look for pictures and metaphors of reality that are universally applicable and able to synthesise complex situations in continuous metamorphosis. All urban phenomena therefore tend to be presented as original and are made to be spectacular to the point of leading to alarmism, by representations with an immediate effect that can easily be assimilated in the public imagination. Phenomena, on the other hand, that characterise the contemporary scenarios of crisis and decline are no more than recurrent elements in the history of the city and are inherent in its normal development (Augé 2007).

The adoption of single references for a monolithic representation of urban phenomena is a sign of contemporary difficulty in imagining alternative visions. Strong representations often make up for weak project design and their growing popularity fed by the media hides an indubitable analytical difficulty (Martinotti 1999). To explain the emerging phenomena, studies on the public urban sphere have often resorted to adopting solid, universally applicable models, generating general parables that have led to a simplification of reality, thus hindering the imagination of alternative possible scenarios and weakening the potential of design-based action.

13.3.2 Beyond Newism

The studies carried out on public space within various disciplines over the last 20 years have produced a rich sequence of models, metaphors and representations that have attempted on each occasion to describe its emerging manifestations. The spasmodic search for strong concepts and efficacious images able to embrace the unusual nature of the phenomena observed lends itself to a dual interpretation of obsession and need.

Obsession for the "new public space" is deduced from the succession of models that in the last two decades have nurtured the debate, created alarm and alarmism, opened up research trends and fed media representations. Obsession for the new is nurtured by the process of spectacularisation that currently wraps round all aspects of everyday life. The neologisms created to describe the allegedly new phenomena easily become labels, slogans to sell and with which to feed the media and, through them, the public. The announcement of constantly new situations and constantly exceptional phenomena faithfully responds to the thirst for the spectacle pervading our contemporary culture. Attention is focused on change and the expectation of something new. Research, like communication, requires the invention of concepts that are always original but which risk making us forget the signs of continuity, the fundamental invariants of inhabiting that – though they undergo development and adaptation – constantly continue to steer and organise urban life.

From an alternative point of view, the need to incessantly seek "new public space" may, on the other hand, signify an inalienable need to foresee the scenarios of the near future. This requirement presses us towards the exploration of original

figures useful to represent an ever-changing reality, often still not mature enough to be described completely but ready to be encapsulated and investigated within definitions endowed with a strong expressive charge that can stimulate the debate. Public space is an important instrument of observation, interpretation and understanding of reality and its changes. In it public life is manifest, the public dimension of human action can be read and new relational methods interpreted; in it the clues become visible of a world that is becoming. For these reasons the rapid succession of definitions, denominations, metaphors and neologisms may be interpreted as a signal of vivacity of scientific research.

13.3.3 Towards Other Spaces

The city is considered the privileged place where the social space of the public sphere is built up (Lofland 1989). For this reason, too, studies on public space in the last decades have focused prevalently on urban spaces (Hajer and Reijndorp 2001; Watson 2006), with particular attention to the internal spaces of the large metropolitan conurbations. Less common are the approaches that investigate the public dimension of the spaces more external to the circumscribed sphere of the compact city and extend the scale of investigation beyond the strictly local one towards a more global vision.

The contemporary problem seems to be to alter the gaze in order to seek for alternative manifestations of the public sphere and reinterpret signs of it in the light of the deep social and cultural transformations underway. It is in public space that the tensions between the spatial dimension of everyday life and the a-spatiality of information, public opinion and global communication are condensed (Hajer and Reijndorp 2001; Watson 2006). The scale of analysis cannot therefore be considered, in this kind of study, a rigidly predefined element. The scale of public space and the scale of public sphere are, on the other hand, socially produced and thus subject to pressures and requests of a social and cultural type (Marston 2000).

With a change in gaze, alternative directions may be highlighted following traces of the spatial manifestations of the public dimension in the settlement space beyond the traditional landscapes of the city. The public spaces situated within the compact urban fabric are becoming empty of the meanings that were traditional features of the spatial organisation of urban coexistence, while more fertile perspectives may be sketched out for the spaces considered marginal, in that they are excluded from policies for urban marketing and economic enhancement (Madanipour 2004).

Thus attention is centred on the less visible spaces, beyond the areas of cities weakened in their public dimension by an excess of design projects that level out variety and diversity, towards the external spaces that are still, in this sense, rich in potential (Watson 2006). Their greater distance from the dynamics of urban competition and globalisation leaves these territories available for new processes of appropriation and identification by those publics that see such possibilities denied them within the traditional boundaries of the city. The excess of project design that

characterises the contemporary condition reduces and segregates these residual situations apparently devoid of supreme administration; they are the *terrain vague* (de Solà-Morales Rubió 1995), no man's land, the "vacuums of human inhabitants", that show an absence not in terms of lack of characterisation but of disillusion over an expectation (Espuelas 2004).

In these spaces the novel manifestations of the public dimension of inhabiting must be distinguished from the original forms of everyday privatisation of space. The "land of everyone" may first become "no man's land" and then "someone's land", with someone taking it over and exploiting the space resource in exclusive terms for their own purposes. These are the phenomena of capillary and everyday privatisation of space, aided by the absence of visibility, difficulty of accessibility, weakness of relations with other places and other publics. Visibility, accessibility and relational elements have become confirmed as essential requisites for acquiring spaces for the public or the private sphere.

13.4 Reconsidering Project Design

13.4.1 Understanding Public Opinion

To understand public opinion means to decode its expectations, acknowledging its influence on urban space transformation processes, going beyond the remissive positions that herald the death of everything connected with the public dimension, public sphere, public space, the public and, finally, public opinion. If *the public* no longer exists, if *a public* no longer exists, what should public space design be based on? If the interlocutor is missing, the subject addressed by projects is missing; what, then, is the point of project design for the public dimension of settlement space?

Public opinion enters a crisis when alternative views are lacking and the progressive weakening is manifest of the conflict over urbanistic decisions and project action. This lack of conflict and alternative views derives from those same processes of public opinion construction increasingly linked with media simplifications and increasingly close to the dynamics of consensus building. Nevertheless, this cannot lead us to dismiss public opinion as simply useless since it is passive, devoid of influence since it is deformed, or irresponsible since it is uninformed. Public opinion cannot tritely be said to have vanished. It continues to build itself on the background of images of cities different from those aspired to by the designers or wished for by academics, but nevertheless images of cities. The public is not incapable of constructing an idea or an opinion, but such thought is formulated on the basis of envisioning that expert knowledge often shuns.

The expert public of disciplines studying the city cannot give up interpreting the opinions, tastes and states of mind of the different "publics of the city". It must manage to speak the same language as them, know how to understand their ambitions and expectations and steer them in their development and maturation

process towards greater awareness. Giving up this mission means leaving an empty space, a field of conquest for other actors driven by different interests, who are able to use the instruments and languages in a more efficacious, direct manner. Absence from everyday life and the distance from common sense of the disciplines aspiring to designing space cause a weakening in their incisiveness on the definition of lines of development, relegating them to mere technical instrument with which to legitimise economic and political actions far from the interest of the public.

13.4.2 Imagining the Public City

The tendency is emerging from the literature of a prevalently Anglo-American matrix to analyse public spaces on the basis of certain recurring urban phenomena on which to found the hypothesis of a prevalent, persistent crisis. In the last 20 years, a pessimistic body of literature has been building up which is reducing expectations and nurturing a climate of fear over spaces that are open, uncontrolled and owned by private entities. All public space is becoming, in the collective imagination, the space of violence, danger, exclusion and marginality. A media and political storm is underway showing images of public spaces that are dirty, polluted and desolate, inviting us to take refuge in private space, inside the reassuring sphere of consumerism (Watson 2006). Instrumental use of the decay of the city exists and of the decline of public space aimed at building and maintaining consensus. Public opinion on these issues is often constructed through media representations that tend to spectacularise urban phenomena.

These representations not only considerably influence the behaviour of the city's various publics but also deeply condition models of inhabiting and settlement choices therein. Urbanity develops also through individual choices, be they linked with choices of localisation of one's own private spaces or with individual behaviours in public spaces. Profoundly different models of inhabiting and behaving find room on the contemporary territory; it is up to individuals which models they choose to adopt and which processes to opt for through individual choices. It is the responsibility of the institutional actors and technical knowledge, on the other hand, to enrich the collective imagination and to propose alternative models that can lead to an improved quality of life with the contribution, too, of a vital public sphere and hospitable public spaces.

To relearn how to imagine models of inhabiting and conceive of individual existences not only in the atmosphere of safety, isolation and self-referentiality of the private sphere but also in terms of contact and encounter that proximity and density alone really make possible is not a nostalgic need nor an anachronistic one. To define as "traditional" face-to-face human relations that enable interaction, communication and contamination with what is different is the fruit of a tainted gaze over the phenomena of the city. To define as nostalgic the methods of

creating relations that are embodied in the concreteness of the city territory expresses renunciation and denies one of the basic invariants upon which the evolution of the city is founded.

13.4.3 Linking Up Publics

In the collective imagination, public space links up with a democratic utopian ideal by which each person can have access and can benefit from resources with the same rights and duties. But is it really possible to achieve a compromise between uses, ways of organising, making use of and imagining space that are often incompatible? The stratification of all potential publics within the same space is not always practical. The public dimension of the urban sphere shows itself in spaces with multiple meanings but incongruous with each other (Hajer and Reijndorp 2001), where people share the space without sharing the meanings. The different methods of organisation and self-representation of the different publics are reflected in their way of making use of space (Iveson 1998) and may make necessary, for full expression of the single identities, exclusive fruition of one's own space. The stratification of different publics and uses in the same space may become a stimulus to homologation. The desire to compromise may strain individualities leading to a levelling out of differences.

The democratic function of space consists of ensuring visibility of the single publics of the city. But visibility can also become a scarce, and thus sought-after, resource. Visibility is closely linked with the vivacity and intensity of public life. Interventions connecting and creating relations between public spaces may permit public life to spread and the visibility potential of urban spaces to increase, fostering fulfilment of the multiple requests issuing from the different publics; this would constitute an enrichment of the spatial patrimony of the city and a production of space that might stimulate the building up of new forms of urbanity.

Accessibility, visibility and linking up should not be thought of as internal requisites of public space but, above all, as requisites of relations between them. If each public space is by definition exclusive as it is regulated, then attention should be shifted towards guaranteeing that not all public spaces are exclusive in the same way. Thus, systems composed of multiple different public spaces able to flexibly meet the requests coming from a plurality of publics are more efficacious, not a ghetto-creating confinement of publics within preassigned spaces but, on the contrary, the publicising of those same publics through their respective spatial practices that become accessible, visible and inclusive and through the knowledge of the differences of which the city publics are carriers. A plurality of spaces, accessible, visible and interconnected, enabling contacts and encounters between publics, thus makes the actual construction of yet more publics possible.

This type of public space system should also link up in a capillary manner with the hybrid public-private spaces and with the private spaces themselves, embodying that '*continuum*' that characterises the division of public and private spheres on the city territory. The design of these systems is not concentrated in the blank spaces on

the map formally available but on the black lines of the borders. Only in this way can multiple outlets be opened, the points of passage for that public life that attempts to show itself in the city and that risks wasting its own energy, while it could be improving the quality of inhabiting.

13.4.4 Guiding Public Life

Public life has a fluid consistency. It moves relentlessly tracing its own route with the methods, continuity and strength fluid bodies have. It may be channelled or dispersed and guided or deviated but will always seek alternative routes, passing if necessary from the material dimension to the virtual, to then re-emerge again in the spaces of the city, hide again between facades, drowse in the meanders of private spaces, then explode once more in the crowd of the great mass events, be consumed on TV screens and again be sedated in the everyday life of a variety of screens, monitors and displays. Invigorating lifeblood is able to revitalise districts and cities, attribute new centralities to edge territories and foster the development of innovative technologies and methods of communication: the need to cultivate the public dimension of individual existences will continue to be an invariant of being in the world and will continue to seek new routes to germinate and develop.

The city may break up, buildings become scarce and isolated and roads may empty but public life will continue to be manifest through other roads and spaces. To relinquish the requisites of diversity, density and proximity, pointing them out as nostalgic and out of date, means to finally give up urbanity within projects and policies on which future settlement worlds depend. It means giving up the power to civilise and strengthen public life.

The quest for solid, stable reference points on which to calibrate design projects may arrive through rediscovery of the invariables underpinning the civil coexistence of individuals within the fabric of the city. The need for encounters and relations between individuals is part of the essence of inhabiting and cannot be eliminated. When physical space can no longer respond to this demand, it will look for new outlets in other spaces in a fluid manner, be they material or immaterial. It is the task of designers to channel its energies and exploit its strength through public space design, towards the improvement of the quality of inhabiting for the benefit both of the public sphere and the private one.

Public space is the site on which public life is created, that part of individual existence in which one enters into relations with others through speech and gestures. It is the space in which the individual makes himself known and recognised as a stranger, in which he sees things he does not know and presents himself as an outsider. So that public life may unfold, individuals must enter into contact in the most varied ways, from simple visual contact to the exchange of words or gestures and the sharing of experience. The contact between individuals that public space permits requires activities that generate exchanges and flows. The greater the variety

of activities carried out therein or nearby, the greater the density of public life, proximity between individuals, visibility of diversity and knowledge of otherness, and the richer public life and livelier the public sphere.

13.4.5 Designing Public Spaces

Becoming aware of the fragmentation and multiplicity of the public obliges project-based action to behave not as a response to requests that might be intercepted in the course of the short, limited project process, but as an anticipator of the requests that public opinion does not yet manifest. Design cannot simply espouse the existing views and current imagination but must propose new behavioural modalities, not yet imagined or simply forgotten in the wake of false myths and short-lived imagination.

If, in the private sector, project design finds itself faced with a known client, able to be interpreted and therefore to be satisfied, in the public sphere, such a client cannot be embodied either in the governing political class at the different levels or in the population inhabiting the place on which the project action will have an effect. Both publics are fluctuating and evanescent as compared with the long term that public space design should aspire to. The disappearance of a unitary, known public urges designers to go beyond transitory tastes and prevailing fashions, inquiring into which requests are ingrained in inhabiting the place and which are the invariables that can bring together the possible, indefinable a-historic and a-geographic publics.

The crisis of the concept of unitary, universal public corresponds to the crisis of a concept of design understood as a set of responses limited to well-known problems; it forces us to go beyond the discussion on which public it is that the project-based action refers to. If design for public space is focused on an excessively defined, specific public, it risks becoming obsolete and worn out in a short time, to then be rapidly replaced by new projects more suited to the demands of the new publics. Project-based action goes beyond the interests of a public that is known and recognisable as it exists here and now, but must let itself stand up to an encounter with different temporal codes and with a concept of *public* that surpasses the observable, the recognisable and the existing.

The majority of public spaces and public buildings have been used in the course of history by different publics following on from each other and radically transforming the meanings attributed to the space. Public spaces, though conceived according to well-defined ideas, models and aspirations, have been able to satisfy ever-changing needs, stimulating and encouraging the formation and renewal of the public sphere. It is difficult today to imagine a new public space able to last in the same way. Inclined as they are to following fashions and tastes of the moment, they actually lose their aspiration to be lasting. They are supported by political action that by restyling public space tries to show its own activism and therefore gain the consensus of publics increasingly enthralled by the spectacularisation of urban

transformations, whereas their renewal should be interpreted as the will of new publics to continue to put their faith in the importance of that space and in its capacity to stimulate relationships of reciprocal belonging between populations and places.

13.4.6 Publicising the Public Dimension

To facilitate the end of something, it is enough to maintain that it is already dead and behave coherently with that statement. Representations of the crisis and decline and weakening of public space are the most dangerous threat for an urban space on which strong political and economic interests are focused. Just like arguments, representations also nurture the construction of reality. The emptying and abandoning of these spaces is aided by the construction of pessimistic scenarios, which constitute the first step towards their privatisation and final exclusion from the public sphere.

This is why it is important nowadays to fuel the debate on these themes. The visibility of issues and the accessibility of the debate, as well as the places, are the necessary requisites for strengthening them: what is well known and visible tends to last in time precisely thanks to its being public. That which is not known, or discussed or shown, is nearer to oblivion than what is manifest. To attribute a public dimension to places, as with arguments, takes on the meaning of delivering them to that common world that transcends the time span of individual existences. "It is the publicness of the public sphere that can absorb and make radiant throughout the centuries anything that man wants to save from the natural ruin of time" (Arendt 1958).

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Chapter 14
Urban Play as a 'Social Interstice': On a Micro-intervention Involving a Mobile Game Device

Luc Lévesque

Abstract In the image of an urbanised world that is more and more elusive, public space can hardly today be reduced to a defined and permanent typology. Between the evanescence of the new electronic agoras and the enduring settings of traditional urban plazas, a form of public space that is at once nomadic, dynamic and circumstantial can virtually infiltrate itself everywhere. This constantly evolving public space would hypothetically constitute a fluctuating and interstitial constellation that could activate the existing urban framework. In this perspective, play is a promising tactic to reactivate the urban 'living together' at a microscale.

In the context of the research programme 'Temporary Urban Interstices' carried out by Constantin Petcou and a team of other researchers, the urban exploration workshop SYN- develops, in the La Chapelle neighbourhood in Paris, an intervention that addresses at a small scale the notions of public space and 'living together' in the city. The intervention is simple: to set in motion a nomadic and playful device – a mobile football table – as a vector of circumstantial and relational micro-activations. This device proves to be a remarkable catalyst for social interactions.

Keywords Action • Micro-intervention • Mobile game device • Transitional space • Heterotopia • Territorial intimacy • Interhuman relationships • Intermediate area • Relational art • Situationists • Conviviality

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14.1 Introduction[1]

Whilst programmed entertainment and consumerism tend to invade every nook and cranny of contemporary life, and the openness of public space seems to increasingly be subjected to this state, the issue of 'living together' requires us to reflect more than ever on new attitudes and devices, in order to catalyse heterogeneous encounters and bring about concrete, transversal cross-fertilisation of subjectivities.

In the urban environment, such transversal trajectories do not actually manifest themselves as obviously as one might think. Indeed, they imply that one should abandon the comfortable, more or less passive framework to which the dominant figure of the consumer-spectator belongs. This observation is not new; it was clearly and insistently made in the 1950s by the Situationist movement. Since then, its relevance has only been reinforced by the ever-accelerating influence of the 'society of the spectacle' (Debord 1967). If the ambition to radically overthrow this trend is perhaps no longer relevant, the conceptual arsenal developed by the Situationist movement remains rich in lines of action. Amongst these, we will examine in particular those of 'construction of situations' and 'play' (Debord 1958a, b, c), which open up experimental possibilities regarding the modes of everyday activation or reactivation of urban 'living together'. Before recounting our 2007 Parisian experiment in which we explored this line of action, let us briefly list a few conceptual references associated with these themes.

14.2 Some Conceptual Landmarks

The idea of 'construction of situations' promoted by Debord and his fellow Situationists suggests a particular approach to the problems of 'living together': that of the project or action. From this point of view, 'living together' is not so much a general condition to be observed and perceived, as a precise arrangement to be constructed and experimented. To construct 'living together' situations, situations conducive to the 'meeting of subjectivities': this might be the project pertaining to the above approach, a project for which the city undoubtedly constitutes a favoured potential field of actualisation. But along what lines should this project be instigated? Which methods should be preferred? The Situationists Kotanyi and Vaneigem (1961, p. 67) suggested a possible path by associating the 'construction of situations' with a form of destruction, of creating holes in the dominant urban conditioning. The situation as a 'positive hole' aimed therefore at 'the liberation of the inexhaustible energies trapped in a petrified daily life' (Kotanyi and Vaneigem 1961, p. 67), a breakthrough that opened up the way to intensified experience of difference, to the indeterminable 'adventure' of the meeting with the Other.

This perspective is echoed in the more recent writings of Nicolas Bourriaud, who postulates a contemporary form of 'relational art' that generates interstices, with the term interstice here meaning 'a space in human relations which fits

more or less harmoniously and openly into the overall system, but suggests other trading possibilities than those in effect within this system'. For Bourriaud, 'the present-day social context restricts the possibilities of inter-human relations all the more because it creates spaces planned to this end' (Bourriaud 1998, p. 16).

Faced with established 'communication zones' (Bourriaud 1998), the polymorphic, nomadic and indefinite interstitial figure would in a certain manner form a diagram of alternative sociability the modalities of a field of experimentation that puts its hopes in the unrehearsed, singular and molecular character (Guattari 1977; Deleuze and Guattari 1980) of situations to be constructed and lived in. In an urban society, more and more defined by mass media, the interstice asserts the potential of the encounter as a singular or discontinuous element inserting itself into the usual order of things.

Discourse analysing the urban condition tends to interpret the interstice as a spatio-temporal entity associated with fallow lands, voids and wastelands that disrupt the built fabric, or with the processes produced by these spaces, an interpretation that corresponds to the spatial aspect of the aforementioned notion of 'play'. The 'playful' situation also suggests an interstitial variant that is more specifically programmatic. In this framework, play as action could in itself be considered a 'social interstice' (Bourriaud 1998, p. 14). In his famous *Homo Ludens* (1949) – that was to inspire the Situationists – Johan Huizinga emphasised the fact that 'inside the circle of the game (…) we are different and do things differently' (Huizinga 1949, p. 12). For the Dutch historian, 'play as an activity occurring within certain limits of space, time and meaning' (Huizinga 1949, p. 203) corresponds to a 'temporary abolition of the ordinary world' (Huizinga 1949, p. 12), a description that is close to the idea of 'positive hole' mentioned earlier in relation to Kotanyi and Vaneigem. In the same vein, Bourriaud's description of a 'social interstice' as a space of 'interhuman relationships' differentially inserted into an all-embracing system is similar to certain aspects of Huizinga's conception of play as 'the feeling of being 'apart together' in an exceptional situation, of sharing something important, of mutually withdrawing from the rest of the world and rejecting the usual norms' (Huizinga 1949, p. 12). Moreover, Huizinga considered 'the spirit of playful competition […] as a social impulse' (Huizinga 1949, p. 173); the space of play breaches everyday life by offering terrain for a potentially revitalised experience of social interactions at the scale of proximity. In *Playing and Reality*, the psychoanalyst Winnicott (1971) suggested a complementary analysis by underlining the cultural importance of play – of 'creative living' expressed in play – as a 'potential space between the individual and the environment' (Winnicott 1971, p. 100), an 'intermediate area' (Winnicott 1971, p. 13) which, as also shown more recently by Michel Parazelli (1997, 2003) in his research on the 'marginalised socialisation' of street youth in Montreal, actively participates in the construction of the subjects' sense of identity.[2]

In addition, even if the Situationists polemically aimed to pulverise the spatial and temporal delimitations of play to make it 'invade the entirety of life' (Debord 1958a, p. 10), their perspective was very much in line with that of Huizinga and Winnicott – 'playing is doing' (Winnicott 1971, p. 41) – when they emphasised that the action of play, whichever form it takes, 'must create favourable conditions to

live with immediacy' (Debord 1958a, p. 10). Play, by catalysing action and group involvement, would therefore offer a condition conducive to an intensified and direct experience of 'living together', an experience that, whilst limited, would tend, as underlined by Huizinga, to produce effects lasting 'beyond the duration of the individual game' (Huizinga 1949, p. 12). Thus, play as an interstitial vector of social cross-fertilisation could hypothetically acquire a momentum of its own and range far beyond the initial impulse given by the playful act.

14.3 Background to Our Urban Experiment

14.3.1 Context

To continue with our presentation of these conceptual references, let us now look at the case of a field experiment that we – atelier SYN-[3] – conducted in Paris in 2007 as a result of an invitation from an interdisciplinary research group[4] working on the theme of 'temporary urban interstices'. The objectives of this action-oriented research were to 'explore a series of interstitial urban situations (spatial, temporal, institutional, intercultural, …) and to experiment with participative micro-devices of intervention' (Petcou 2007). The chosen territory of investigation was the La Chapelle neighbourhood in the 18th Parisian *arrondissement*. This neighbourhood is a sort of 'urban peninsula' situated in the north-east of the city and measuring about 50 ha. It is enclosed between the railway properties linked with the Gare du Nord and the Gare de l'Est, and the city's orbital motorway (*périphérique*). Its population is about 30,000 inhabitants, a third of whom are of foreign origin (mostly African and Asian). Characterised by significant residential mobility that bears witness to the precarious status of many of its residents, this neighbourhood possesses few public facilities and is often targeted in the media for its high rate of drug addicts. A relatively low level of socialisation results from these conditions (Petcou 2006). It is within this context that our experiment takes place.

As the interstitial industrial wastelands in La Chapelle were either boarded up or not easily accessible, our intervention would test the potential of other types of interstices, the hypothesis being that the neighbourhood's porosity could be used to activate new possibilities of socialisation. An entire range of micro-spaces mimetically inserting themselves into the urban space could serve as potential 'social interstices' to be actualized, spontaneously and intermittently, by temporary occupation. In La Chapelle, a territory poorly equipped with public spaces, the action of facilitating occupation of these micro-spaces by citizens would constitute a potential contribution to the everyday life of the neighbourhood. To explore certain modalities of this hypothesis, a nomadic and playful device – a mobile football table – was to be experimented with for about 10 days, as a vehicle to activate circumstantial and relational aspects of the urban framework at the scale of proximity.

14.3.2 A Virtual Constellation of Interstices to Be Actualised

The intervention was hence deployed in multiple interstitial spaces that had previously been spotted in La Chapelle: segmented widening of sidewalks next to shops or residential buildings, an informal motorcycle parking area, a residual asphalt surface near an intersection (Fig. 14.2), a space for unofficial poster sticking under the canopy of a soon-to-be-renovated boarded-up building (Fig. 14.1), a pedestrian crossing in front of a food market, protected areas under the overpasses of the elevated railway or the orbital motorway (Fig. 14.3), a roundabout, unused spaces in a park, etc. Defying the conventional codes that categorise urban space as either being explicitly public or otherwise abandoned, these ordinary and often residual intermediate microterritories have abundant unfulfilled potential for urbanity that our mobile playful device would aim to test, make visible and activate. The mobility of the football table here became a vector of actualisation of a virtual constellation of interstices – of 'pockets' of possibility – more or less furtively incorporated in the everyday urban landscape of La Chapelle. Starting with a well-known playful device, the intervention created slight displacement by its unusual and impromptu appearance within the urban space.

14.3.3 Choosing the Playful Device and Setting Its Parameters

The choice of table football, often known as *foosball* or *baby-foot*, relied on spatial and sociological tactical considerations directly linked with the context of intervention. The relatively compact size of the football table allows a certain flexibility in the dense urban fabric of La Chapelle. To be able to take advantage of the variety of available spaces, it was important to be able to move around relatively easily in the different parts of a neighbourhood notably characterised by its overcrowded sidewalks. In addition, it was also important to be able to insert the game in the most modest of interstitial spaces without obstructing the traffic and activities nearby. The football table with removable supports – simple trestles – carried around on a compact, modified cart maximised room for manoeuvring as regards mobility and ease of insertion whilst also giving the game a strong visual and symbolic presence to attract potential players and trigger the imagination of passers-by (Fig. 14.4).

From a more sociological point of view, football and table football are clearly, in the multicultural European context, widely shared game references. Table football, usually found in the cafés-bistros that still play an important social role in the Parisian working-class neighbourhoods, is a game that is particularly conducive to spontaneous contacts and collective situations within a heterogeneous community like that of La Chapelle. Whilst in cafés, table football is an activity that must be paid for and where intimidating bets between expert players tend to exclude the less experienced ones, the 'non-professional' character of the table[5] used in our

Fig. 14.1 SYN-, Hypothèses d'insertions III, Paris, 2007 (Photo: SYN-)

Fig. 14.2 SYN-, Hypothèses d'insertions III, Paris, 2007 (Photo: SYN-)

Fig. 14.3 SYN-, Hypothèses d'insertions III, Paris, 2007 (Photo: SYN-)

Fig. 14.4 SYN-, Hypothèses d'insertions III, Paris, 2007 (Photo: SYN-)

experiment tends to even out the different levels of play, therefore making the activity more accessible to beginners. The game then permits the most unexpected teams: experts and novices, children, youths and adults of different origins and social status are hence brought to play together – in teams of two – in the physical proximity and intense conviviality generated by this device. The irregularity of the urban floor affecting each of the insertion sites – generally never quite level – also contributes to relaxing the relations of the players with the norms and rules usually associated with this game. And if the notion of play is not as open and indeterminate here as the 'play' referred to by, for example, Winnicott (1971, pp. 64 and 90; Parazelli 1997) in relation to the notion of a 'transitional space', it still possesses, in its relative adaptation to the irregularities of its sites, a certain margin of informality and contextual creativity conducive to the creation of an 'intermediate area' of socialisation.

14.3.4 Some Observations on the Intervention

Spontaneously generating informal encounters – both intercultural and intergenerational – the mobile football table is thus for us foreigners a privileged vector of insertion into the life of the neighbourhood. At the very first outing, as we were strolling down Marx-Dormoy Street with the table in the early evening, a group of young North African men approached us on the sidewalk for an improvised game; this playful station was to last many hours till the end of the evening, with all kinds of players taking their turn. A group of different game partners – coinciding with the heterogeneous image of the neighbourhood – progressively took shape during our playful insertions: fathers accompanying their sons and young adults of diverse origins, Senegalese and Asiatic children, teenagers, travellers in transit, new immigrants, workers and unemployed persons, schoolboys and schoolgirls, a Franco-Indonesian couple, a young Armenian – a *sans-papier* (unofficial worker) – preparing after a day's work to return to La Courneuve *HLM* (low-rent housing) in the north-eastern suburbs, etc. The unique character of this opportunity to play a game outside its usual environment in different places and moments of the day was to generate an immediate, easygoing relationship with passers-by, to whom we offered the possibility of playing or who spontaneously stopped to participate or observe whilst waiting to eventually take part. The young Armenian who barely spoke French – seemingly astounded to be able to play like this for free in the streets of Paris – played without inhibition against other more extrovert and experienced players. We would see him a few days later – without the football table – still excited at the idea of playing again. During our wanderings with the table for the 10 days approximately that the intervention lasted, we often encountered many 'old' game partners who either wanted to play again, simply say hello if they did not have the time to stop, or ask us about our next destinations and suggest different possibilities of places and times

where we could meet up for a game. The foundations of a relational, reticular, participative and situational approach to public space were thus being developed that took advantage of the changing parameters of the existing city. In the manner of the garden or the carpet to which Michel Foucault (1984, pp. 25–26) refers in his description of ‘heterotopia’, the emblematic green rectangle of the mobile game surface here, superimposed itself upon the urban topography as an ‘other space’, a festive microcosm ‘outside of all places’ (Foucault 1984, p. 24) that by inserting itself into everyday spaces would open them up to alternative ideas of experience of the city.

The presence of the game – outside cafés and for free – at different times of the day and for varying periods of time, in different urban ‘spacings’ of undetermined or simply pedestrian nature, most often produced a general feeling of astonishment, curiosity or collaborative comments, but because this was not a spectacle, curious passers-by were soon carried away by the activity of playing. If some questions were asked about the nature of this intervention, or more rarely about where we came from, the answers were quickly absorbed by the immediate flow of interactions related to the game in progress. In the course of action, parallel discussions came to life between adversaries and/or team-mates that may know each other or not, but what mostly stood out is the physical experience of being and becoming active around this table game, of sharing, without any prior planning or need for introductions, a moment of urbanity in a singular atmosphere of familiarity – and also of ‘territorial intimacy’,[6] to use a notion put forth by Jean-François Chevrier (1997) – that for a moment distorted distances and the dichotomies that usually govern the relations between strangers in the urban environment. This seems to be a relatively rare experience in the contemporary city; an experience that, insignificant as it may seem, constitutes, at a small scale, a simple but nonetheless crucial vector to learn to appreciate differences and ‘live [concretely] together’.

14.3.5 Postface

After our intervention, the mobile football table was given to a local association working with La Chapelle youth[7] that pursued the experimental use of this device in the same spirit as a neighbourhood urban intervention tool. The interstitial vector is therefore still proceeding without us in La Chapelle.[8] Whilst public spaces are more and more understood or designed as infrastructures and stages for spectacular large scale programming, our playful action and its local continuation underline the importance of the scale of proximity and the potential of temporality based on processes of participative and circumstantial emergence to feed alternative paths of urban reactivation. Beyond the grand collective scenographies that enliven the contemporary city, urban public space can today find, in the interstitial[9] experience of ‘living together’, a fertile territory of exploration and regeneration.

Notes

1. Translation from French to English by Michel Moussette. A first version of this text has been published in French in: Perraton C, Bonenfant M (eds) (2009) Comment vivre ensemble? La rencontre des subjectivités dans l'espace public. Presses de l'Université du Québec, Collection Cahiers du Gerse, Québec, no 9, pp 197–207.
2. Michel Parazelli (2003, p. 261) draws our attention to three conditions necessary for the existence of Winnicott's 'intermediate' or 'transitional area': the 'reciprocity of relationships' that correspond to 'mutual appropriation of the activity', the 'self-confidence and reliability of fellow-players', and finally the 'informal aspect of the intermediate area as a 'neutral zone', that is to say that possesses a certain potential for the uncertainty of the rules of play'.
3. Atelier d'exploration urbaine SYN- (Jean-Maxime Dufresne, Luc Lévesque and Jean-François Prost). See websites: www.amarrages.com and www.ateliersyn.wordpress.com
4. This research was part of the French Ministry of Culture and Equipment's interdisciplinary research programme "Art, Architecture and Landscape". The 'temporary urban interstices' research team is composed of Constantin Petcou (Scientific Supervisor; ReDesign Studio, Paris), Pascal Nicolas-Le Strat (ISCRA, Montpellier), Doina Petrescu (Sheffield University, UK), Nolwenn Marchand (Atelier d'Architecture Autogérée, Paris) and research associates François Deck and Kobe Matthys. The report on 'urban action', published in *Multitudes* 31 (Winter 2008) directed by Doina Petrescu, Anne Querrien and Constantin Petcou, and the book *Urban Act: a handbook for alternative practice,* edited by Constantin Petcou, Doina Petrescu and Nolwenn Marchand (2007), are publications that address many central themes of the research on 'temporary urban interstices' in parallel.
5. Our football table uses a ball made of hard plastic that does not give expert players the level of control they can usually exert with the bigger ball made of cork used with the professional tables found in cafés-bistros.
6. Jean-François Chevrier (1997, pp. 131–132) suggests the notion of "territorial intimacy" to describe a register of experiences related to the contemporary urban condition. 'Territorial intimacy (…) wedges itself into the intermissions of the spectacle, it burrows the sometimes very large interstices or intervals of the networks. (…) It qualifies an urban space occupation which differs markedly from the uses prescribed by the bourgeois private-public distinction'.
7. The Association for the Development of Culture and Youth Leisure of La Chapelle (*L'Association pour le Développement de la Culture et des Loisirs des Jeunes de la Chapelle* (ADCLJC)).
8. The intervention was continued by Magali Bourdon, amongst others, of the ADCLJC, who sent us this e-mail in October 2007: 'In 'continuum' with the initial project (…), we brought the football table to strategic neighbourhood areas, spaces meant for socialisation but that were lacking in liveliness. In the first area, the Square Louise de Marcillac (…), the football table encouraged

intergenerational and intercultural meetings (Indian, Chinese, Muslim, African) even though the participants are from different linguistic origins (many do not speak a lot of French). The latter had a chance to spend a good moment together. (…) The older kids had fun playing with the adults or with younger kids and adapted themselves to the play level of each. The football table was therefore used as a sharing tool, while abstaining from being “swept away” by the “competitive spirit” that sometimes occurs in certain games. Secondly, we went with the football table into the Cour du Maroc, a vast recently inaugurated park (…) that is still underused and not very lively. This space overlaps in two Parisian *arrondissements*, two neighbourhoods with strong identities: La Chapelle and Flandre. It is a place where the youth cross each other but do not intermingle, each staying on his side, on his territory. We therefore brought the football table first on the side of the 18th [*arrondissement*], at the top of the plaza, where some La Chapelle youth began to play. Then a few curious youth from the 19th [*arrondissement*] dropped by and asked to play, done deed. The end of the day was marked by mini tournaments with teams composed of a mix of youth from the 18th and the 19th *arrondissement*. It was a groundbreaking occasion of social interaction, that had so far had a hard time establishing itself in the vast space of the Cour du Maroc park. The innovative quality of the mobile football table makes it a relational tool to be used again in the future’.

9. Nicolas-Le Strat (2007, p. 316) associates the interstitial experience with “a form of radicalisation and subversion that is essentially ‘positive’ […] directly pegged to the dynamic it sets in motion itself”. The path of the ‘living together’ interstitial experience also evokes the words of Jacques Rancière (1998, p. 122) for whom ‘the place of the political subject is an interval, a breach: a *being together* as *being between*’. The playful vector explored correlatively here suggests a *living together* as a *living between*.

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Chapter 15
Space for Plural Publics and Their Involvement: Reflections on Some Strategic Planning Experiences

Alessandra Casu

Abstract Some issues about uncertainties in the city project seem as they cannot be solved by architectural design, and some others seem they cannot be solved by land-use plans. Some have emerged during some strategic planning experiences led by the author in North Sardinia (Italy) in the last years: how to cope with different local, social, economic and institutional actors having different interests? How to involve all the 'local publics' in the process? What kind of demand these different 'publics' express? How to construct a shared – among these different actors – vision for future? How to implement it? Which is the relationship among the vision, the scenarios, the actions, the projects and programmes that emerge in strategic plans? And among these and the public space? How to make the 'project community' be more stable? Can a space for the different publics be helpful for it?

Rather than on participatory techniques, the chapter focuses on organisational and communicative structures that could support some 'traditional' planning approaches, facilitating not only the consensus building but also the implementation of strategies, plans, programs, actions and project emerged during the process.

Keywords Strategic planning • Public participation • Scenario • Forecasting • Pluralized public • Urban Centre

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15.1 Introduction: Strategic Planning as an Aid for the City Project?

Spatial planning aims to equip its users to cope better with the future, as part of the governance agenda (de la Espriella 2007, p. 318). It refers to processes seeking to determine what, when, to what extent and who will benefit from a set of territorially based actions (Mattingly 2001).

Strategic planning seems to be becoming the dominant methodology for implementing urban planning processes, bringing technical rationality into decision-making, which involves prioritising problems and the commitment of actions that embody available resources (Taylor 2004). This is due to the difficulties in sustaining technocratic, comprehensive urban planning that have 'prompted the shift to participatory and strategic urban planning' (Halla 2005, p. 137), which has been widely published (Breheny 1991; Healey 1994; Innes 1996). Whereas technocratic, comprehensive urban planning has been sustained by government machinery, participatory and strategic urban planning has to be sustained by stakeholders adhering to the following critical elements garnered from decade-long experiences (Halla 2005, p. 141): scope and approach to urban development planning, formation of urban development planning team, resource mobilisation for implementation, problem solving and conflict resolving and implementation of team and institutional arrangements.

All of this could be called *governance*, according to the OECD (2000) definition of a process in which citizens solve their problems in a collective manner and face society's needs, using the government as an instrument. However, the said OECD (2000) remarks on the frequent lack of *accountability*, transparency, ownership and responsibility in decision processes, which means the inadequacy of governance structures in the main urban areas of developed countries. Strategic planning seems like a form of experimenting with new territorial governance, as it provides collective construction of a shared vision for the future: a partnership, formalised by an agreement, among different (institutional, economic and social) actors and coordination between different ownerships ('there is a need for an alternative form of empowerment that is more likely to deliver "ownership" and "responsibility" for decision-making work groups embedded within an organization': Holloway 2004, p. 472).

Strategic planning is characterised by certain specific aspects: scenarios and future studies; the reduction of complexity and local specificities in a strategic synthesis; a pragmatic approach, as applied to contexts of bounded rationality (Simon 1981), giving a flexible definition of goals and actions; processes of social learning and iterative reviews (the 'optimal decision-making which a particular *group* of decision-makers can construct in a world of uncertainty and risk is a pragmatic, recursive and democratised process' (Holloway and De Reuck 2001, p. 2)); forms of consultation and participation; an assessment of plans, programs and projects depending on sustainability and coherence within the general strategy and purposes; a strategic relevance to implementation; and a communicative role to plans.

15.2 Uncertainties About the Future: Scenarios

'Strategic decision making has to explicitly consider uncertainties in context conditions, value considerations and available technological alternatives' (Störmer et al. 2009, p. 1150) as, according to Lindblom (1959), strategic planning seems to be a way of coping in and with a context in which the alternatives are ambiguous, not well defined, with non-complete information, means and resources that are not well known and uncertain consequences. Focusing on critical uncertainties about the future – difficult to predict and that may have a significant influence on plans – rather than on collective goals, 'the possible futures […] reflect concerns about what tomorrow *might* become, not preferences for what it *should* become' (Shearer et al. 2006, p. 378). 'An approach to […] manage the inherent uncertainties of decision-making is to compare the potential consequences of planned actions against alternative future contexts. Such alternative views of the future are referred to as *scenarios'* (Shearer et al. 2006, p. 362). Exploratory context scenarios analyse a set of possible future framework conditions relevant for organisations, regions or communities. Mannermaa (1986) calls them 'hermeneutic studies', explicating a subjective understanding of a possible future.

In general, they have four characteristics: they are *fictional* – not verifiable, but plausible – and represent a process of change during a time interval; they describe situations, events, actions and consequences; they describe what *could*, not *will*, happen; and they allow information to be organised in understandable frameworks (Shearer 2005).

This last characteristic helps to understand better isolated information that could seem meaningless (e.g. data): an aid for defining conditions and assessing consequences (Shearer et al. 2006, p. 362). Being fictional, scenarios 'can serve as artificial case studies that illustrate the implications of policies' (Shearer et al. 2006, p. 362), and moreover, description in a scenario gives the answer to some questions – the why, who, what, when and where of possible future actions – that help decision-makers to consider better the implications of each choice (Shearer et al. 2006, p. 362).

In the strategic planning case studies in Alghero and Castelsardo,[1] for example, statistical data were transferred into GIS images that became 'postcards from l'Alguer': a commentary producing trends that had to be opposed ('scenarios to contrast'), or desired images that could be created. In the first case, the images were accompanied by showing a typical 'what-if' chain that needed actions performed to modify the trends; in the second, the images were contrasted with some 'bad' indicators that needed to be modified, again by performing 'good' actions.

These exploratory 'external' scenarios (Börjeson et al. 2006) imagine a range of possible developments of context factors that are beyond the control of the actors. The aim of these foresight processes is to improve the preparation of decisions and prevent risks (Cuhls 2003). Devising scenarios seems to help self-reflection, social learning and strategic thinking (Berkhout and Hertin 2002). Consequently, another application of scenarios in planning is decision support for the assessment of strategic options. In the same way, it explores the ranges of consequences, outcomes and impacts of strategic decisions and corresponding actions. Xiang and Clarke (2003) call them 'decision scenarios' with a focus on 'means'.

Hence, 'scenarios serve two main purposes. The first is protective: anticipating and understanding risk. The second is entrepreneurial: discovering strategic options of which you were previously unaware … Scenarios give something very precious: the ability to […] perceive reality' (Wack 1985) in a different way.

This means, finally, that scenarios can help the discussion of planning options by cutting across stakeholder groups, disciplinary boundaries and levels of management and government (van der Heijden 1996; Fahey and Randall 1998). Actually, even though scenarios can represent a range of potential futures, they cannot represent their full spectrum: this means that stakeholders 'can create their own future' (Shearer et al. 2006, p. 377). It can be shaped by intentional actions that, if coordinated, can lead to a shared vision – the future can be 'designed' (Shearer et al. 2006, p. 378) – or it 'can be shaped by forces beyond the control of stakeholders' (Shearer et al. 2006, p. 379). Stakeholders should therefore implement competing visions of what is 'good', against the unintended consequences that could influence the future. 'Rather than possible designs of the future, the […] alternatives […] are best understood as different contextual models against which the risks and opportunities of local actions might be considered' (Shearer et al. 2006, p. 378).

It is necessary to distinguish between scenarios (the means of change) and alternative futures (the ends of change), because they inform the decision-making process differently. Actually, among their characteristics, scenarios have a sort of credibility regarding their respective alternative futures by describing the means of change, and their specifications can serve as milestones to note progress along the path, while the purposes of alternative futures include the quantification of consequences and comparison between them (Shearer et al. 2006, p. 378).

These aspects of the use of scenarios and alternative futures can help stakeholders to become more aware of change and of the consequences. Because the future has not yet happened, it cannot be verified: 'there are only assumptions about how the world might develop and what that change might mean', that are 'a prerequisite for productive debate among stakeholders about how to act either to shape the future or to prepare for it' (Shearer et al. 2006, p. 379).

Nevertheless, even though 'foresight informed strategic planning allows addressing trade-offs related to context uncertainties, value conflicts and sustainability deficits in a structured way' (Störmer et al. 2009, p. 1150), and even though it 'has its strengths in addressing […] future conditions by adopting participatory and discursive approaches' (Störmer et al. 2009, p. 1151), it seems less developed in strategic planning contexts, as it often misses the link between analysing uncertainties and assessing options and suggesting implementation strategies (Eriksson and Weber 2009).

15.3 Who Acts on the Scene?

Depending on the context, strategic planning can have different meanings. In this chapter, the reference base is the approach proposed by the European Union for integrated programming of territorial transformation: an important process of collective mobilisation to decide on the future of a territory.

The Italian experience suggests that in a complex and uncertain context, a strategic plan is not a 'final', specific future scenario but a programme that can be continuously revised, including an increasing number of actors. At the end of the 'formal' process (the edited plan document), what appear as the most important results achieved – rather than the strategic lines, goals, actions, plans and projects that must be part of the document – are the governance, the innovation in updating procedures and processes and the pluralised public (Bender 2006) enabled by strategic thinking (Heracleous 1998) for, according to Heracleous (1998, p. 482), 'the real purpose of strategic planning is to improve strategic thinking', as it also 'has over time evolved into strategic thinking' (Heracleous 1998, p. 483). De Geus (1988) and Nadler (1994) also suggested that the value of the planning process does not reside in the plan itself but in changing the mental models of those involved in the process.

Process activation depends on voluntary opening up of participatory involvement, proposed by a public agency that usually acts as a 'movie director'. This voluntary approach usually starts to promote a change, a transformation, either to face a crisis or a sudden change, very often due to events management (e.g. Olympic Games). Although it was not an obligation, many territories started strategic planning processes, since there was the opportunity in many Italian regions (such as Sardinia) of specific funds, and these now constitute a set of case studies. The key concept is the partnership, meaning the involvement of actors who can invest resources (not only financial or economic but also political, technical and cultural, etc.) that can affect the results of the process by making some interventions feasible, whereas local authorities would not have been able to afford them on their own.

'The notion of stakeholder is integral to public participation' (Hjortsø 2004, p. 670), and the importance of stakeholder analysis and management is recognised within several disciplines, including planning (Healey 1997; Forester 1999). Freeman (1984, p. vi) defines a stakeholder as 'any group or individual who can affect, or is affected by, the achievement of a (…) purpose'. But making stake- and share-holders participate only in some processes, and not in others, might appear as a contradiction and can generate de-investment and conflicts: 'public participation requires domain-level collaboration involving different organisations and stakeholders in emerging networks' (Hjortsø 2004, p. 669).

Following the well-known studies by Arnstein (1969), Pimbert and Pretty (1997) developed a sequence of different levels of participation, from exclusion to the full involvement of 'publics' in transformation processes: non-participation, information/communication, consultation, cooperation and self-organisation.

The level of influence and power transferred to citizens involved in public participatory processes may vary significantly (Hjortsø 2004, p. 668), depending on whether information transfer, consultation or consensus building are the goals of the process (Arnstein 1969). Public participation is staged in decision-making mainly through the influence of the characteristics associated with a pluralist society (Kekes 1993).

'Pluralisation of public' (Bender 2006) is difficult to start: usually, there is no demand for a stable organisation of local non-institutional actors, so strategic planning causes authorities to seek a dialogue with them. It is necessary, then, to find new forms of relationship with all actors who could be interested.

At the same time, it is necessary to construct a shared framework to implement the dialogues; the strategic planning process is an interesting opportunity, but it does not guarantee the resilience of a ‘project community’. In this sense, strategic planning seems like an opportunity to rethink the production of public goods for some ‘local publics’, in which public action appears to be finding new meanings and new strength, but it needs to move away from the *centred sense of self* (Frug 2001), the idea of towns as collective actors with their own identity that ‘contract, own property, and otherwise act in their own self-interest in the same way that individuals do’ (Frug 2001) by:

– De-isolating local institutions and enhancing their *related self*: ‘defining city power in terms of intercity collaboration rather than local autonomy requires rethinking what cities are and why we want to empower them’ (Frug 2001).
– Recognising and coping with their *situated self*.
– Reconstructing the idea of ‘identity’, no longer as *idem sentire*, but recognising the differences between the interests and going beyond the traditional idea of community and consensus: what Frug (2001) calls the *postmodern self*.

This also means keeping the process open to all actors who would be involved, even randomly, partially or temporarily, without necessarily forecasting. But it mainly means an answer to the new demand for ‘public’ (Frug 2001).

Dealing with the ‘inherently wicked’ problems described by Rittel and Webber (1973), these new approaches largely rely on collaboration for finding common ground for multiparty problems (Gray 1989). ‘In any given (…) situation, specific purposes depend on the issues involved, the perspectives and interests of participants, and the existing cultural, political and organisational contexts. The criteria for good public participation may vary depending on the level of public participation aimed at’ (Hjortsø 2004, p. 669).

Due to the complexity of the issues, it is usually necessary to organise participation on two levels:

– The *strategic actors*, initially individually and, later, in focus or thematic groups.
– The *generic public*, with consultations (survey and inquiries), thematic forums, web groups, public events and interactive expositions. To enhance the involvement and the idea of future construction, sometimes some activities are dedicated to children (the future citizens), while there is no evidence of the involvement of non-citizens, such as immigrants.

The main difficulties are in:

– Establishing relationships between the two levels, making the different languages understandable to each other and balancing their different weights.
– Constructing forms of interaction between the different participants, often representing their individual interests.
– ‘Composing’, in a coherent and synergic vision, the different visions that have emerged from groups that have worked alone.

This last purpose can be achieved thanks to the role of the civil service, while making citizens participate is the weak point of almost Italian and Sardinian experiences. Some techniques, such as the e-town meeting, seem able to help quicker and more effective decision processes, but only in the first stages of collective visioning. *Forums* can also be 'virtual' (e.g. Internet sites and blogs), helped by GIS platforms with interactive or friendly interfaces. These tools, even if they facilitate the transparency, ease and worldwide diffuse the information, at the same time exclude some categories of citizens (e.g. older or poorer people), who cannot access these technologies.

What appears more feasible and interesting is a method that establishes *territorial* labs that allow meetings (even virtual, but sharing the technologies among people who could not use them on their own) among citizens of (or share- and stakeholders having interests in) a place, district, village or town. To enhance the audience, it is possible to organise specific surveys. But the level of involvement and participation decreases, if compared to the empowerment, innovation, development and cultural change that can be produced by interaction. Usually, this kind of tool is a first step to facilitate consultation and participation in order to achieve shared and more sustainable development alternatives.

For the other phases (priority choice, implementation) other problems arise:

- Some actors, having resources that could be involved, do not seem interested in the interventions.
- The interventions could have consequences on the life of people who do not have resources (or, sometimes, relevant information).

These are the reasons for developing the negotiation and balancing of advantages and disadvantages that can build consensus and implement projects. As these projects are very often abundant, complex and interconnected, and can change the development model and everyday life of people, it is often necessary to establish some supporting structures: in this framework, among the agencies and associations created to link up the actors involved in the transformation, Urban Centres have developed.

15.4 Where do Scenario and Actors Take Place?

According to Habermas (1987), rationality is viewed as a communicative process of argument-based communication, with action oriented to develop shared understanding and consensus; dialogue is to occur openly and be free from power relations; social action is based on rational (and communicative) calculations including the actions of other actors oriented towards goals specified *a priori* (Habermas 1987; Holloway 2004, p. 474). The primary concern of Holloway (2004, p. 474) regarding Habermas' theory is the need for the development of shared understanding and consensus because the consequence is a lack of room for thoughtful, constructive opposition or well-expressed arguments that would support alternative decision outcomes.

Some experiences of ‘spaces for different publics’, as developed in different situations, seem to provide room for thoughtful arguments, from the *Quartier Agenturen* in Germany (Häußermann and Simons 1999), which work with the local population along paths of development, to Richard Maier’s *Ulmer Stadthaus*, the Lighthouse in Glasgow (Romice 2008) and the other Architectural Centres in UK, the *Kulturhuset* at Sergelstorg in Stockholm (which has even been proposed as a World Heritage site by the citizens: Hall 2009) and some Urban Centres in Italy (Bologna, Turin) that mainly inform citizens and organise meetings, conferences, etc. about city projects. Some need of this kind of ‘room for thoughtful arguments’ emerged from Sardinian strategic planning, especially in Alghero, where stakeholders promoted the role of *district architect* (similar to the Berliner *QuartierManager*), and we proposed a network of ‘Town Houses’ in the plan.

If ‘public’ means, according to Arendt (1958), either that everything appearing publicly can be seen and heard by everybody (which also means it is ‘reality’ and recognisable) or what is in-between individuals, these places provide space to make different individuals stay together; they also provide space, in-between, to make something appear and be recognisable as ‘realistic’.

They are physical places and social structures that should promote a different approach, using information and education (transparency) to achieve the mobilisation of actors that could be involved; discussion between ‘expert’ – technical and scientific – and ‘common’ knowledge; and facilitation in defining problems and possible solutions. Action, again according to Arendt (1958), is not possible in isolation but needs a collective presence. These places are, then, at the same time, public spaces for citizenship practices linked to urban policies and to the project for the city.

Note

1. In this chapter some *ex post* reflections will be expressed on strategic planning experiences in small towns of Northern Sardinia (Italy): Alghero, Castelsardo and La Maddalena. All of these towns are important tourist resorts; they are on the coast, framed by spectacular landscapes, with an important architectural heritage due to their long past, and surrounded by protected natural areas. Alghero and Castelsardo were fortresses on a promontory during the Middle Ages, while La Maddalena (the main island of an important archipelago – which includes Caprera, Garibaldi’s last residence, and other islands famous for their environmental resources, such as Budelli) was used during the last two centuries as a naval base. From the demographic point of view, Castelsardo and La Maddalena are almost the same size (7,500 inhabitants), while Alghero has a population of about 40,000. Alghero also has an airport of national importance, used by some important low-cost (mainly Ryanair) flights, while Castelsardo and La Maddalena suffer from their isolation and distance from the most crowded routes. In spite of this opportunity, Alghero – like Castelsardo and La Maddalena – has the typical

forms of seasonal, sea-and-sun tourism, and all these places appear unable to shift at least a part of the flow to other seasons, using their cultural and natural heritage. Moreover, all of them are suffering a population decrease, due to the lack of jobs in La Maddalena (the American and Italian Navies have abandoned their headquarters on the archipelago) and Alghero and, at the same time, to the high prices of the real estate market in all these towns, which make the younger generations escape from their native places. In spite of the inconvenience of their economic and social situation, none of these towns had started any collective reflection on their future until the Sardinian Regional Government, together with the Ministry of Economics, decided to finance some strategic planning processes, privileging the main urban areas (Alghero and Castelsardo were considered parts of the Sassari urban area) and some territories in an economic crisis, like La Maddalena.

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Chapter 16
Eight Proposals to Construct the Democratic City of the New Millennium

Alessandro Plaisant

Abstract European Union instructions and the need to make planning processes effective and efficient require that local government take the responsibility for constructing and implementing processes of interaction at all scales, in order to promote participation and meet with consensus in identifying coherent political choices for governing territorial transformations.

Faced with shaping supra-local government configurations and with the crisis of the traditional instruments of democracy, novel forms of government of the territory are required that might favour, on the one hand, the creation of networks of multiple relations between different subjects, territories and cities, guaranteeing everyone's rights, and, on the other, the integration of technical, administrative and political capacities of the institutions with capacities, knowledge, practices and experience rooted in the context. It is a case of a process that entails work on constructing shared points of view and sensitivity and forms of mutual learning, through instruments and procedures for the future organisation of the territory.

In Italy, it is by starting above all with local administrations that a democratic space may be developed that is steered towards defining urban policies with a long-term perspective and strategic planning of several years' duration, underway at the various levels of government of the territory (municipal, inter-municipal, provincial and others), which will involve all contexts (from small towns to metropolises): a perspective that needs suitable techniques and instruments.

Keywords Participation • Strategic planning • Mutual learning • Decision aiding

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The most complex symbol that expresses the tension between state of need and transcendence and between conventional behaviour and strategic behaviour is undoubtedly the city.

As a social and economic system, the city is endowed with its own history and culture and, therefore, its own lifestyles, but it is also a tangible entity made of physical elements. In the Carta dei diritti della città (city rights charter), the statement of identity – and when this needs to be asserted it means that a value is being challenged – “serves to mobilise forces around a programme and is a fundamental part of the strategy, of the project a city may have”. The identity of the city is asserted by having the traditional values that have constituted its foundation and history enter into a dialogue with the opportunities that arise from the project for its future.

New instruments may sustain the decision-makers in achieving this objective and identifying, in particular, some significant traits that will help to focus attention on problems and spheres of crucial importance for the development of the territory, guarantee the democratic nature of the process by extensive participation of all public and private subjects and define the steps on the time horizon along which different itineraries will open up to different perspectives. A simultaneous change is required, however, in the forms and methods of organisation of the work and the staff responsible, to make them more suitable to sustain this great challenge.

What is of interest, and needs to be an integral part of the guiding strategy indicated by a plan, are certain values, qualities or specificities from which to depart, which will be a reference point to steer all methods and instruments for “self-sustainable” organisation and management of territories.

16.1 Constructing the City of Quality: Place Urban and Environmental Quality at the Centre of the Issue

A criticism that can be brought against a large number of traditional urban planning instruments is the marginal consideration for environmental aspects, though linked with transformations and, in any case, transposed directly from the formal language of urbanistics of the “compact” city: density of the built area, markers of energy sustainability of the buildings, presence of natural elements and pauses in the urbanised area, measurement and evaluation of an engineering and economic matrix addressing energy production and waste management, configuration of green spaces in the urban aggregation and ecological footprint of the territory, which hardly ever find true contextualisation in the reference territory. It seems almost as though attention to the environment and its quality is resolved by attention to quantitative budgets between the *quantum* preserved and the *quantum* transformed, which bring to mind categories of ecosystem control for the creation of stable balances between “protective” ecosystems and “productive” ecosystems (Odum 1988; Maciocco and Tagliagambe 1997, p. 245). To mobilise forces around a strategy that a city can give itself, it is necessary to bring the reference frame back towards a view of territorial

organisation that will place the natural patrimony and the built one at the centre of the entire territory, in all the components constituting urbanity, understood as a form of sociality and solidarity, nature and history, towards which projects should be addressed for the maintenance, diffusion and project design of environmental quality, the first resource of the territory.

16.2 Constructing the Environmental City: Re-establishing the Relationship Between 'Urbs' and Civitas, Between the Physical Space of the City and Its Inhabitants

The construction of the "environmental" city presupposes that the environment is the strategic nucleus of the prospects for organising territories and developing economies. Placing the environment at the centre of all actions means to go beyond the traditional idea that considers city and environment as separate entities (Mumford 1954; Maciocco 2003) and to propose a territorial equity logic by which some situations take on the value of urban centrality, while others rediscover the natural generative values, designing a territorial matrix of strategic places, acting as "vertebrae" of the territory and steering its future organisation at the different scales. In this way, relations are re-established between the historic city and the environmental system through targeted construction of green spaces, microspaces and functions of urban interest, and promising perspectives open up for involving external territories, for disorganised urban situations, elements of widespread settlement, rur-urbanisation, peripheries, etc., due to their contiguity with the significant elements of the environmental-landscape matrix. Secondly, this view of "extended" use of the territory surpasses the consolidated prefigurations of territorial planning, according to which spatial figures determined and delimited in an administrative sense correspond to just as many definite socio-territorial figures (park areas/managing boards; consortia and mountain communities). It favours instead the creation of territorial subjectivities, acknowledged to have precise importance in terms of design for the territory, which will organise themselves as required to share objectives and implement development policies.

16.3 Constructing the City of Identities: Integrating the Technical, Administrative and Political Capacities of the Institutions with the Capacities, Knowledge, Practices and Experience Rooted in the Context

The frame of meanings on which a territory's specificities are founded is not built up through models of development in which the problems of localisation depend on immaterial elements and multiplication factors of value and meanings of goods

produced, but suffers from the need to compare points of view internal and external to the context. This objective may be achieved by constructing a democratic space of interaction directed at defining policies in a long-term perspective. A space of interaction is configured as an open organisational space (for citizens but also visitors), in which relations, interpersonal exchanges and intersubjectivity are condensed. In this space, the policy-making process grants proper importance to what ordinary participatory pathways leave suspended or sometimes ignore: the process of construction and continuous reconstruction of sense and significance of the decisional situations involving territories, together with the patrimony of successes and failures, and projects and stories connected with them. The space of interaction, with the aid of instruments that favour participation in the territorial debate (e.g. telematic access but also instruments aiding decisions on and evaluation of policies), must guarantee that all subjective rationalities that concur altogether in constructing intersubjective rationality, those representing institutional ownership, technical knowledge (the experts and technostructures) and the context (the citizens and all subjects involved), are represented and organised according to a system of common rules that must respond to the needs for coherence of the general strategy of the plan and ensure that each actor's preferences are adequately represented.

16.4 Constructing the City of Equity: Operating at Different Scales to Promote Territorial Equity and Social Cohesion

Good social quality underpins the degree and modes of economic development: it is actually for this reason that equity criteria and social cohesion outcomes are often guided by economic choices, as a transverse outcome of the different points of the economy. In this sense, a prerequisite of social quality consists of setting the economy off along a path of certain development that will exploit human resources. The risk is of taking up socio-economic models that might not be redeveloped locally: the territorial injustice that attacks certain contexts (those that are decaying, those that have undergone models alien to the sense of the place, those that have acknowledged rules of a global kind and those that have been abandoned by the institutions) lacerates the fabric of consolidated relations between inhabitants, economics and places, leading inevitably to the loss of sociality. To re-establish territorial equity, targeted interventions are needed at the different scales, both concentrated at a local scale and widespread throughout the vast area. Concentrated interventions involve spreading urban centralities onto the territories of the environmental city, while widespread interventions concern the creation of facilities to make these places accessible, link them up in networks and organise their modern life, offering advantages of greater liveability and possibility of fruition for all places.

16.5 Constructing the City of Rights: Promoting the Empowerment of Active Subjects in an Active Environment

In planning processes, the concept of public participation is universally recognised, even if the actual role of the participants is still somewhat limited. In the current situation, the problem of public involvement is due to different reasons, such as difficult access to information, rules and specialist instruments for who are not insiders. In particular, it proves rather difficult to involve "voiceless" subjects, the different age groups of the population (especially children, who will be the citizens of tomorrow), immigrants, visitors, etc. As is well known, the involvement of non-expert kinds of knowledge in planning processes arises by communicating the preferred results to favour public debate at a later date, where favourable opinions and objections will be made clear. It may also seem that a process enjoys a satisfactory level of public participation, whereas in the end the competent authority is entitled to the final decision. To be participatory, a planning process must include interaction, mediation and negotiation in each phase of the process. Public participation practices have developed in the United States from the direct democracy model on a municipal scale, favoured by the organisation of district associations, and are based on listening and negotiation practices[1] which require the participation of different disciplinary fields, like urban sociology. On this subject, the English model of participated planning that is spreading through Europe not only envisages that local government offer services to citizens but that the empowerment of citizens be built up, their power in the decisional field increased and needs and requirements within local societies be "personified". The Regional/Urban Design Assistant Team in the United States and the Royal Institute of British Architects in the United Kingdom maintain that public involvement in planning processes, by making clear "the access to local knowledge and the competences of the communities" (Al-Kodmany 1999), will determine better plans and projects in the future. Planning the territory does not mean just predisposing a general strategy as a background to the plan; for this to be efficaciously executed by the process, it needs to be locally defined, with the aim of encouraging and operating a change in collective mentality oriented in that sense. Consequently, as well as the instruments necessary to exercise citizenship effectively and efficaciously, instruments are needed to start up a process of collective sensitisation and operate an authentic change in territorial behaviour that will involve all the populations interested in the definition and execution of the choices orchestrated and make everyone "citizens" of the territory.

16.6 Constructing the City of the Future: Singling Out Project-Based Scenarios for Comparison

In a plan process, is it better to favour decision building from below and make strategies, objectives and decisions emerge from the opportunities for comparison, with the risk of an excessive dilation of times and fragmentation of objectives and actions

or, on the other hand, is it better to follow a “paternalist”, generalised approach that will attempt to fit specific situations around conceptual structures and general operative models to then implement them at a local level and build consensus on these prefigurations? In both cases we would point out a basic criticism of the ordinary planning process approach, which affects the limits of their efficacy. The heuristic role of the plan as an instrument of knowledge, research and representation of the territory that should help us single out and select really strategic actions and policies from those we might define “regulatory” of ordinary territorial behaviour, is missing. To consider the future as a series of project-based scenarios contributes to the construction of the strategy and its adaptability for the future. Scenarios are the result of explorative processes constructed by comparing both possible alternatives – hypothetical sequences of events involving areas characterised by resources, problems and potentiality recognised as having precise importance in terms of design for the territory – and measures and actions constituting strategic territorial project design of use in past experiences, the outcome of planning at all decisional levels (funded projects and ideas that have arisen from integrated planning processes, strategic planning and territorial planning at all levels, etc.). They enable structurally strong and weak situations, as well as indications of vitality and cooperation of the single territories, to be analysed and verified.

Based on these presuppositions, each territorial scenario is a project hypothesis that takes on an instrumental role to make relations emerge that will involve territories, subjects, economies; pick out the principal public and private subjects to be involved; concur in a precise definition of the instruments for execution; and stimulate public participation and the self-organisational capacity of territories, so as to promote the formation of structures to execute policies and actions linked with specific project-based scenarios set up during the encounters.

16.7 Constructing the City of Duties: Defining the Civic Body in Its Institutional, Political, Economic, Social and Cultural Components and Possible Methods for Structuring and Hybridising It

To identify and involve all the socio-territorial components affected by strategic choices, in the most inclusive sense in terms of values considered and not of use, is the fundamental aspect of the process of construction of project-based scenarios, even if this entails problems of representation. The *Convention of Aarhus*,[2] ratified by Italy in 2001 by Law 108/2001, defines a new model of environmental governance that envisages a series of duties on the part of some types of public and private, physical or juridical subjects, defined as “public authorities”, who will exercise public functions or responsibilities in environmental matters, as well as all other subjects exercising public functions or responsibilities, or providing public services for environmental matters under the authority of a board or person as above. In each case, the idea of participation by right of each physical and juridical person prevails, and they

may set themselves up in associations, organisations or groups, though still composed of single citizens. In the Tuscan Regional Law No. 69 of 27 December 2007, bearing "Norms for the promotion of participation in devising regional and local policies",[3] which sets up a Regional Public Debate on large interventions, public works or issues of important environmental and social impact, there is talk primarily of the right of resident citizens, workers, students and entitled foreigners to participate and act, but there is also a generic opening for the voluntary participation of anyone, it being understood that the authority in charge of overseeing the participatory processes may carry out a selection. In the case of deliberative experiences, citizens' juries, dealing with issuing verdicts on public controversies, are casually selected on the basis of a stratified sample that will reflect the socio-demographic profile of the population but also on the basis of variables considered important for the issue under discussion (composition of family nucleus, type of housing, etc.).

Finally, attention is thus paid to selecting the types of participant, but not the possibilities of interaction, which are many and diverse, between the subjects to start up processes of collective action that might favour the formation of new socio-territorial figures, of mixed public-private aggregates, consolidated inter-institutional elements, or to bring about changes in the territorial behaviour of the current configurations and bring staff plans of institutional subjects up to date for the new tasks (Plaisant 2011).

Beginning with the prerequisite that strategy implementation cannot be based solely at the institutional level (regional, provincial or municipal), the success of strategic policies has its origin in the presence of a self-organisational capacity of territories, commonly defined as governance, supported by institutional representation which, with its organisational, exhortative, implementative role and assistance to territories, should promote the conditions for these self-organisational capacities to develop or be created where they are weak or even absent (*Ibid.*).

In this sense, a particular project-based scenario (and, therefore, all the actions to realise it) might both encourage the formation of collaborative groups and determine the creation of leadership by key figures. It is, therefore, departing from project design that new forms creating associations will appear with variable geometry – that we can prefigure neither in structure (e.g. public-private, different sectors or different institutional owners) nor in size, since they will vary depending on the projects and policies set up – to stimulate collective action, promote active discussions and sound out what should happen in the future.

16.8 Constructing the City of Self-Organisation: Acquiring Spaces and Instruments to Effectively Exercise Citizenship

The plurality of levels of government of the territory means that several institutions will politically govern the same territory. The numerous inter-institutional interactions crossing the various levels of government, from district councils to municipalities to arrive at the European Community, are above all of a linear type and

based fundamentally on four models: dependence, separation, cooperation and competition (Bobbio, *op. cit.*).

Since the end of the 1970s, neoliberal globalisation has redesigned borders on an economic basis, and also in the EU sphere, the conception of "regionalisation" is now considered commensurate with the gifts of competitiveness of an area. Cities, metropolitan areas and regions find themselves placed within systems of interest that are increasingly vast, with recurrent situations that aggregate towns through elements of similarity in relation to their activities. Consequently, plans target resources that "count", those most suitable for sustaining a particular economic vocation, for structuring an "offer" system that will attract that type of resource. In certain cases the competition between cities steers resources towards make-up operations, with the proliferation of large projects that have the spreading of an international image as their sole objective, under the flag of economic development, culture or free time (Curti and Gibelli 1999). This sort of *urban Darwinism* often underpins a close agreement between administrations and interest groups, to the detriment of representation and territorial rebalancing.

What interests us, on the other hand, is to create the prerequisites for constructing an interactive dimension, with the dual intent of feeding the territorial debate and exercising urban functions in an explicit, shared way. Various levels of government, different parts of the territory and different territorial subjects join together to harmonise rules for planning and management of the forms and processes that concern fields of collective discussion, such as the environment, public works and services, depending on their role, relevance, competences and the activities they carry out and according to their own point of view or the interests they represent. In this form of concerted action, the value represented is not that of the single groups, single administrations or boards but that of efficacy of public policies on problems of collective interest and acknowledgement of the strategies and procedures agreed both in municipal and supra-municipal urban planning instruments and in planning and regulation instruments of the boards or groups involved in the agreement.

An organisational space for interaction (Plaisant 2009), open to all citizens and subjects interested and made valid by specific juridical instruments that will sanction its procedures with formal administrative acts, may take on an effective dimension on the territory through a territorial network of "in the field" workshops, which, with the help of professionalism and technical skills, will operate on the different territories to nurture the territorial debate, concentrating on lines of intervention. With regard to the reticular hierarchical model of urban organisation of the territory, in which each town with its complementary region has a role in relation to a hierarchy/correspondence between towns of the same hierarchical order; in the current scenarios, the change is to be hoped for from a hierarchical situation in which institutional representation governs the territorial processes with a linear relationship of competences to a new situation, fundamentally tied to organisational capacities, in which the territories self-organise to govern themselves. In this way, the perspectives of each town will depend on the capacities of each one to offer different opportunities and forms of comparative advantage based on their own environmental conditions and resources.

Notes

1. "… The role of local administrators is changing and they are configured less as decision-makers and more as organisers or facilitators…. New professional figures are developing that are specialised in structuring and managing complex decisional processes, in mediation and listening (activities once the sole prerogative of politicians) by developing an increasingly rich experience of techniques and approaches." (Bobbio 2002, p. 193)
2. Denmark, 25 June 1998, UN/ECE Convention on access to information, public participation in decisional processes and access to justice on the subject of the environment.
3. The *Legge Toscana* (Tuscan law) was largely inspired by the *Commission Nationale du Débat Public* present in French legislation.

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Chapter 17
The Capability Approach in Urban Quality of Life and Urban Policies: Towards a Conceptual Framework

Ivan Blečić, Arnaldo 'Bibo' Cecchini, and Valentina Talu

Abstract Improving urban quality of life is often stated as the main goal of urban policies, planning and management. However, there is no wide consensus on the theoretical and methodological framework that should be used to operatively define the concept of urban quality of life, so as to be useful for developing operational tools to measure it and for the evaluation of urban projects, plans and policies.

We consider the capability approach an effective candidate for providing the kind of theoretical and methodological grounding necessary for the design of such tools. According to this theoretical perspective, individual wellbeing is not defined in terms of endowment of commodities, but rather in relation to a person's capability 'to function'. This means we must look at what a person actually is and does (functionings) and what they are effectively able to be and do (capabilities), given both their personal characteristics and their surrounding environment. We can therefore say that in the capability approach, the achievement of wellbeing is a process of interaction between the individual and their surrounding environment.

Putting these ideas consistently to work in the design of tools for measuring urban quality of life means to evaluate urban quality of life on the basis of the actual possibilities each person has to 'use' the city in order to achieve functionings and capabilities, rather than just observing urban features.

Keywords Urban quality of life • Capability approach • Urban planning

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17.1 Countability vs. Capability Approach

A detailed critical discussion of current practices and tools for measuring the quality of life is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, what is relevant for our discussion is to highlight that the majority of operative approaches are essentially grounded in 'counting' the presence, number or dimensions of a more or less broad set of features (places, services and infrastructures available in a city). An aggregation of the information from these 'head counts' is then made to produce a synthetic representation of the quality of life in a city.

Possible examples might be the *Il Sole 24 Ore*[1] and *Legambiente*[2] quality of life surveys in Italy, the urban disadvantage assessment procedures in the 'Urban'[3] initiative of the European Regional Development Fund, the *Ley de Barrios* programme[4] in Catalonia, Spain, and the *Neighbourhood Renewal* programme[5] in Victoria, Australia.

Every year the Italian newspaper *Il Sole 24 Ore* carries out a survey to evaluate the quality of life of Italian provinces; it might be considered the most important quality of life survey in Italy. In order to assess quality of life, *Il Sole 24 Ore* has selected 36 indicators that are equally divided into six sets, each of which is related to a thematic area.[6] The six indicators of the thematic area *services, environment and health* – which focuses more on the interaction between environment and quality of life than the others – are *presence of infrastructures* (Tagliacarne Institute indicator of infrastructure endowment), road safety (number of road accidents for every 100,000 inhabitants), climate (degrees of difference between the warmest and the coldest month), the so-called ecologic school report (Legambiente 'Ecosistema' indicator), speed of justice (number of unsettled lawsuits) and schools (secondary school non-attendance rate).

Legambiente – the most important environmental association in Italy – carries out a survey every year to assess the quality of life of children in the main Italian cities. A city is considered more or less 'child friendly' on the basis of the number and some quantitative characteristics (like dimensions, number of users and so on) of childhood programmes and projects implemented by the city Council. The childhood programmes and projects taken into consideration in particular are policies, services, cultural activities and facilities dedicated to children and the involvement of under 14s in decision-making processes.

Both these initiatives consider the quality of life in a city as dependant on certain characteristics of the city, rather than on the effective possibility of its inhabitants to use it.

The approach does not change even when quality of life is measured in order both to recognise the marginalised urban areas that need to be redeveloped and to define the redevelopment projects themselves. For example, within the 'Urban' Community Initiative of the European Regional Development Fund – aimed at boosting troubled urban areas of the European Union – grants for development projects are allocated on the basis of an assessment of the lack (absolute and relative) of services, infrastructures, economic activities and so on.[7]

Similar procedures are followed by different redevelopment programmes at both a national and regional level l, for instance, the *Ley de Barrios* and *Neighbourhood Renewal*.

Given the vast differences in methodology and scope, we are surely not doing justice to many of these current practices by labelling them, somewhat caricaturally, the 'countability approach'.

However, it is useful to design a mental experiment to outline better the substantial difference between what we consider to be the *countability* approach and measuring urban quality of life with the *capability* approach.

Consider urban green parks. We can reasonably argue that the purpose of parks in the city is to have people be able to enjoy recreation in natural open spaces that are easily accessible. The 'be able to' part is a clear indication of a capability; to evaluate quality of life consistently with the capability approach would then mean to focus attention on that capability. In other words, it would mean to verify if and how people are able (rather if and how *each* person is able) to *effectively* enjoy recreation in a natural open space every time they want to.

On the other hand, a countability approach would, for instance, rather 'count' and measure the square metres of urban parks per capita, clearly making two fallacious assumptions: (1) that the recreation-in-natural-open-spaces component of quality of life derives exclusively from the mere existence of urban parks in the city and (2) that to improve that specific quality of life component, it is sufficient to increase the extension of green areas in the city, no matter where, no matter how accessible and to whom, no matter of what kind and in what relation to *other* natural non-park areas available to the population.

Should urban policies be directly guided by the latter evaluation approach, they might prove highly ineffective in providing and improving the capability in question. Indeed, it may be that the lack of urban parks does not jeopardise the effective possibility of people to enjoy recreation: think of a small-medium seaside city, whose population can easily and comfortably reach its beaches. Or it may be that the development of a new urban park does not significantly improve capability either: think of all the urban contexts where there is a widespread sense of insecurity (no matter how statistically justified or not). Clearly, in such places improvement of the capability under discussion may be obtained only through actions tackling the problem of security, be it real or only perceived.

In both cases, the creation of a new urban park – *the* solution suggested by a countability-approach-based framework – turns out to be ineffective and inefficient.

Analogous examples can be given for other places, services, infrastructures and urban features. And this allows us to clarify better why we consider it necessary to build a capability approach framework for evaluating urban quality of life.

17.2 Capability Approach and the Quality of Life

We will not dwell here on a systematic presentation of the capability approach theory but prefer to just mention some elements of this theory relevant to our discussion, in order to subsequently be able to explain how they have been used within our evaluation framework.

Sen criticises the utilitarian or commodity-focused approaches to the evaluation of individual wellbeing and social state. Acknowledgement of the wide diversity between persons – both in terms of personal characteristics and of social and environmental factors – determines, according to Sen, the impossibility to evaluate the

true wellbeing of a person based on variables used by many mainstream welfare theories, such as income, wealth, happiness, primary goods and so on.[8] He, in fact, holds that given equal endowments of goods, two different persons do not necessarily obtain the same level of wellbeing, for this depends on their differential capacity to *convert* these goods into wellbeing.

Departing from these considerations, Sen introduces two key concepts that he maintains should be taken into consideration when evaluating individual wellbeing, namely, *functionings* and *capabilities*. Functionings are states or things people achieve or obtain; they are, in other words, *effective* realisations of potential states. On the other hand, capabilities are defined as states and things the person is able to be or do. That is to say, a person's capabilities are the set of alternative combinations of functionings which he/she can choose or obtain and are therefore related to his/her freedom to be or to do.

Within the capability theory, the set of potentially achievable states (capabilities) and that of those effectively realised (functionings) determine the wellbeing of an individual.

Achieved wellbeing is not therefore independent from the process of *achieving* that wellbeing, and individual choices – arising when the person moves from the space of capabilities towards the space of his/her effective realisations, namely, functionings – take on the central role within such a process.

17.3 A New Tool for the Measurement of Urban Quality of Life Based on the Capability Approach

17.3.1 Capability Approach and Urban Quality of Life

One of the most relevant open issues with the capability approach is the difficulty of its effective operationalisation, and in particular the notion of capability.[9]

Indeed, many attempts have been limited to proposing procedures to survey functionings, given the scarcity of relevant data and the lack of a strong methodology for revealing capabilities.[10]

There have been a growing number of attempts to operationalise the capability approach by defining indicators of urban quality of life on an international, national and local level. It is hence extremely difficult to draw the big picture of the state of the art on this subject. Therefore, we do not mean to say that there have been no attempts to operationalise the concept of capability, but only emphasise that many scholars have been 'forced' to fall back on functionings in the absence of relevant data and methodology for the treatment of capabilities.

The letter accompanying the 14th E-bulletin of the Human Development and Capability Association of June 2009 opens with the following statement: 'The question of operationalising the capability approach continues to be a thorny one for those who are trying to build an alternative economic approach to wellbeing measurement'.[11]

The main purpose of our research was to openly handle the problem of 'missing' data and attempt to design a possible methodological solution. In our model, we

tried to propose a tentative operational definition not only of functionings but also of capabilities, however still partial and subject to development and improvements.

Undoubtedly, we have made simplifications and compromises between theoretical principles and the requirements of operationalisation. It should furthermore be kept in mind that the 'solutions' adopted in our framework were guided by the specific subject area of our research, namely, urban quality of life and *urban* policies effecting quality of life. This defines a sort of circumscribed field of action of the framework proposed herein, a feature that must be taken into due account in any critical assessment of the methodology proposed here.

To begin with, to evaluate urban quality of life in terms of functionings would arguably already be a step forward from the majority of current evaluation practices. This would, in fact, mean to assign a central role to what every person really does, in and with the city, rather than merely looking at the 'inputs' (e.g. the amount of money invested) or 'outputs' (e.g. square metres of parks or kilometres of cycling lanes) of urban policies.

Thus, we do not assess urban quality of life on the basis of either inputs or outputs, but rather on the basis of the actual individuals' making use of places, services and opportunities and on their possibility to convert them into wellbeing. Our perspective is therefore individual-centred: indeed, we do not focus on abstract urban design or the organisation of urban services, but on the actual possibility every person has to 'use' the city.

Besides functionings, we said we would propose a tentative operational definition of the notion of capability. This notion includes two inseparable conceptions[12]: (1) that of *ability*, a notion referring to the 'internal' power, possessed but not necessarily exercised by a person, to be or do, and (2) that of *opportunity*, related to 'external' conditions allowing the person to be or do. The presence of opportunities is, thus, a necessary but not a sufficient condition for owning capabilities.

In our evaluation framework, we wanted to verify the presence of such capabilities. As will be explained later, along the lines of a proposal suggested elsewhere,[13] our framework attempts to verify the effective individual exercise of a certain number of functionings and to identify possible real or perceived restrictions entirely or partially limiting this exercise.

17.3.2 The Conceptual Framework of the Evaluation Model

The requirements we impose on our model can be summarised in the following three propositions:

1. The adoption of an individual-centred perspective for evaluating urban quality of life: the idea is to investigate the effective uses (access and fruition) of places, services and opportunities by each person.
2. The use of an operational (if only partial) definition of the notion of capability: the model employs a surveying approach attempting to verify the effective exercise of a certain number of functionings and to identify possible real or perceived restrictions entirely or partially limiting that exercise.

3. To the above two, we add one further requirement, of a more theoretical and methodological nature, to our model: the need of spatialisation of results and evaluations. The model ought to be able to represent the information on the quality of life in space, showing the territorial differences and distribution of the phenomenon and of the effects of policies, instead of providing just a synthetic citywide indicator.

17.3.3 What Capabilities? A Bridge Between Theory and Operationalisation of the Capability Approach

For the purpose of building an operational methodological framework from the capability approach theory, we introduce three pivotal ‘abstract’ capabilities:

– *Autonomy*: the ability to make autonomous and conscious individual decisions
– *Self-esteem*: the ability of fulfilment, self-confidence and self-acceptance
– *Responsibility*: the ability of pursuing social goals

These three abstract capabilities are interwoven in the individual’s fulfilment both as a person and as a moral and political subject. They could thus be seen as ‘meta’-capabilities: the most fundamental and abstract set of capabilities established as the general horizon of *goals*. We therefore call these three the *goal-capabilities* (from now on *G-capabilities*).

G-capabilities do not play an operational role, since they cannot be *abstractly* achieved and therefore *directly* measured. They are important, however, for defining the overall reference horizon of our operational model, as they are the building blocks of the conceptual bridge from theory to practice of the capability approach. In particular, in relation to these three G-capabilities, we are able to consider the following six *specific* capabilities, which we call *base-capabilities* (*B-capabilities*), defining the dimensions of individual wellbeing:

– *Health*: the capability of being and staying in good health
– *Home*: the capability of having a dignified home
– *Environment*: the capability of living in a healthy, safe and pleasant living environment
– *Work/education*: the capability of having a satisfying job and an adequate education
– *Play*: the capability of dedicating oneself to play and pleasure, or amusement
– *Participation*: the capability of participating in public decisions

The idea is then that the possession of these six B-capabilities is the way to realise the more abstract and general vital goals, expressed in the G-capabilities.

We consider that the six dimensions proposed are sufficiently exhaustive for *our* purposes. The list is not final, however, and is open to discussion. Indeed, we encourage better expression of formulations and other improvements.

At the operational level, the B-capabilities *are* directly referable to urban places, services and opportunities available to every person and *are* therefore made directly measurable.

The guiding and in effect fundamental idea of our framework is that the G-capabilities are obtained through the exercise of B-capabilities. So in the context of urban quality of life, the six B-capabilities may be seen as the urban 'supply' of opportunities for each individual to enjoy the three G-capabilities of autonomy, self-esteem and responsibility.[14]

To give further structure to this conceptual framework, we put forward an additional subdivision of the B-capabilities into two subgroups: (1) B-capabilities which are the *material requisites* for practising G-capabilities, grouping together *health*, *home* and *environment*, and (2) B-capabilities which are *sources for the development of competencies and knowledge* necessary for achieving G-capabilities, grouping together *work/education*, *play* and *participation*.

17.3.4 Gathering Information by Questionnaire

As explained above, we wish to measure each B-capability for each person. The tool we have chosen for this purpose is therefore the questionnaire.[15]

Its design is of fundamental importance for, as we have said, not only functionings but also capabilities should emerge through the analysis of the answers submitted. We therefore need to introduce several preliminary assumptions and definitions to be able to trace a path towards operationalisation of the conceptual framework presented in the previous section. We do this with the following four propositions:

1. All B-capabilities should be measured on an individual level and should be related to the three properties of *availability*, *quality* and *accessibility*[16] of places, services and opportunities offered by a city. This indicates that in the questionnaire, for each parent and for every relevant place, service and opportunity, we should be asking three types of questions: (1) 'Is it present/available, and how much is there of it?' (2) 'How is it organised/offered, and what quality is it?' and (3) 'How, by which means, and how often can it be accessed?'
2. Each of the three properties mentioned (*availability*, *quality* and *accessibility*) should be measured and expressed on a numerical scale. In the analysis phase, the 'amount' of B-capability every person is 'endowed' with should be an aggregate value of these three properties.[17]
3. The individual-centred approach we adopted here suggests that when evaluating and comparing alternative policies and their effects on the city, we really ought to ground our evaluation model on the *estimation* of policies' effects on the B-capabilities of each and every person.

17.4 A Digression on *Non-citizens* and Children

17.4.1 Improving Urban Quality of Life of Non-citizens

We took an interest in marginalised individuals, whom we call *non-citizens*, even before deciding to use the capability approach to measure urban quality of life: indeed, we chose to use the capability approach as a theoretical basis for our research in attempting to understand which role marginalised individuals can play in urban redevelopment and urban management processes.

We think that projects, plans and policies capable firstly of expanding the capabilities of marginalised individuals are the most effective ones in improving urban quality of life of the whole city.

Before illustrating what, in our view, the reasons behind this are, it is worth clarifying what we mean exactly by *non-citizens*.

Citizenship is defined as an individual legal condition of the members of a state, that is, membership on the grounds of which they are holders of established rights (civil, social and political) and duties.

The traditional definition of citizenship thus refers to a definite geographical area in which members only are allowed to practise their rights: it therefore contains an inclusion-exclusion logic.

We could say that the traditional definition of citizenship produces *non-citizens*.

Irrespective of this traditional definition, the concept of citizenship has changed and is now often referred to as the necessity of guaranteeing rights to everyone.[18]

We have chosen to use the term *non-citizens* because it seems to us to be able to comprise all the individuals who *are no longer*, *not yet*, *not sufficiently*, citizens, namely, all the individuals who cannot exercise political rights, completely or partially, since they do not have such rights (like immigrants and children) or are not fully capable of exercising them (for instance, poor or uneducated people).

The diagram in Fig. 17.1 that we have drawn from Cecchini's classification[19] allows us to clarify who exactly, in our view, can be called a *non-citizen*.

But why did we claim that projects, plans and policies able to expand the capabilities of marginalised individuals are the most effective ones in improving urban quality of life?

Firstly, we assume that promoting equality in terms of capabilities is essential for sustainable development. Widening Brundtland's notion of sustainability, Sen himself defined sustainable development as '[…] development that promotes the capabilities of the present generation without compromising the capabilities of future generations'.[20] It is in the contemporary city that the contradiction between quantity of available means and inequality in using them is greater.[21] We do believe that promoting equality in terms of capabilities represents a more effective way of tackling this contradiction.

Secondly, we acknowledge that projects, plans and policies can have a wider margin of opportunity if they deal with situations in which the gap between the actual present and the possible (and desired) futures is greater, as has been suggested by the proponents of the 'insurgent planning' practice.[22]

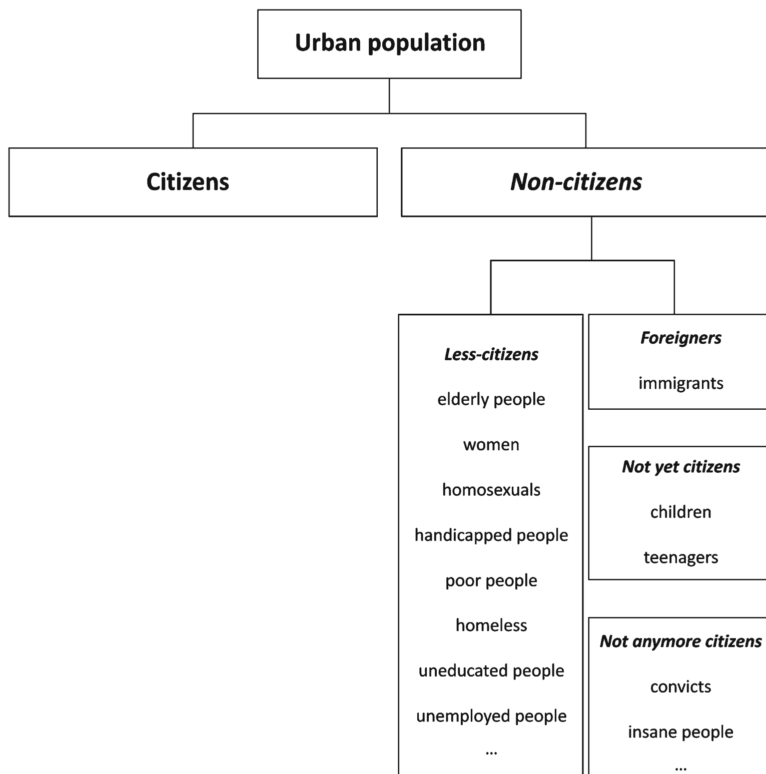

Fig. 17.1 *Non-citizens*: a taxonomy

Urban disadvantage is often place-based; indeed, there are some areas in the contemporary city in which demographic, economic, planning, cultural and social problems are concentrated. Referring again to the capability approach, we might say that such areas could be called places of urban incapability. Despite this, these disadvantaged areas must not be seen only as an urban problem; in our view, they should also be seen as an urban resource.

Disadvantaged areas can be an urban resource because they are both malleable and unstable places. They are malleable places because original and alternative cultural phenomena sometimes originate in them, because they often contain unused buildings and undeveloped areas and because their economic and social problems always bring about the birth of social interaction, self-management and mutual aid networks.

They are unstable because it is mainly in these places that people put into practice their 'survival strategies'. By survival strategies, we mean insurgent planning practices, such as micro-transformations or unconventional use of spaces of the city. Consider the tendency of people who live in social housing to make extensive use of and sometimes transform the common parts and facilities of their building (courtyards, gardens, flat roofs, accesses and so on), which can be seen as an attempt to adapt

their housing standards. Again, consider the tendency of children to play in unstructured spaces of the city, rather than in those dedicated to them (like purposefully designed playgrounds, playrooms, gardens and so on), which can be seen as an attempt to claim their need to be autonomous and free.[23]

We believe, therefore, that an effective and enduring solution to urban disadvantage can be found only if the value of these insurgent practices is recognised. And we do think that reference to the capability approach, which focuses on the improvement of individuals' functionings and capabilities rather than on the fulfilment of their needs, helps to do this.

In addition to these two considerations, it might be of some interest to make another remark. Many have argued that the civic crisis of the contemporary city is in part due to the decreasing opportunities for social advancement and to the consequent diffusion of urban marginalisation and urban segregation processes.

For example, Maciocco argues that the homologation and trivialisation process of public spaces of the contemporary city can be seen as a cause and consequence at the same time of the civic crisis of the contemporary city. This civic crisis determines an increasingly greater lack of interest of citizens (*civitas*) in the places of the city ('urbs'); this disinterest, in turn, intensifies the crisis from which it arises. The ongoing weakening of the link between 'urbs' and *civitas* in fact leads some citizens to become *de facto* non-citizens, namely, individuals who, though having ownership and capacity, are not interested in exercising their political rights. Involving people who do not have such political rights in urban decision-making processes, Maciocco claims, can help to build up a new civic consciousness, beginning indeed in urban places, and thus consolidate the link between 'urbs' and *civitas*.[24]

17.4.2 Urban Quality of Life of Children

After outlining the general conceptual scheme of our approach to operationalisation of the capability approach, especially in relation to urban quality of life, we now turn to one specific field of application, the urban quality of life of children, which was the main focus of our first attempt to put the operational tool into practice.

There are several reasons why the focus on children's urban quality of life is an important as well as a challenging issue. In recent years, much attention has been paid to childhood: discussions both on the needs and rights of children and initiatives aimed at improving their role within the family, school and society have increased and spread rapidly.

At the same time, the social definition of childhood has also changed. Piaget's theory of the predetermined, stage-by-stage cognitive development of children, which assumed that there was a quantitative and qualitative difference between the knowledge and skills of adults and those of children, has gradually given way to a new view on childhood, in which children are seen as competent and autonomous individuals.[25]

In the field of urban planning theory and practice, this new view has determined the spreading of a wide range of initiatives aimed at building child-friendly cities, some of which involving children themselves in decision-making processes.

The basic assumption behind these initiatives is that the contemporary city, the design and organisation of which only meet the requirements of the adult, male, healthy, well-educated, employed, car-owner model citizen, is *hostile* to children as well as to other *non-citizens* because they are not fully capable of using the city *as it is*.

In the past social interaction took place in urban public spaces, whereas in the contemporary city, people mainly lead their lives in enclosed, private spaces, in particular their homes. Children, more quickly and systematically than all other social groups, have been expelled from urban public spaces and thus deprived of the opportunity to *use* the city (except in dedicated spaces and under strict adult control) and to increase their autonomy and environmental skills.[26]

This is the main reason why, in recent years, there has been a remarkable increase in the number of initiatives aimed at developing child-friendly cities.

It is widely recognised that involving inhabitants in urban decision-making processes can improve the effectiveness of public action.

This depends mainly on two factors.

Firstly, involving them allows the technical knowledge and experience of urban architects, planners and policy-makers to encounter the everyday knowledge and experience of inhabitants. This makes it easier to identify the real needs and potential which every project, plan or policy should be based on and, therefore, to create more suitable, shared solutions.

Many argue that involving children in urban decision-making processes is an especially fruitful experience. Indeed, many think that the point of view of children on urban design and urban organisation has great value because it is original, unconventional and different – but not inferior – compared to that of adults, and that children's opinions can help architects, planners and policy-makers to draw up novel, effective projects, plans and policies.[27]

Secondly, involving inhabitants in urban decision-making processes is essential for all those projects, plans and policies that can 'work' only if inhabitants themselves are willing to cooperate.[28]

We are referring, in particular, to projects, plans and policies which aim to promote environmental and social sustainability. Consider, for example, plans for waste recycling, energy consumption reduction or pedestrian mobility promotion: in all these cases the inhabitants' cooperation is necessary for achieving the goals.

The cooperation of inhabitants often involves changes in their lifestyle and can be made stronger if they are involved in decision-making processes, namely, if they are considered not only as the recipients of public decisions but also as capable, aware and responsible protagonists of the decision-making processes.

Involving children in urban decision-making processes has a wider positive educational impact. Indeed, the children who participate in decisions about their living environment become more responsible, as the engagement in the participatory process improves their environmental awareness. And as people develop their habits and their convictions especially during childhood, we might say that children involved in decision-making processes *today* will be the aware, responsible adults of *tomorrow*.[29]

17.5 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to try to apply the capability approach to conceptualising and measuring urban quality of life in developed countries.

Consistent with the capability approach, we assess urban quality of life on the basis not of the amount of money invested or the number and dimensions of places, services and opportunities available in the city but in terms of the use actual individuals make of such places, services and opportunities.

Ours is therefore an attempt to go beyond the 'countability' approach of most tools commonly used for measuring urban quality of life.

Many research directions and possible experimental applications need to be undertaken in the future, and the solidity and soundness of this approach still has to be demonstrated. However, we believe that such an evaluation framework offers promising operational and methodological potential.

Appendix: Questionnaire for Measuring Urban Quality of Life of Children

As explained in the text, we measure each B-capability for each person. Therefore, the tool we have chosen for this purpose is the questionnaire.

In order to define its structure for measuring children's urban quality of life, we have referred to the new view on childhood we have talked about above and have tried to take it into account to its full extent; in the meantime, in accordance with the capability approach, we have considered children also as *becoming individuals*, namely, as *individuals developing capabilities.*[30]

Moreover, our experience in carrying out different projects aimed at involving children in community planning decisions, as well as remarks and advice given by the primary school teachers we have worked with, has been crucial for improving the structure of the questionnaire.

Here we give a sample selection of questions from a questionnaire, not the whole questionnaire. To be specific, the questions are taken from the questionnaire to be administered to parents of children whose quality of life we wish to measure and are related to the B-capabilities we called 'Play' and 'Home'.

As can be seen, for each relevant urban feature, we try to establish in the questionnaire its *availability*, *quality* and *accessibility*: the three fundamental properties for evaluating the effectiveness of that specific urban feature in supporting the respective capability.

One of the main problems we have dealt with is the choice of places, services and opportunities of the town on which to focus, that is, all the places, services and opportunities which make it possible for people (for each person) to achieve the capability taking time into account. Obviously, it was necessary to strike a balance between thoroughness and actual length of the questionnaire.

With regard to the B-capability *Play*, we identified five types of places for play, each of which is, in our opinion, of primary importance and not entirely substitutable by others: (1) urban open spaces (e.g. urban parks, playgrounds), (2) natural open space in or around the town (e.g. beaches, woods), (3) open urban spaces near home (e.g. streets near home, school courtyards), (4) indoor collective play places (e.g. playrooms) and (5) indoor private play places (e.g. friends' rooms). We maintain that *within* each of these types of place, different places can be considered mutually substitutable. For example, we assume that it is essential for every child to play both in natural open spaces and in urban open spaces: we therefore wish to know the availability, quality and accessibility of both of them. On the other hand, we assume that playing on a beach or in the woods are substitutable (both are natural open spaces).

For each place, service and opportunity we have selected, we try to identify possible real or perceived restrictions entirely or partially limiting the exercise of the corresponding B-capability. As we have said, this is how we attempt to measure the individual capabilities.

Excerpt from the Questionnaire

(Note: some formatting and wording of questions have been slightly changed and made more compact to fit the format of the chapter.)

General information about the child

Age _____

Gender F M

Country of birth ____________________

Address

Does the child have any disability?
- No
- Physical
- Sensorial (sight, hearing, etc.)
- Learning
- Chronic disease (diabetes, sickle cell anaemia, etc.). Please indicate which ___________
- Other. Please indicate which ___________

Who lives in your home (apart from the child who has given you this questionnaire)?

Mother	Yes	No	
Father	Yes	No	
Sisters	Yes	No	Please indicate how many _____
Brothers	Yes	No	Please indicate how many _____
Grandparents	Yes	No	Please indicate how many _____
Others	Yes	No	Please indicate who___________________

Capability: Play

1.1. In the first column of the table below we have indicated a few places where children usually play. However, it may happen that children *are not able to play* in these places because of various obstacles and restrictions; we have indicated the most common ones in the other columns of the table.

Please indicate *how much each obstacle limits* your child's opportunity to play in the places indicated.

Scale: N = 'Does not limit', L = 'Somewhat limits', S = 'Strongly limits'

	Presence of unknown people (sense of insecurity)	Presence of traffic	Great distance	High cost	Lack of hygiene	Possible child disability
Urban parks, gardens	N L S	N L S	N L S	N L S	N L S	N L S
Natural areas (e.g. beaches)	N L S		N L S	N L S	N L S	N L S
Streets, squares, courts	N L S	N L S			N L S	N L S
Play rooms	N L S	N L S	N L S	N L S	N L S	N L S
Friend's house		N L S	N L S			N L S

1.2. Omitted

1.3. Please indicate *how often* your child uses the transport methods indicated in the columns to reach the places in which he/she plays.

	Walking			By bicycle	By public transportation	By car or motorbike
Urban parks, gardens	Never	Sometimes	Often	N S O	N S O	N S O
Natural areas (e.g. beaches)	Never	Sometimes	Often	N S O	N S O	N S O
Streets, squares, courts	Never	Sometimes	Often	N S O	N S O	N S O
Playrooms	Never	Sometimes	Often	N S O	N S O	N S O
Friend's house	Never	Sometimes	Often	N S O	N S O	N S O

1.4. Please indicate if your child can reach the places indicated *alone by walking* at least sometimes. If you answer ‘no’, please indicate *how important* each of the three reasons on the right side of the table is.

	Walking alone			Presence of unknown people (sense of insecurity)			Presence of traffic	Great distance
Urban parks, gardens	Yes	No	*If ‘no’, why?*	Not important	Important	Very important	NI I VI	NI I VI
Natural areas (e.g. beaches)	Yes	No	*If ‘no’, why?*	Not important	Important	Very important	NI I VI	NI I VI
Streets, squares, courts	Yes	No	*If ‘no’, why?*	Not important	Important	Very important	NI I VI	NI I VI
Playrooms	Yes	No	*If ‘no’, why?*	Not important	Important	Very important	NI I VI	NI I VI
Friend’s house	Yes	No	*If ‘no’, why?*	Not important	Important	Very important	NI I VI	NI I VI

1.5. Please write down one or more *names and addresses* of the places in the town of Alghero where your child usually plays.

	1	2	3
Urban parks, gardens	Name/address	Name/address	Name/address
Natural areas (e.g. beaches)	Name/address	Name/address	Name/address
Streets, squares, courts	Name/address	Name/address	Name/address
Playrooms	Name/address	Name/address	Name/address
Friend’s house	Address	Address	Address

1.6. *How often* does your child play in each of the places indicated in the first column of the table during the school vacations and when the weather conditions are good? Check the boxes.

Urban parks, gardens	Almost every day	2–3 times per week	Once per week	1–2 times per month	Almost never
Natural areas (e.g. beaches)	Almost every day	2–3 times per week	Once per week	1–2 times per month	Almost never
Streets, squares, courts	Almost every day	2–3 times per week	Once per week	1–2 times per month	Almost never
Playrooms	Almost every day	2–3 times per week	Once per week	1–2 times per month	Almost never
Friend’s house	Almost every day	2–3 times per week	Once per week	1–2 times per month	Almost never

Your opinion on the public places of the town of Alghero in which your child plays is very useful for us. If you wish, use the space below for your free criticism, comments or proposals.

____
____
____
____
____

Capability: Home

2.1. How big is your home? Square metres _____
2.2. Does your child have his/her own room? Yes No
2.3. How many bathrooms are there in your home? ________
2.4. In the first column of the table below, we have indicated some activities that children do at home. However, it may happen that the size or condition of your home does not allow your children to do these activities freely and to their full satisfaction.

Please indicate how much each obstacle limits your child's possibility to do the activities indicated.

Scale: N = 'Does not limit', L = 'Somewhat limits', S = 'Strongly limits'

	Insufficient room	Too much external noise	Insufficient heating	Unhealthy conditions (too damp, insufficient light, etc.)
Resting, sleeping	N L S	N L S	N L S	N L S
Studying	N L S	N L S	N L S	N L S
Playing alone	N L S	N L S	N L S	N L S
Playing with friends	N L S	N L S	N L S	N L S

2.5. If you live in a flat, please indicate on which floor. _____
2.6. Omitted
2.7. Do you think it is important for your family to move to another house?
2.8. If you have answered 'yes', please indicate the main reason. _______________ _____________________
2.9. If you have answered 'yes', what prevents you from doing so? _____________________________

If you wish, use the space below to freely express your opinion on your home.

____
____

Notes

1. http://www.ilsole24ore.com/speciali/qv_2008/qv_2008_province/qv_2008_province_settori_classifica_finale.shtml
2. http://www.legambiente.eu/documenti/2008/0102_ecosistema_bambino_2008/
3. http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/urban2/index_en.htm
4. http://www10.gencat.net/ptop/AppJava/cat/arees/ciutat/barris/index.jsp
5. http://www.neighbourhoodrenewal.vic.gov.au/
6. The six thematic areas are *standard of living*; *business and job*; *services, environment and health*; *law and order*; *population*; and *free time*.
7. Specific need for conversion; high levels of long-term unemployment, poverty and exclusion, criminality and delinquency; high numbers of immigrants, ethnic and minority groups or refugees; precarious demographic trends; low levels of economic activity; low level of education, significant skill deficiencies; high drop-out rates from schools; a particularly rundown environment; and so on. See http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/urban2/index_en.htm
8. See Sen (1992, 1993, 1999), amongst others.
9. See, for example, Alkire (2002), Clark (2006), Magni (2006), Sugden (1993) and Srinivasan (1994).
10. See, for example, Brandolini and D'Alessio (1998), Di Tommaso (2006) and Phipps (2002).
11. Acharya and Deneulin (2009).
12. Magni (2006).
13. See Anand (2009), Nussbaum (2002) and Saith (2001). '[…] one can ask about functionings and following up with questions about the reason why people do or do not engage in particular activities. These indirect capabilities indicators have not been so important in our work to date though I believe they could be exploited more fully' (Anand 2009). 'To secure a capability in a person it is not sufficient to produce good internal states of readiness to act. It is necessary to prepare the material and institutional environment so that people are actually able to function' (Nussbaum 1999). 'A possible way of taking such freedom of choice into account may be to incorporate questions in surveys that ask individuals whether a shortfall in or lack of a particular functioning is perceived by them as a privation or enquire if they had any alternatives' (Saith 2001).
14. No doubt, this proposition does not hold in the line of principle, for strictly individual characteristics may pose restrictions, so that a full exercise of B-capabilities does not automatically realise the G-capabilities (as an example, think of difficulties of self-acceptance due to a physical mutilation). This is to say that the conceptualisation presented does not have deterministic velleities and is of course unable to treat factors of such a kind. We nevertheless hold its soundness reasonably arguable for the specific purpose of evaluating urban policies in terms of quality of life, in the spirit of the capability approach.

15. A sample of questions is shown in the Appendix.
16. The decision to adopt such a privileged treatment of mobility and accessibility is a decision bound to a more substantial order of arguments. Indeed, in the context of our discussion of the urban quality of life, it could be argued that accessibility plays a special role in people's quality of life and that the impossibility to use and take advantage of the opportunities offered by a city (places, services, information) is frequently related to difficulties of access (Nuvolati 2002, 2003, 2007).
17. Obviously, there are a number of possible ways to build scales of measurement and to operate aggregation amongst such numerical values. A simple but not necessarily the most appropriate way might be to measure the three properties on an integer numerical scale (e.g. from 1 to 3) and to calculate endowment as the product of the three properties. Clearly, from the substantial point of view, the aggregation procedures should be relatable to a more theoretical *explanatory* model of how each B-capability works and how the single properties of places, services and opportunities are causally related to their effectiveness in supporting capabilities. A more detailed discussion on this is obviously far beyond the scope of this chapter. However, it might be of interest to highlight one characteristic of the above-mentioned example of the aggregation procedure (the product), namely, the diminishing marginal returns of the three properties (this would not be the case for, say, a linear combination of the three properties, which might come to mind as another possible simple aggregation procedure). Such a diminishing marginal return property, in our opinion, is a desirable feature within the context of our discussion and was therefore adopted in our preliminary experiments.
18. See, for example, Amin and Thrift (2002), Cecchini (2008), Moro (1998), Paba (2007) and Sandercock (1999).
19. Cecchini (2008).
20. Sen (2001).
21. See, for example, Amin and Thrift (2002) and Nuvolati (2002).
22. Paba (2003) and Sandercock (1999)
23. See, for example, Giusti (2002), Pecoriello (2000) and Ward (1979).
24. Maciocco (2008)
25. See, for example, James et al. (1998) and Paba (2005).
26. See, for example, Lamedica (2003), Paba (2005, 2006), Tonucci (2002) and Ward (1979).
27. Giusti (2002), Paba (2005, 2006), Tonucci (2002) and Ward (1979).
28. Bobbio (2003).
29. Lorenzo (2000), Tonucci (2002), and Ward (1979).
30. Indeed, Sen himself claims that '[…] when you are considering a child, you have to consider not only the child's freedom now, but also the child's freedom in the future' (Sen 2001).

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Chapter 18
Slow Populations and Tourism

Daniela Ciaffi and Alfredo Mela

Abstract Our initial perspective is that the dynamics of territories and cities/towns that are tourist resorts (or aspire to being one) can be analysed from the point of view of the 'population' concept, dear to a certain trend in socio-spatial analysis. Our chapter concentrates particularly on those who, by need or will, pass through places without their own vehicle, but using collective or public transport, as well as walking or cycling, rather than by walker or wheelchair. These 'slow populations' enter into a relation with the places they visit or stay at, with the people who live there and the other tourists, following certain methods of which we suggest a sort of classification, aimed at a better understanding of dynamics that are more or less sustainable from a social point of view, as well as from the environmental one. The authors reflect in particular on the intersection of fast flows, into which slow tourists have also penetrated, and slow itineraries or stays. In this respect an example is illustrated of tourism for slow populations coming from all over the world, in order to deepen their knowledge of the slow philosophy and discover Turin.

Keywords Adolescents • Elderly • Children • Disabled • Slowness • Slow Food • Sports lovers • Mother Earth • Turin • Tourism

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18.1 On the Concept of 'Population' as a Possible Perspective for Analysis

A fundamental theme of urban sociological analysis, as is well known, concerns the variety of subjects who live and work in the city, as well as their classification in groups or aggregates of different types. These groups are conceptualised in many ways, which vary according to the interpretative paradigm and the theories referred to: depending on the different cases, therefore, we will speak of 'classes', 'layers', 'social groups', 'rank' and so on. Each of these conceptual categories envisages criteria being defined to regulate the belonging of subjects to a given set; on the basis of these criteria the degree of homogeneity it is assumed distinguishes that the group itself also varies. In some cases the degree of alleged homogeneity is particularly high. Thus, for example, to define 'class belonging' following the Marxist approach, the decisive criterion is that of relations with means of production. Consequently, subjects belonging to the same class are homogeneous in that they are the owners of these means, or they are excluded from them; on the grounds of this, they largely share living conditions, too, and relationship with power, aspirations, etc. In other cases, a group's homogeneity is lower. This is true, for example, of the 'layers' built on the basis of income level or for the categories based on level of education.

In this chapter, an analytical category will be used – that of 'populations' – that, though fitting into an interpretative line of the city rich in tradition,[1] shows itself to be particularly 'undemanding' as far as the homogeneity of the social group it denotes is concerned. In effect, it indicates – at least in the use Martinotti makes of it (1993) – a group of subjects who have mobility patterns in common only and, at the most, behaviours connected with these patterns. Thus, to take up again this author's now famous distinction between metropolitan populations, 'commuters' have in common the sole fact that they live outside the central part of the city and work in it, while 'city users' are distinguished by the fact that both their residence and workplace are extra-urban and the city is for them a place in which to consume and to use facilities.

The approach based on 'populations' takes credit for emphasising the fundamental importance that mobility takes on in the contemporary city. It has already given place to a specific trend of thought within Italian sociology that may be linked with other currents also centred on the idea that the city should be considered first and foremost a node in a network of flows (Urry 2000) and that the different relationships with mobility of the subjects constitute an axis of social differentiation of primary importance.[2]

Precisely because of its relatively light sociological content, the 'population' category might seem destined solely for descriptive uses. In actual fact, the analytical developments that can be carried out if we start with it are, in our opinion, more promising than it might seem at first glance and have not yet been explored thoroughly. To simplify the argument, we might say that on each occasion, they take two different – but not incompatible – directions, which can summarily be labelled by

speaking of an approach open to quantitative-functional analysis or addressing deeper qualitative, cultural study.

In the first case, attention is focused above all on the behaviour of the subjects making up a population, namely, their mobility time-space patterns. Starting with the categories already mentioned proposed by Martinotti, many further developments have been proposed and others could be added. In this sense, on the one hand, specifications are placed of a spatial type on the origin and destination of flows. In this case, for example, the metropolis may be separated into spatial zones, such as its compact *core* and external *ring*, and then, departing from this distinction, there is further subdivision of populations (Mela et al. 2000). On the other hand, temporal specifications may be introduced referring to the cyclic rhythms of the city (and speaking, for e.g., of 'night' populations) or introducing distinctions based on the frequency of travel. In the latter case, therefore, metropolitan users could be split into the more specific categories of 'hard' and 'soft' city users (Debernardi and Parisi 2007). In any case, what is of most interest is to establish with care the 'where' and 'when' of travel, in view of a possible quantification of the numeric entity and composition of the populations in a given context (Isfort-ASSTRA 2008). It is easy to understand that this analytical tendency is of particular interest in certain fields of planning and design, for example, in those concerning the organisation of mobility on a metropolitan scale.

In the second case, vice versa, aspects that qualify mobility in a sociocultural sense take on prevalent importance: attention is paid to the 'how' and 'why' of travel, as well as to the intentions, attitudes and symbolic content associated with them (Rumiz 2003). Studies that qualify populations further on the basis of reasons for mobility are moving in this direction, which study, for example, 'tourist' populations (Ciaffi and Mela 2009), 'university students', users of a particular facility and others still. As can be imagined, in this case the category of 'populations' is loaded with more exacting social meanings as far as the homogeneity of the group is concerned. The members of a specific tourist population (let us say, the 'hit and run' Sunday tourist) do not just have mobility patterns in common, but also some behaviour traits, which presumably involve common cultural references, shared images of the territory, etc. Still more challenging is the case of studies on specific mobility 'figures', such as the *flâneur* (Nuvolati 2006), the pilgrim, the uprooted globe-trotter or others (Aime 2005). Here the 'population' approach merges into cultural analysis and psychosociological investigation, though not neglecting the social role these figures can have in certain urban contexts and particular eras.

In this chapter, the analysis focuses on a population (or better, a group of urban populations) whose characteristic is that of slowness. Our interest is, therefore, in a way of being of mobility and the respective motivation and representation of the territory: referring to the two extremes traced earlier, we could say that the direction of the analysis is nearer to the second than the first. Nevertheless – even if we are not proposing analyses aimed at quantification[3] – we do not want to lose sight either of the possible practical effects that development of the theme might entail, in terms of project-based attention for those who travel slowly. For as we will see, 'slow populations' (whatever the reasons for this type of mobility) are actually not at all a

residual world in a city increasingly characterised by hypermobility and the need to rush: on the contrary, they are typical figures of humanity, as well as of contemporary urban times, who also need today to find spaces, times, technologies and design solutions suitable for their needs and who, perhaps, are destined to have an even more significant role in the future.

18.2 Who Moves Slowly?

If we adopt the perspective illustrated above, which envisages analysing the populations that inhabit and travel in places, we may run the risk of continuing to fall into a prejudice: that the different populations are composed of healthy male adults with an education and average income (Tonucci 1998).

Too often projects are built around this single target, which are unsustainable for other citizens: children, the disabled, etc. Our reasoning will therefore continue to pay attention to populations that are different by age, sex, ability and financial availability. But the original nature of the analysis arises from considering these different populations, the 'who' with respect to the time factor, the 'when' dilated from the slowness or vice versa limited in speed (Castiglioni and Galletto 2007). The scientific question thus becomes the following: which are the populations that move slowly?

However, much this introduction might seem to herald a development in reasoning towards attention for discomfort, for example, leading to an analysis of tourist places preferred by elderly populations; in actual fact it stimulates us to consider the dynamics of those who move slowly not by need but by choice (Ciaffi 2007).

In short, two extremes can be identified: on the one hand, those who wish to move around without being motorised[4] and on the other those who are forced to do so (Table 18.1). Between them there is a series of intermediate situations that can be traced back to the parameters for which Tonucci and others report there is generally poor attention: age (the elderly together with young people under 18 who are not able to drive), being the parent of children needing transport or who are slowly taking their first steps and not being able to afford private motorised transport for economic reasons.

Let us try to quickly review these 'slow populations', starting with those who move slowly by choice to arrive at those who are forced to be slow.

18.2.1 Adults Who Choose Slowness

The rhythm of everyday life is a central factor in many perspectives of sociological analysis, including that passing from modernity to postmodernity proposed by Bauman (2002). For in this author's view, social stratification and the use of time are strictly connected. The speed of the global elites, in particular, counters the

Table 18.1 Slow populations

From those who move slowly because they want to				To those who move slowly by necessity			
Adults who believe in the slowness philosophy	Sports lovers of all ages (cyclists, horse riders, rowers, etc.)	Spider adolescents	Children	Babies in push-chairs	Those without cars	Elderly	Physically disabled (sightless, those in wheel-chairs)

sedentary nature of the workforce in a panorama of general individualism. Current society thus organised produces a world of stress and alienating places by consuming obsessively. Bauman follows in this respect the liquefaction metaphor: liquid life, liquid love and liquid fear, in a liquid world. The population of adults that choose a slow everyday rhythm, stressed by this or that theory in the economic field (Latouche 2007) or the political one (Ginsborg 2005), is the first in our review. They are, for example, those who define themselves (on the site www.cittaslow.net) as 'individuals curious about recovered time', where man is still the protagonist of the slow, benevolent cycle of the seasons, respectful of the health of the other citizens; makes an effort to protect places of the spirit and uncontaminated landscapes; and is characterised by the joy of a slow, quiet life. On 16 January 2004, the 'The Wealth of the Italian Territory' research carried out by Rur-Censis was presented to the Chamber of Deputies: for the first time, the small slow cities (*Cittaslow*) also came onto the list, not just for their testimonial value but for their actual socioeconomic contribution, equal to 0.6 % of the general PIL (gross domestic product) calculated for just the 28 slow cities certified at the beginning of 2003.[5] This is like saying that the theme of quality of life does not just concern the individual categories such as choice of everyday life or alternative holidays (trekking, guided visits by bicycle, etc.) but is closely connected with national economy sustainability based also on exploiting natural beauty and the heritage, on biodiversity as a factor of wealth, on making leisure a business and on welcoming not luxury but good quality tourism that enhances in every way the taste for diversity and sociality.

On the other hand, the population of adults that choose slowness have different reasons, and one of the main ones is physical health: walking and pedalling have, for example, a fundamental role in preventing obesity. In November 2006, the World Health Organisation gave acknowledgement to the National Cycle Network of the United Kingdom, which had extended in 10 years over 16,000 km on the initiative of the charity organisation Sustrans,[6] as the best action to promote everyday motor activity, established at the minimum 'dose' of half an hour per day. In the last 10 years, the creation of the British National Cycle Network has promoted above all travel in town and in adults' free time (but also children), instead of the car, with an increase of 173 % from 2000 to 2005.

18.2.2 Sports Lovers of All Ages

Those who enjoy walking, trekking, mountain bike rides, rafting, paragliding, climbing, horse riding, etc. make up another slow population, which favours areas of particular environmental worth (better if within nature parks and protected areas), equipped for walks, cycle and horse rides (perhaps kitted with detailed maps and technical sheets, with all the information on the route, the difficulties, changes in slope and time to cover distances). In short, they are the sports lovers of all ages, who enjoy activities out in the open: from rambling to Alpine skiing, from boating to horseback tourism and from climbing to the various forms of sports exploring the territory (canyoning, speleology, orienteering). Often this sporting spirit is by no means casual but frequently reveals direct commitment to alternative mobility from using one's own car, even if the fact remains, on the other hand, that the said adventure places are reached by one's own car: a slow break in a fast, motorised lifestyle.

Associations belong to the *Confederazione Mobilità Dolce* (Gentle Mobility Confederation), for example, that deals with slow mobility, free time and outdoor activities,[7] organising extended round tables for discussion and proposals concerning the use of free time, tourism and outdoor activities with eco-compatible transport and forms. The following are among the objectives: (1) recuperation of abandoned territorial infrastructures (also based on Bill N°. 1170 regarding abandoned railway stock and for the creation of a network of gentle mobility on ex-railway tracks, bankside roads and historic routes, etc.); (2) compatibility and integration between different users; (3) separation from the ordinary road network, or in certain cases protection of gentle mobility on mixed roads with low traffic intensity motorised transport; (4) integration with the local public transport system and the 'widespread' hospitality network.

18.2.3 'Spider' Adolescents or, More Simply, Adolescents Who Do Not Yet Have a Car

Adolescents are another sizeable population who travel without cars. Beginning in the second half of the 1990s, a series of measures have been devoted to understanding the logics of mobility better and improving them:

- Programmes implementing the *Piano Nazionale della Sicurezza Stradale* (National Road Safety Plan) based on Law 285/97 for children and adolescents on safe routes to school and initiatives for road safety instruction
- Urban Traffic Plans and respective timely measures to restrict traffic: at school entrances, in residential zones, '30 zones', principal highways, roundabouts, etc.
- '*Città sostenibili delle bambine*, *dei bambini e degli adolescenti*' (Sustainable Cities for Children and Adolescents) Projects
- Local 'Agenda 21'

– The different urban renewal programmes inspired by the culture of the European URBAN initiative.

Dario Manuetti of the '*La città possibile*' (Possible City) Association of Turin, an expert in animation and accompaniment on the subject, speaks of the need for a targeted communication strategy that will go well beyond 'road safety education'; he also points out, referring to the current courses of instruction, the limits of the current approach highlighting (1) the almost exclusive attention to the 'rights' front, (2) poor attention to the content of the transformations to be introduced and the taking of direct responsibility in changing everyday spaces of life and (3) the noticeably 'puerocentric' view (Manuetti 2002) and poor attention paid to adolescents.

The title of this paragraph, which gives the term spider to adolescents, intends to emphasise indeed a difference compared with children: the speed of travel through spaces, exacerbated by new movements of young people who like to train to imitate Spiderman. Their favourite habitat, as for the American superhero, is the city, the grey, hard gym for their freestyle acrobatics.[8] Apart from this more recent fashion, there are the more traditional tribes of adolescents on skateboards, rollerblades, skates, etc., who rarely practise on equipped, dedicated circuits.

18.2.4 Children

Analyses on this physiologically slow population, especially in the first years of life, yield infantile behaviour marked by the difficulty of practising activities and sports out of the domestic sphere or in external environments, such as the park, street and equipped spaces: the places to stay and play in, especially in the city, are often physically lacking. The sociologist Dario Rei (2006) highlighted the lack of balance between 'private domestic consumption in a restricted circle' and external 'social activities'. Moreover, children belonging to family nucleus helped by social assistance services often belong to families in an isolated situation, deriving not only from precise criticalities but also from their rather weak relations with the neighbourhood and the territory. In Italy only one tenth of children and youngsters from 6 to 17 years of age take part, even on a casual basis, in activities run by leisure associations or those with cultural, environmental or educational aims. The route is between the meeting places most commonly frequented, together with squares, condominium spaces, courtyards and church or parish recreation centres.

On the relationship between children (slow) and vehicle traffic (fast) some 10 years ago, initiatives were begun like those listed at the beginning of the previous paragraph, as well as environmental education policies promoted in protected areas of some Italian regions. Psychologists have on various occasions insisted on the special situation and needs of children in urban traffic, on the influence of traffic on their development and on the importance of the adventure between home and school – almost constantly denied them by parents in cars. In school workshops on these subjects, one of the constant factors is that the child, when required to walk along

the route to school, should not conceive of violating on foot (!) the one-way direction of vehicles. Among the proposals for slowing down daily routes, the 'Pedibus' and the 'Bicibus' active in various Italian cities are perhaps those that have been the most successful. The project '*A Reggio Emilia andiamo a scuola in BiciBus*', one of the pilot experiences, obtained European recognition in May 2005.

18.2.5 Babies in Pushchairs and Their Carers

On the site gulliver.it, a parent left a remark on returning from a trip to Valtournenche, in Val d'Aosta: 'Itinerary on beautiful dirt roads. But try doing it with a pushchair! There are ramps down terrible slopes, not to mention the last ramp for the shelter at around 35 %'. In France the singling out of the slow population of babies in pushchairs and their respective carers led to the inauguration in August 2006 of some new 'family pathways and pushchair routes' at Praz-sur-Arly, with views over the Mont Blanc massif. These circuits have been very successful, not just at a local level but also on the national TV. The 4×4 pushchairs can be rented at sports warehouses in the town for a day or a week, and the town council undertakes maintenance of three possible itineraries.[9] This slow population obviously includes carers, as well as babies in pushchairs. And having singled it out, on a tourist level, has the clear advantage of having created a specific market niche for it.

18.2.6 Those Without a Car

Populations that are not motorised, if we go by the most recent surveys, do not have an easy life. If on the one hand, congestion and lack of safety are increasingly present problems for motorists, on the other, those who do not have a car must be content with public transport on the decline. The first sign is the loss of share of demand: the Isfort-Asstra 2005[10] survey quantifies the percentage share of urban mobility served by public transport in Italy as 12.7 %, a modest proportion of local movement, and as 15.2 % of passing through.[11] These figures rise respectively to 23 and 31 % in larger-sized cities, but nevertheless remain lower than those of the Central European cities. Italian local public transport (local trams and railways) distinguishes itself in Europe as the lowest share of transport by rail: 35 % against 55 % in France, 53 % in Germany and 52 % in England. On the other hand, on the basis of a study carried out in 1989 on 32 important cities throughout the world, Peter Newman and Jeffrey Kenworthy concluded that for less than 30–40 persons per hectare, the public bus service becomes inconvenient.[12] In a tourist region like the Val d'Aosta, with the lowest population density (38 inhabitants/km^2), this is a thorny question to be solved.

First of all citizens thus belong to this population who cannot afford their own private means of transport: one of the most recent scientific arenas on poverty in Italy was held in Naples in 2006 and yielded a worrying panorama, in which one

family in three declared that they had budget problems.[13] In 2008, according to the ISTAT, 13 % of the Italian population was forced to survive with less than half the average Italian income (approximately 600 euros per month). Then next to the poor, there are the ‘almost poor’, namely, people above the threshold of poverty but by a small sum, from 10 to 50 euros per month. With reference to the 15 countries of Europe, Italy not only presents one of the highest percentages of population risking poverty, but is, after Greece, the country in which social transfers have had the lowest impact in reducing poverty: they bring down the quantity of poor population by 4 percentage points only (Caritas Italiana and Fondazione Zancan 2008).

Among those who choose, however, not to own a vehicle, we find (1) single citizens or associations who are combating atmospheric pollution; (2) experts sustaining innovative experiences aiming at environmental quality and sustainable mobility as part of the ‘city without cars’ philosophy promoted also by the European Week for Sustainable Mobility which has put on its agenda, each year in autumn since 2001, the urgency and need for alternative mobility to the car in hundreds of European cities; (3) single citizens or groups who travel by bicycle in their daily movements (on http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Massa_critica_(ciclismo), we read: ‘Each cyclist participates in the critical mass with his/her own reasons, among which are the desire to go on a bike ride, commitment to the environment or for the safety of cyclists on the roads, and the anarchical and ‘situationist’ taste for the act […]’).

18.2.7 The Elderly

In ‘Italy, country of the elderly’, in 2008 5 of every 100 inhabitants were aged over 80 and 20 were over 65 years of age. In 2005 only two regions avoided this trend: Campania and the autonomous province of Bolzano. In all the Italian regions, people are ageing but to a different extent: in the north the old-age index in 2006 was 157.9 %. In Piedmont, for example, it was 175.9 %, and for each child under 6, there were 4.37 over 65s (ISTAT data). The conclusion many studies carried out on Italian territory reach is that mobility constitutes a factor of social exclusion for the elderly and the disabled, who are too slow for various contexts. However much we try to work on the accessibility of public transport means, it is continuously noted that city structure and architectural restrictions do not favour barriers being broken down. On this subject a piece of research is significant that was carried out by the Italian Automobile Club in Bologna on a sample of 400 people, 23 % of whom were in the over 60s age group, which brought together a series of items including those of Auser and the centre for the rights of the sick, the disabled and the elderly increasingly travel from the centre to the outskirts since they are more unifying and nearer to hospitals and polyclinics. Thus, it is necessary to think from the point of view of an accessible city and not only of accessible services.

18.2.8 Physically Disabled and Their Carers

Finally, we come to the population of people with a physical disability, such as blindness and deafness, and those confined to a wheelchair. In Italy they total 2,625,000 people (ISTAT 2007), a slow population that also includes, as in many previous cases, their respective carers. As well as bringing themselves up to date with the norms in force against architectural barriers, some cities have thought up initiatives and events dedicated to this substantial slow population. In 2007, for example, Venice Municipality's Communications Services on the Handicapped actively took part in 'Go Slow', the fair for slow tourism and gentle mobility. The Forte Marghera spaces served as a showcase for 'itineraries without barriers', for the 'map of accessible Venice', with indication of the level of accessibility of the various areas of the city by public transport, and for the 'stairlift kit' to operate the stairlift present on some of the Venice bridges. A surprising venture in Palermo, on the other hand, was called 'Navigating with your eyes closed: the sport for the disabled: sailing for the blind'. It was run by America's Cup team animators. The blind competitors sailed in an America's Cup-style match race in the waters of Mondello, which in actual fact represented a preview of the International Championship. This enterprise makes us reflect on the relationship between mobility of the blind, the deaf and the deaf and dumb and the free surfaces on which to travel, in this case the sea; elsewhere they could be meadows or tarmac roads.

Finally, the Interreg III B Cadses C.A.R.E. *Accessible Cities of European Regions* project should be pointed out for the efforts of 16 public subjects and the third sector – Italians, Germans, Greeks and Austrians – to define 'accessible tourism for clients with special needs' and the respective instruments of communication for the market.

18.3 Speed and Slowness: Relationships Between Populations and Relations with Places

As highlighted in the preceding pages, a subject's belonging to one of the 'slow populations' does not have the same meaning for each one. It may be the fruit of choice or a need; it may be a stable or temporary condition; it may simply be the state of things or may be connected with symbolic representations, values or lifestyles. As these factors vary, so, we might say, the social quality of the slowness changes. At the same time, however, the relationship that slow populations set up with the other populations also changes.

In this respect, as we have already had reason to observe on another occasion (Ciaffi and Mela 2009), the population-based approach enables us not only to classify and describe social groups characterised by a similar use of the territory but also allows us to single out the possible 'ecological relations' between different populations, for example, symbiosis, commensalism and predation relations. This type of reflection may also be applied to the issue of relations between slow populations and

the other populations involved in the tourist phenomenon. It thus entails the attempt to throw light on elements of competition or complementarity, conflict or reciprocal indifference and attraction or repulsion that two or more populations are inclined to establish, bearing in mind their respective 'ways of using' a territory involved in tourism.

Without intending, on this occasion, to systematically study all the variables that might affect forms of tourist fruition and all the populations involved, it is possible, however, to pick out some typical ways of existing of the tourist phenomenon and to try to highlight for each of them the conditions in which slow populations find themselves having to interact with other types of populations. It is worth pointing out here how populations belonging to a spatial sphere characterised by the presence of tourism do not only include tourists but at least two other types of population: workers in the tourist sector, on the one hand, and residents, on the other. How, then, does the slowness/speed dichotomy play a role in defining the relationships between these populations in diverse forms of tourism, marked by different (and sometimes opposing) relations with the territory?

To avoid excessively complicating the analysis, we will consider just two antithetical cases, suitable to act as opposite poles of a 'continuum', within which it would not be difficult to glimpse a plurality of intermediate situations and variants.

The first case is the kind of tourism that could be defined as 'insular', in that characterisation of the tourist area adapts well to the 'island' metaphor (Minca 2009; Urbain 2003). This form is indeed based on organising activities in spatial *enclaves* in which there is a tendency to contain all the facilities necessary for tourist fruition – from residential ones and those of restoration to the various entertainment activities destined to satisfy the requirements of users. Thus, the experience has a prevalently residential character and, consequently, entails staying for a variable period of time at a given resort, with just some interspersed excursions, usually organised, towards the outside. Tourist villages, Club Méditerranée or other similar facilities match this ideal type very closely; nevertheless – albeit in a more indistinct form – all resorts are like this where tourism is utterly dominant and configured so as to select tourists who wish to immerse themselves completely in the experience proposed. In spite of the residential nature of this experience – which seems to encourage appropriation of places by the tourists – the *enclave* is almost always alien to the context it fits into. In cases where it is an authentic 'island' for the sole use of tourists, it excludes them completely from wider territorial surroundings. If anything, these surroundings are reproduced within the context in shapes with a theme: the shape of the tourist buildings imitates (or often reinvents by adapting to stereotyped images) the local architecture; the staff wear costumes inspired by tradition; the kitchens offer a mixture of international cuisine and 'typical' recipes. In cases where this form of tourism is carried out in places inhabited by other subjects, too, it tends, however, to transform the territory into a theme park. Also in this case the tourist's contact with the place is 'made to fit', thanks to the transformation of the place itself into a space modelled on the requirements of the tourist industry.

Precisely for this reason, the 'island' model would seem to lend itself well to the requirements of slow populations. As space fruition is mediated by a high degree of

organisation of the activities proposed for users and being of a basically residential type, it is possible to foresee from the beginning the specific requirements of slow populations and take steps to satisfy them, perhaps distinguishing the activities destined for them from those offered to tourists who wish to maintain a high level of speed. Between the two populations ('slow' and 'fast' tourists), a relation of 'commensalism' thus develops (Ciaffi and Mela 2009) in that the former would gain benefit from using the same facilities and from the presence of the same organisational forms of the latter, who would remain indifferent to their presence. For relations with the worker population are defined by precise rules and therefore appear to be suitable for establishing complementary relations, whereas between residents and tourists basically mutual isolation arises. Conflictive relations (or, if you wish, of 'predation'), thus, do not appear to exist, if not perhaps between the owners of the tourist industry and the workers, given that the organisation might entail for the latter work conditions that are not advantageous, high uncertainty of continuation of work, etc. The conflict is, however, destined to remain backstage (as are the fast rhythms of the organisational machine), while the tourist (fast or slow) in the limelight receives sensations of harmony and efficiency in managing possible problematic factors.

All this is applied, however, at most to a particular type of slow population: to those whose slowness is due to conditions of necessity, for example, subjects with physical disabilities accommodated in tourist villages without architectural barriers or children who use spaces equipped for safe play. These share with the other users who are not disabled, or the parents of such children, a model of tourist fruition that, in itself, corresponds to canons of standardisation of the product, globalisation, indifference to places, especially to local populations. A model, therefore, in which slowness is not concordant with the core of the tourist experience desired.

The second ideal type of tourist model is a different case, countering the 'insular one. In the latter – which we might define 'place tourism' – slowness is not a need but a cultural choice and derives from the need to explore the territory in depth. The residential segments of the holiday are therefore experienced slowly for in this way, it is possible to obtain knowledge of the resources of the territory that is not superficial, resorting as little as possible to mediation proposed by the stereotypes used by the tourist industry and trying to enter into direct contact not just with the monuments and landscapes but with the actual population, their culture and lifestyles. In the more coherent forms of experience of this type, then, travel itself is carried out in a slow manner, to be able to appreciate the progressive changes in landscape, local cultures, architectural styles and so on. The labels with which these forms of tourism can be described are various: we may speak of 'cultural', 'responsible', 'sustainable' or 'sympathetic' tourism, etc. Each name underlines different elements of the experience, but the recurring element is a refusal of massification and the distinction between 'limelight' and 'backstage' and the search for 'authenticity' of the experience, which is the enemy of excessive speed and forced prestructuring of activities.

The relations between slow (in this specific meaning of the word) and fast populations might be defined as 'amensalistic'. If for users of 'fast' tourism, the

presence of 'slow' subjects is irrelevant, for the latter the intensive presence of the former is a disadvantage, for it tends to shape the territory in stereotyped forms, depriving it of those characteristics of authenticity that, on the contrary, the 'slow' experience focuses on. The relation between the 'slow' tourist and tourist operators is based on an attitude of empathy and as a rule gives rise to forms of complementarity or 'symbiosis'. Not necessarily, however, is this type of relation produced also with the resident populations. For, with a part of the population (that alien to mass tourism), positive relations can be established, and in particular, a beneficial relation may be established on both sides with the slow resident populations, since both need a similar type of facility and conformation of space. Vice versa, the resident population that gains benefit from mass tourism may see an alien reality in 'slow' tourists or even perceive them as bearers of requirements competing with the consolidated ones.

As can be observed, the population-based approach can offer an interesting stimulus to the study of the relations between different ways of being a tourist and between those addressed by the different market niches. Nevertheless, so that this approach is significant, we need to go beyond the simple observation of ways the single populations use the territory, enriching the analytical perspective with reference to distinguishing elements of culture and values.

18.4 Slow Populations at the Centre of Tourist Event: Mother Earth Experience in Turin

To conclude, an example might be useful to take up again the various concepts set out here. Since 2004 an event called Mother Earth takes place every 2 years in Turin, which is parallel to the *Salone del Gusto* (Taste Exhibition), under the umbrella of the Slow Food movement.[14] In 2012 due to the success of Mother Earth, the two events become a single event in order to 'build one big showcase of the worldwide network of good, clean and fair food' (Battaglino et al. 2012, 6). During these 4 days, the capital of Piedmont experiences extremely interesting dynamics (Irving et al. 2006) for a city classified as a second degree tourist city, which in fact cannot expect to compete with quite different Italian urban cultural-artistic concentrations. Perhaps this is indeed an important factor to interpret the ambition of the event in organising something not only following the most classic, rigid rules of marketing but also using alternative ideas (Bragaglia 2005), which we would like to reread here departing from the perspective involving slow populations.

In the first paragraph, we initially emphasised that the 'population' category has its fundamental feature in the fact that it cannot aspire to represent a homogeneous social aggregate. Also in this case, even though they constitute a community of interest on the theme of sustainability of food production and consumption, the participants in the event, in their role both of exhibitors and visitors, actually appear somewhat inhomogeneous from many points of view. Yet they reach Turin from different parts of the world. We thus come to the strong point of the concept

itself, useful for reasoning on populations that travel and on cities as nodes of flows (in this case, however, not with daily frequency, like in many other applications of the concept). Mother Earth is, in particular, the event dedicated to farmers and producers of the 153 countries into which the world network of the (1652) 'food communities' splits, largely coming from Latin America, Africa and Asia. These populations do not limit themselves to travelling just to reach Turin every 2 years. On the contrary, the logic declared tends to prefer exchanges and direct collaboration at national and international meetings. For over 5 years, in fact, face-to-face meetings between farmers, cheesemakers, cattle breeders and fishermen regularly take place in Belarus, Brazil, Ethiopia, Ireland and Holland. This travel is described by the movement's official press organs as dynamics that give lifeblood to the communities, enabling discussion and sharing of knowledge and experience. Other more casual examples of global travel by slow populations are the Dutch poultry farmers of Chaam, who went to Piedmont to meet capon breeders of Morozzo; 52 international fishing communities who visited Italian fishing contexts; farmworkers from Uganda who hosted 25 small Kenyan farmers to share skills and knowledge; Imraguen women from Mauritania producing mullet bottarga, who went to Orbetello for a seminar organised by their Italian colleagues. The image given by the network is one of continuous movement. Authors like Allemand (2007) would not hesitate, when faced with this phenomenon, to calculate the costs in environmental terms (based on the relative air travel) of this process of *mise en tourisme* of cities and rural areas spread throughout the world, charging them as a 'paradox of sustainable development'. For it is clear that in this case, we are dealing with populations who choose a slow, clean lifestyle, but at the same time maintain fast global, polluting rhythms. It should be emphasised in this respect that the Mother Earth organisation adopts initiatives to limit the environmental impact of the event by action for environmental rebalancing like the replanting of new green spaces.

From 2004 to 2010, more than 20,000 delegates participated to the Turin's event. In 2010 the delegates were 4,432 (farmers, fishermen, farmers, producers, cooks, educators, students and musicians) coming from 1,557 food communities (Fig. 18.1).

The October 2008 edition of Mother Earth saw the active participation of 7,142 people (coming down to 6,400 in 2010): 817 were technicians and representatives of local institutions and associations and 6,325 delegates (against the 5,000 of 2006). The latter were farmworkers, cattle breeders, fishermen and artisans producing foodstuffs (4,073), students (943), cooks (797), university lecturers and research institute representatives (299) and musicians (213).[15] The event is based significantly on the support of many volunteers from Turin and its province; their applications have grown from 754 in 2008 to 1,153 in 2010 (Albano and Bignante 2012).

This is just some of the information that could be studied in depth in the direction of functional-quantitative analysis, complementary, as we have said in the first paragraph, to the qualitative, cultural perspective: where and when does this slow population travel take place, therefore, but also how and why do these flows travel? To answer these questions of a motivational nature, the case of Mother Earth is emblematic of a kind of tourism based on the principle of positive globalisation, carried out by populations who do not resign themselves either to homologation or

Fig. 18.1 A delegate from Honduras with his host family during the 2010 event in Turin, Italy

indiscriminate consumption of the environment on the part of the foodstuffs industry. They define themselves custodians of foodstuff biodiversity and have in common the will to claim the cultural and scientific dignity of traditional practices. The slogan 'feel oneself part of a community of fate' effectively summarises, on the other hand, the cultural manifesto.

Similarly, in studying governance processes, qualitative analysis of the dynamics (also tourist dynamics) of these populations might be concentrated on the study of the different dynamics (especially economic) between the actors in play in the name of slowness: Slow Food; the Ministry for Agricultural, Foodstuffs and Forestry Policies; the Italian Cooperation for Development, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Piedmont Region, City of Turin; the representatives of the producers, consumers, operators and workers in the world foodstuffs sector; members of the Youth Food Movement[16]; and others.

But let us return to the focus of our chapter: how can we interpret the relation between populations that identify themselves with the Slow Food – slow travel philosophies (De Pascale 2008)? In the case of Mother Earth, we find it quite stimulating to describe an organisational aspect handled in an original way. In the months preceding the event, an advertising campaign appears in the spaces dedicated to public urban billposting. Posters invite Piedmont families to give a hand in organising accommodation for the thousands of delegates coming from the Third World: those who answer the invitation are invited to an interview during which they are asked to specify the spaces in their home that they could offer a guest, as well as the foreign languages they can speak.

During the 2006 edition, which 5,000 delegates participated in, 300 families took part in the venture. A considerable figure if compared with the other accommodation

figures for associations and institutions, the City of Turin, University and Polytechnic, Piedmont Region and the Embassies in turn offered 1,300 places. The concrete help of 60 Piedmont municipalities in offering accommodation to participants should also be noted, which became 200 in the subsequent 2008 edition and 84 in 2010,[17] triggering a sort of competition between the institutional boards and the most hospitable organisations of the civil society (including those farthest from Turin; in fact, only 15 % of the delegates in 2010 were hosted in the Turin's municipality).

This type of interchange is not limited to logistic organisation but extends to ventures autonomously opted for by the host communities on the basis of affinity of production activities (exchange of seeds, comparison of production techniques). To this it should be added that – as we have tried to illustrate – behind the slowness, there is a multiplicity of contexts that are quite different in terms of requirements and responses. If, on the one hand, this heterogeneity cannot be reduced to schematic diagrams, on the other, singling out slow populations with specific characteristics may be the subject of an analysis useful for alternative proposals to those now dominant and suitable to the specificity of the territory.

In any case, this example shows how the speed and slowness categories in an ideal-typical form are mixed in reality. This slow event entails fast travel, too, and cannot exclude on the part of some fruition of places that is careless and more intent on the economic aspects. If, on the one hand, this has not occurred by chance, as the Slow Food movement originated in Piedmont, guests find hospitality here and the event constitutes a showcase for a policy that constantly emphasises attention to the territory; on the other, enogastronomy comes to a certain extent before place and the event is quite media-oriented and fast.

Think, also, of another example: the itineraries of the Santiago Walk. Does it not perhaps happen there, too, that these two faces of tourism, slowness and speed, coexist in the different stages? And what if you compare the villages farthest away from the destination, where the pilgrim has the time and possibility to enter into relations with residents and hoteliers, to the nearest stages to Santiago, equipped to provide rapid hospitality for large numbers of tourists?

These ambiguities are not meant in this chapter in terms of opinions of worth, so much as to throw light on the re-emergence of a feature, that of slowness, which, set aside by the methods of mass tourism organisation dominant between the 1970s and 1980s, is once more finding – albeit in ways not devoid of ambiguity – an important trend in the contemporary scenario.

Notes

1. To some extent, this approach can in fact be traced back to the School of Chicago tradition, which, as well as interpreting the relation between urban social groups as relations between populations, granted a fundamental role to urban mobility.

2. Theories can be recalled in this direction in particular of Francophone urban sociology, such as the proposal to reason on the concept of 'motility' put forward by Kaufmann (2001) to also take into account material and immaterial components of 'context', 'access' and 'appropriation' (Mela 2006, 276) in the analysis of people's mobility.
3. The main difficulty here lies not so much in quantifying types of slow populations (described in detail in the following paragraph) as in controlling the overlapping of these with the numbers of non-slow populations. If, for example, we wish to talk about the number of slow older people, we should at least cross the figure of the presence of the elderly in a given context with the elderly who, in that context, not only have not renewed their driving licence but regularly use public transport services rather than resorting to private car transport by other subjects.
4. We implicitly consider 'slow' all those populations that do not use a private car as their main means of transport, though aware that individuals exist in a statistically insignificant form who do not own a car but have fast lifestyles, resorting daily to the use of a taxi, for example.
5. The PIL product in a selected group of the main 50 Italian municipalities selected within the sphere of this same survey amounts in turn to less than 2 % of the total PIL (around 19 million euros).
6. Sustrans (http://www.sustrans.org.uk) was founded in Bristol in 1977.
7. The following associations belong to it: Associazione Italiana Città Ciclabili, Associazione Italiana Greenways, Associazione Italiana Guide Ambientali Escursionistiche, Associazione Utenti del Trasporto Pubblico, Camminacittà, Cescam, Club Alpino Italiano, Federazione Italiana Amici della Bicicletta FIAB onlus, Federazione Italiana Turismo Equestre e Trec, Federparchi, Associazione Direttori Parchi Naturali Italiani, Ferrovie Turistiche Italiane, Inventario per le vie di comunicazione storiche, Italia Nostra, Legambiente and WWF Italia.
8. On the subject, see the video 'urban ninja', 'urban stunts' and 'urban decay' on YouTube.
9. Exact words: '*Circuit bleu* : *bords de l'Arly* (*30 mn environ*). *Très ombragé*, *idéal pour profiter des bords de la rivière*; *Circuit jaune* : *accès à l'aire de jeux des Belles* (*40 mn environ*). *Plus urbain mais facilite l'accès au parc*; *Circuit vert* (*réservé aux poussettes tous chemins*) : *jusqu'au hameau de Cassioz* (*Megève*). *Permet de découvrir de jolie fermes*. *Ambiance champêtre* (*durée* : *environ 1h15*)'.
10. The survey was conducted by interviews with a significant sample of people aged between 14 and 80. By 'urban movements' were meant those within the interviewee's municipality of residence and less than 20 km.
11. The same survey, repeated in 2008, not only confirmed that the Italians continued to prefer travelling by car but emphasised the fact that public means do not manage to satisfy the demand completely: the share of users satisfied with bus and tram transport was 62.1 % (69.4 % in 2006).
12. Source: http://www.sierraclub.org/sprawl/articles/characteristics.asp
13. The conference referred to was 'Povertà, redistribuzione e politiche per l'inclusione sociale' held in Naples at the 'Federico II' University on 16 and 17 November 2006. Some papers rich in data are available on the internet site http://www.

commissionepoverta-cies.it/Archivio/Convegno %20Napoli %202006/News.htm

14. As is well known, the Slow Food movement was created in Piedmont by Carlo Petrini in 1986 to educate people in terms of taste, safeguard biodiversity and promote an eating model respectful of the environment. It became an international association in 1989 and today has over 100,000 members with centres throughout Europe, in the United Kingdom, Switzerland, the United States and Japan. 132 countries in the world belong to it. From a Slow Food idea, Mother Earth was born, the meeting of the food communities on a world scale, achieving its fourth edition in October 2010 (with 4,827 delegates).
15. Data based on final accredited members on 15 October 2008, kindly supplied by Dr. Paola Nano of the Slow Food Press Office.
16. This movement, defending food and the food culture, was born in November 2007 during the 5th International Slow Food Congress in Mexico. The idea is attributed to some students of the University of Gastronomic Science and Slow Food USA. The Youth Food Movement is made up of a group of students from American campuses, producers, cooks and activists, who have involved 1,000 young people throughout the world to date.
17. The decrease of the delegates and hosting municipalities' number, between 2008 and 2010, is due to the fact that other meetings were organised in different countries, in order to build a worldwide Mother Earth's network.

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